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PORTRAITS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

00035265

LONDON:
PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITEFRIARS.

PORTRAITS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM AUTHENTIC PICTURES,

IN THE

GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY, AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS

OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THEIR

LIVES AND ACTIONS,

35264

BY

EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F. S. A.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

LACKINGTON, HUGHES, HARDING, MAYOR, AND LEPARD, FINSBURY-SQUARE;

AND

LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1821.

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VOL. II.

LONDON:

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1821.

PREFACE.

In imparting to the public, five years since, the design of this great work, and the character with which it was proposed to invest it, the author took the liberty to offer some remarks of a general nature, the substance of which it may perhaps be necessary, at all events cannot be improper, to recapitulate in this place.

" It is needless," he observed, " to descant largely on the extended information and delight which we derive from the multiplication of portraits by engraving, or on the more important advantages resulting from the study of biography. Separately considered, the one affords an amusement not less innocent than elegant; inculcates the rudiments, or aids the progress, of taste; and rescues from the hand of time the perishable monuments raised by the pencil. The other, while it is perhaps the most agreeable branch of historical literature, is certainly the most useful in its moral effects; stating the known circumstances, and endeavouring to unfold the secret motives, of human conduct; selecting all that is worthy of being recorded; bestowing its lasting encomiums and chastisements; it at once informs and invigorates the mind, and warms and mends the heart. It is however," added he, " from the combination of portraits and biography that we reap the utmost degree of utility and pleasure which can be derived from them: as in contemplating the portrait of an eminent person we long to be instructed in his history, so in considering his actions we are anxious to behold his countenance. So earnest is this desire, that the imagination is generally ready to coin a set of features, or to conceive a character, to supply the painful absence of the one or the other. All sensible minds have experienced these illusions, and from a morbid excess of this interesting feeling have arisen the errors and extravagancies of the theory of physiognomy." It was not then with the mere view of perpetuating the histories or the resemblances of the illustrious dead; of exhibiting the skill of the painter, or the fidelity of the engraver; that this work was undertaken; but in the hope, by a

combined effort, to make the strongest possible impression on the judgement and the memory, as well as on the imagination; and to give to biography and portraits, by uniting them, what may very properly be called their natural, and best moral direction.

Publications of similar character have already appeared in this country, and are held in high estimation. Among these the most important are the superb collections of Houbraken and Birch, and of the imitations of Holbein's heads from the exquisite original drawings in his Majesty's library. Each of these has its faults. Houbraken, as the late Lord Orford justly observes in his Catalogue of Engravers, "lived in Holland, was ignorant of our history, uninquisitive into the authenticity of the drawings which were transmitted to him, and engraved whatever was sent;" and adduces two instances, Car, Earl of Somerset, and Secretary Thurlow, as not only spurious, but as being destitute of any the least resemblance to the persons they pretend to represent. An anonymous, but evidently well informed, writer asserts, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1788, that "Thurlow's, and about thirty of the others, are copied from heads painted for no one knows whom." While Houbraken thus sacrificed the truth of his subjects to the delicacies of his art, Birch, on the contrary, performed his part of the task with a laudable fidelity in his recitals of facts, but with an almost total inattention to delineation of character, or grace of language, as though he feared that the simplicity of truth might be disguised by a decent garb, and that biography might be in danger of degenerating into romance were it occasionally to endeavour to trace remarkable instances in the conduct of mankind to their proper intellectual sources. The defects of the other fine work were in a great measure unavoidable. Confined to the period of a single reign, it was too circumscribed to embrace the objects of the present design, and was intended rather to exhibit choice specimens of a particular master than portraits of distinguished characters. It presents therefore a motley mixture of eminence and obscurity; of the resemblances of princes, heroes, and statesmen, who never could have been forgotten, with those of inoffensive country gentlemen and their wives, of whose very existence we should have remained ignorant but for the immortalizing pencil of Holbein.

How far these various faults may have been avoided in the present publication is a question which it would be presumptuous to affect to answer in this place. The authenticity of the memoirs here presented will stand or fall by the application of tests which are within the reach of every reader; the truth of the correspondent portraits may be tried by an

examination of the originals, which are in every instance referred to; and the degree of skill displayed in the engravings will speak for itself. It will be obvious to the experienced eye, that the talents of the engraver have been exerted upon pictures of very varied degrees of excellence; for whilst this work has extended our knowledge of some of the finest portraits of Rubens and Vandyke, others have claimed preservation as being the only memorials which are left to us of the persons represented. These are even more valuable, considered historically, for without them we should be deprived of the resemblances of some of the most illustrious characters in history who lived either in the infancy of the arts, or at periods when they were depressed by the more bustling interest of political or warlike contention.

It may be pardonable to assert on the behalf of the proprietors that they have attempted to their utmost to possess their country of a work as perfect as human fallibility could permit; beautiful and correct in its two essential characters, and magnificent in all its subordinate features. They have spared no pains; they have denied no expence; in their anxious endeavours to render it an acceptable tribute to living taste and judgement, and a monument worthy of dedication to the exalted memory of those whom it professes to celebrate. Their diffidence of its merits has certainly been in some degree lessened by a fact which, while gratitud impels them to declare, pride could scarcely have allowed them to con ceal—the patronage and success which the work has experienced hav been nearly unexampled.

The author of the memoirs too may perhaps be allowed to use a fe words on his part of the task. He claims no degree of merit beyon that which may justly belong to patient circumspection, laborious r search, and impartial relation; and he has no other motive for assertin that those advantages really have been bestowed on them than a wish t procure for them the favour of mere perusal. Without this caution, i is more than probable that they might sink unobserved under the weigh of a general and most excuseable prejudice; for when he recollects th vague and frothy essays which almost invariably wait on engravings i ceremonious portions of what on such occasions is most properly calle "letter-press," being in fact nothing else, he feels it necessary thus t bespeak for the fruits of his labour, humble as they may be, at least a fai trial. He has employed the best powers of his mind to give to thes tracts as much of the true character of biography as the space allotted to them could allow. He has silently passed over minor and insignifican

facts, and sought diligently for original and novel intelligence. He has lost no opportunities of correcting misrepresentation; of placing neglected or misconceived objects in their just lights; or of endeavouring to describe characters with strict impartiality and truth. It has been indeed his chief anxiety to distinguish himself from those "gentle historians" whose strains of unvaried panegyric were once honoured beyond their deserts by a sarcasm from the pen of the incomparable Burke. His judgement, however frequently it may be found erroneous, and his expression of it, have been wholly unbiassed by any private motives. He has described men and things as he thought they deserved, and his friends have told him that he has sometimes spoken too plainly, but they have not been able to convince him that he has done wrong.

Quitting however these selfish topics, let us hasten to conclude this short address with a sincere declaration of those better feelings which perhaps alone rendered any sort of preface essentially necessary to the following sheets. Be it permitted to us most gratefully to acknowledge the condescension with which our solicitations for the powerful aid of those not less distinguished by their taste than by their exalted rank have been received, and the liberality with which the use of a vast treasure of inestimable pictures has been granted by the possessors of the most eminent collections in the land. Patronised and encouraged in every way by the noblemen and gentlemen who are respectively named on the several plates, from their bounty have arisen the means of producing a work which has laid us under such deep obligation to public favour. Justly ascribing it then to their splendid generosity, be it, with the most profound respect and gratitude, to them dedicated.

ALPHABETICAL ARRANGEMENT

OF

THE PLATES.

DECEASED

ABBOT, GEORGE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY . . . . . 163[illegible]
ST. ALBAN, FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT 1626
ALBEMARLE, GEORGE [illegible]KE OF 1670-1
ALLEN, WILLIAM, CA[illegible] 1594
ARRAN, EARL OF (Se[illegible]
ARUNDELL OF WAR[illegible] 1649
ARUNDEL, HENRY [illegible] 1580
ARUNDEL AND SU[illegible] 1646
ASTON, WALTER [illegible]

BEATOUN, CARDI[illegible]
BEDFORD, ANNE CARRL, [illegible]
BEDFORD, FRANCIS RUSSELL, EARL [illegible]
BEDFORD, JOHN RUSSELL, EARL OF . . .
BEDFORD, LUCY HARINGTON, COUNTESS OF .
BEDFORD, WILLIAM RUSSELL, DUKE OF . . . . . .
BODLEY, SIR THOMAS . . . . . .
BRACKLEY, THOMAS EGERTON, VISCOUNT . . . . . .
BROOKE, FULKE GREVILLE, LORD . . . . . [illegible]
BROOKE, ROBERT GREVILLE, LORD 1643
BUCKINGHAM, GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF 1628
BULLEN, QUEEN ANNE 1536
BURGHLEY, WILLIAM CECIL, LORD 1598

CANTERBURY, GEORGE ABBOT, ARCHBISHOP OF (See ABBOT).
CANTERBURY, THOMAS CRANMER, ARCHBISHOP OF (See CRANMER).
CANTERBURY, WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF (See LAUD).
CANTERBURY, MATTHEW PARKER, ARCHBISHOP OF (See PARKER).
CANTERBURY, WILLIAM WARHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF (See WARHAM).
CAPEL, ARTHUR, LORD 1648
CAREW, SIR NICHOLAS 1589
CARLISLE, LUCY PERCY, COUNTESS OF 1660
CHATELHERAULT, JAMES HAMILTON, EARL OF ARRAN AND DUKE OF 1574
CLARENDON, EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF 1673
CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH, THOMAS, LORD 1673
COVENTRY, THOMAS, LORD 1639-40
CRANMER, THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY 1555
CUMBERLAND, GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF 1605

DENNY, SIR ANTHONY 1549
DERBY, JAMES STANLEY, EARL OF 1651
DERBY, THOMAS STANLEY, EARL OF 1504
DEVONSHIRE, EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL OF 1556

	DECEASED
DEVONSHIRE, ELIZABETH CECIL, COUNTESS OF	1689
DIGBY, SIR KENELM	1664
DORSET, ANNE CLIFFORD, COUNTESS OF	1675
DORSET, THOMAS SACKVILLE, EARL OF	1608
DRAKE, SIR FRANCIS	1595
DUNDEE, JOHN GRAHAM, VISCOUNT OF	1689
ESSEX, ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF	1601
ESSEX, THOMAS CROMWELL, EARL OF	1540
ESSEX, WALTER DEVEREUX, EARL OF	1576
FALKLAND, LUCIUS CAREY, VISCOUNT	1643
GRANDISON, WILLIAM VILLIERS, VISCOUNT	1643
GRESHAM, SIR THOMAS	1579
GUILDFORD, FRANCIS NORTH, LORD	1685
HALE, SIR MATTHEW	1676
HAMILTON, JAMES, FIRST DUKE OF	1649
HAMILTON, JOHN, MARQUIS OF	1604
HAMILTON, WILLIAM, SECOND DUKE OF	1651
HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES	1612
HERTFORD, WILLIAM SEYMOUR, MARQUIS OF	1660
HUNTLEY, GEORGE GORDON, MARQUIS OF	1649
KNOX, JOHN	1572
LANCASTER, MARGARET OF, MOTHER OF KING HENRY VII.	1509
LAUD, WILLIAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY	1644-5
LAUDERDALE, JOHN MAITLAND, DUKE OF	1682
LEICESTER, DOROTHY PERCY, COUNTESS OF	1660
LEICESTER, ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF	1588
LINCOLN, EDWARD CLINTON, EARL OF	1584
LOTHIAN, WILLIAM KERR, EARL OF	1675
MAITLAND, OF LEITHINGTON, SIR WILLIAM	1573
MAITLAND, OF THIRLESTANE, JOHN, LORD	1595
MIDDLETON, SIR HUGH	1631
MIDDLESEX, LIONEL CRANFIELD, EARL OF	1645
MONMOUTH, JAMES SCOT, DUKE OF	1685
MONTROSE, JAMES GRAHAM, MARQUIS OF	1650
MORE, SIR JOHN	1535
MORTON, JAMES DOUGLAS, EARL OF	1581
NORFOLK, THOMAS HOWARD, THIRD DUKE OF	1554
NORTH, EDWARD, LORD	1564
NORTHAMPTON, HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF	1614
NORTHAMPTON, SPENCER COMPTON, EARL OF	1643
NORTHUMBERLAND, ALGERNON PERCY, EARL OF	1668
NORTHUMBERLAND, HENRY PERCY, EARL OF	1632
NORTHUMBERLAND, JOHN DUDLEY, DUKE OF	1553
NOTTINGHAM, CHARLES HOWARD, EARL OF	1624
NOTTINGHAM, HENEAGE FINCH, EARL OF	1682
ORMOND, JAMES BUTLER, DUKE OF	1688
PAGET, WILLIAM, LORD	1563
PARR, QUEEN CATHARINE	1548

	DECEASED
PARKER, MATTHEW, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY	1575
PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY, ANNE CLIFFORD, COUNTESS OF (See DORSET).	
PEMBROKE, MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF	1621
PEMBROKE, WILLIAM HERBERT, EARL OF	1630
POLE, CARDINAL	1557
PORTLAND, RICHARD WESTON, EARL OF	1634
RALEIGH, SIR WALTER	1618
RICHMOND, FRANCES HOWARD, DUCHESS OF	1639
RICHMOND, JAMES STUART, DUKE OF	1655
ROTHES, JOHN LESLIE, DUKE OF	1681
RUSSELL, WILLIAM, LORD	1683
SALISBURY, ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF	1612
SELDEN, JOHN	1654
SEYMOUR, QUEEN JANE	1537
SEYMOUR OF SUDELEY, THOMAS, LORD	1549
SIDNEY, ALGERNON	1683
SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP	1586
SOMERSET, EDWARD SEYMOUR, DUKE OF	1551
SOUTHAMPTON, HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF	1624
STRAFFORD, THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF	1641
STUART, ARABELLA, LADY	1615
STUART, MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND	1587
SUFFOLK, THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF	1626
SUFFOLK, CHARLES BRANDON, DUKE OF	1545
SUNDERLAND, DOROTHY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF	1683-4
SUNDERLAND, HENRY SPENCER, EARL OF	1643
SUNDERLAND, ROBERT SPENCER, EARL OF	1702
SUSSEX, THOMAS RADCLYFFE, EARL OF	1583
TOTNES, GEORGE CAREW, EARL OF	1629
TUDOR, MARGARET, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND	1541
WALSINGHAM, SIR FRANCIS	1590
WARHAM, WILLIAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY	1532
WARWICK, AMBROSE DUDLEY, EARL OF	1589-90
WINCHESTER, JOHN PAULET, MARQUIS OF	1674
WOLSEY, CARDINAL	1530
WORCESTER, EDWARD SOMERSET, EARL OF	1627
WOTTON, SIR HENRY	1639
YORK, ANNE HYDE, DUCHESS OF	1671
YORK, ELIZABETH OF, QUEEN TO HENRY VII.	1502

CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT

OF

THE PLATES.

	DECEASED
YORK, ELIZABETH OF, QUEEN TO HENRY VII.	1502
DERBY, THOMAS STANLEY, EARL OF	1504
LANCASTER, MARGARET OF, MOTHER OF KING HENRY VII.	1509
WOLSEY, CARDINAL	1530
WARHAM, WILLIAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY	1532
MORE, SIR JOHN	1533
BULLEN, QUEEN ANNE	1536
SEYMOUR, QUEEN JANE	1537
ESSEX, THOMAS CROMWELL, EARL OF	1540
TUDOR, MARGARET, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND	1541
SUFFOLK, CHARLES BRANDON, DUKE OF	1545
BEATOUN, CARDINAL	1546
PAR, QUEEN CATHARINE	1548
SEYMOUR OF SUDELEY, THOMAS, LORD	1549
DENNY, SIR ANTHONY	1549
SOMERSET, EDWARD SEYMOUR, DUKE OF	1551
NORTHUMBERLAND, JOHN DUDLEY, DUKE OF	1553
NORFOLK, THOMAS HOWARD, THIRD DUKE OF	1554
BEDFORD, JOHN RUSSELL, FIRST EARL OF	1555
CRANMER, THOMAS, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY	1556
DEVONSHIRE, EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL OF	1556
POLE, CARDINAL	1557
PAGET, WILLIAM, FIRST LORD	1563
NORTH, EDWARD, FIRST LORD	1564
KNOX, JOHN	1572
MAITLAND OF LEITHINGTON, SIR WILLIAM	1573
CHATELHERAULT, JAMES HAMILTON, EARL OF ARRAN, DUKE OF	1574
PARKER, MATTHEW, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY	1575
ESSEX, WALTER DEVEREUX, EARL OF	1576
GRESHAM, SIR THOMAS	1579
ARUNDEL, HENRY FITZALAN, EARL OF	1580
MORTON, JAMES DOUGLAS, EARL OF	1581
SUSSEX, THOMAS RADCLYFFE, EARL OF	1583
LINCOLN, EDWARD CLINTON, EARL OF	1584
SIDNEY, SIR PHILIP	1586
STUART, MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND	1587
LEICESTER, ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF	1588
CAREW, SIR NICHOLAS	1589
WARWICK, AMBROSE DUDLEY, EARL OF	1589-90
WALSINGHAM, SIR FRANCIS	1590
ALLEN, WILLIAM, CARDINAL	1594
DRAKE, SIR FRANCIS	1595

	DECEASED
MAITLAND OF THIRLESTANE, JOHN, LORD	1595
BURGHLEY, WILLIAM CECIL, LORD	1598
ESSEX, ROBERT DEVEREUX, EARL OF	1601
HAMILTON, JOHN, MARQUIS OF	1604
CUMBERLAND, GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF	1605
DORSET, THOMAS SACKVILLE, EARL OF	1608
BODLEY, SIR THOMAS	1612
SALISBURY, ROBERT CECIL, FIRST LORD	1612
HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES	1612
NORTHAMPTON, HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF	1614
STUART, ARABELLA, LADY	1615
BRACKLEY, THOMAS EGERTON, VISCOUNT	1617
RALEIGH, SIR WALTER	1618
PEMBROKE, MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF	1621
SOUTHAMPTON, HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, EARL OF	1624
HOWARD, CHARLES, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM	1624
ST. ALBAN, FRANCIS BACON, VISCOUNT	1626
SUFFOLK, THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF	1626
WORCESTER, EDWARD SOMERSET, EARL OF	1627
BEDFORD, LUCY HARINGTON, COUNTESS OF	Unknown, widowed 1627
BUCKINGHAM, GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF	1628
BROOKE, FULKE GREVILLE, LORD	1628
TOTNES, GEORGE CAREW, EARL OF	1629
PEMBROKE, WILLIAM HERBERT, THIRD EARL OF	1630
MIDDLETON, SIR HUGH	1631
NORTHUMBERLAND, HENRY PERCY, NINTH EARL OF	1632
ABBOT, GEORGE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY	1633
PORTLAND, RICHARD WESTON, EARL OF	1634
ASTON, WALTER, FIRST LORD	1639
RICHMOND, FRANCES HOWARD, DUCHESS OF	1639
WOTTON, SIR HENRY	1639
COVENTRY, THOMAS, FIRST LORD	1639-40
BEDFORD, FRANCIS RUSSELL, FOURTH EARL, OF	1641
STRAFFORD, THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF	1641
BROOKE, ROBERT GREVILLE, SECOND LORD	1643
NORTHAMPTON, SPENCER COMPTON, SECOND EARL OF	1643
GRANDISON, WILLIAM VILLIERS, VISCOUNT	1643
SUNDERLAND, HENRY SPENCER, FIRST EARL OF	1643
FALKLAND, LUCIUS CARY, VISCOUNT	1643
LAUD, WILLIAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY	1644-5
MIDDLESEX, LIONEL CRANFIELD, EARL OF	1645
ARUNDEL AND SURREY, THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF	1646
CAPEL, ARTHUR, LORD	1648
HAMILTON, JAMES, FIRST DUKE OF	1649
ARUNDELL, BLANCH SOMERSET, BARONESS	1649
HUNTLEY, GEORGE GORDON, SECOND MARQUIS OF	1649
MONTROSE, JAMES GRAHAM, FIRST MARQUIS OF	1650
HAMILTON, WILLIAM, SECOND DUKE OF	1651
DERBY, JAMES STANLEY, SEVENTH EARL OF	1651
SELDEN, JOHN	1654
RICHMOND, JAMES STUART, DUKE OF	1655
LEICESTER, DOROTHY PERCY, COUNTESS OF	1660
HERTFORD, WILLIAM SEYMOUR, FIRST MARQUIS OF	1660
CARLISLE, LUCY PERCY, COUNTESS OF	1660
DIGBY, SIR KENELM	1664
NORTHUMBERLAND, ALGERNON PERCY, EARL OF	1668
ALBEMARLE, GEORGE MONK, DUKE OF	1670-1

	DECEASED
YORK, ANNE HYDE, DUCHESS OF	1671
CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH, THOMAS, FIRST LORD	1673
CLARENDON, EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF	1673
WINCHESTER, JOHN PAULET, MARQUIS OF	1674
DORSET, ANNE CLIFFORD, COUNTESS OF	1675
LOTHIAN, WILLIAM KERR, THIRD EARL OF	1675
HALE, SIR MATTHEW	1676
ROTHES, JOHN LESLIE, DUKE OF	1681
LAUDERDALE, JOHN MAITLAND, DUKE OF	1682
NOTTINGHAM, HENEAGE FINCH, EARL OF	1682
SUNDERLAND, DOROTHY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF	1683-4
RUSSELL, WILLIAM, LORD	1683
SIDNEY, ALGERNON	1683
BEDFORD, ANNE CARR, COUNTESS OF	1684
MONMOUTH, JAMES SCOT, DUKE OF	1685
GUILDFORD, FRANCIS NORTH, FIRST LORD	1685
ORMOND, JAMES BUTLER, FIRST DUKE OF	1688
DUNDEE, JOHN GRAHAM, FIRST VISCOUNT OF	1689
DEVONSHIRE, ELIZABETH CECIL, COUNTESS OF	1689
BEDFORD, WILLIAM RUSSEL, FIRST DUKE OF	1700
SUNDERLAND, ROBERT SPENCER, SECOND EARL OF	170

GALLERIES

AND

COLLECTIONS OF PICTURES

TO WHICH ACCESS HAS BEEN GRANTED BY THE OWNERS, AND FROM WHENCE PORTRAITS HAVE BEEN ENGRAVED.

THE NAMES OF THE PAINTERS, WHEN AUTHENTICATED, ARE PLACED IN THE LAST COLUMN.

From the Collection of	Subjects engraved.	Painters.
HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. *Lambeth Palace.*	WILLIAM WARHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY	*Holbein.*
	MATTHEW PARKER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY	*Unknown.*
	WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY	*Vandyke.*
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORFOLK. *Norfolk House.*	THOMAS HOWARD, THIRD DUKE OF NORFOLK	*Holbein.*
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BEDFORD. *Woburn Abbey.*	JOHN RUSSELL, FIRST EARL OF BEDFORD	*Unknown.*
	FRANCIS RUSSELL, FOURTH EARL OF BEDFORD	*Vandyke.*
	SIR PHILIP SIDNEY	*Sir Antonio More.*
	CHARLES BRANDON, DUKE OF SUFFOLK	*Unknown.*
	QUEEN JANE SEYMOUR	*Holbein.*
	EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE	*Sir Antonio More.*
	LUCY HARINGTON, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD	*Honthorst.*
	HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, THIRD EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON	*Mirevelt.*
	EDWARD CLINTON, EARL OF LINCOLN	*Ketel.*
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON. *Hamilton Palace.*	JAMES HAMILTON, EARL OF ARRAN, DUKE OF CHATELHERAULT	*Ketel.*
	JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON	*Mark Gerard.*
	JAMES, FIRST DUKE OF HAMILTON	*Vandyke.*
	WILLIAM, SECOND DUKE OF HAMILTON	*Mytens.*
HER GRACE THE DOWAGER DUCHESS OF BUCCLEUCH. *Montagu House.*	GEORGE GORDON, SECOND MARQUIS OF HUNTLEY	*Vandyke.*
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH. *Dalkeith Palace.*	JAMES SCOT, DUKE OF MONMOUTH	*Riley.*
	SIR NICHOLAS CAREW	*Holbein.*
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MONTROSE. *Buchannan House.*	JAMES GRAHAM, FIRST MARQUIS OF MONTROSE	*Vandyke.*

From the Collection of	Subjects engraved.	Painters.
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF DORSET. *Knole.*	THOMAS SACKVILLE, FIRST EARL OF DORSET .	*Unknown.*
	ANNE CLIFFORD, COUNTESS OF DORSET, PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY	*Mytens.*
	LIONEL CRANFIELD, FIRST EARL OF MIDDLESEX	*Mytens.*
	HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES	*Mytens.*
	SECRETARY WALSINGHAM	*Unknown.*
THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER. *Amport House.*	JOHN POWLETT, FIFTH MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER	*Peter Oliver.*
THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF LOTHIAN. *Newbattle Abbey.*	WILLIAM KERR, THIRD EARL OF LOTHIAN . .	*Jamieson.*
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In the Memoir of Abp. Cranmer; p. 3, l. 6—for "1633," read "1543"—p. 4, last line, for *promised*, read *premised;* and in the alphabetical arrangement for the plates, for "1555," read "1556."

T. Cromwell, E. of Essex; p. 5, l. 7—for *Henry II.* read *Henry III.*

Sir Nicholas Carew; p. 2, l. 43—for *who assumed*, &c. read *whose elder brother assumed*, &c.

J. Powlett, 5th Marquis of Winchester; p. 2, l. 36—for *there*, read *then.*

Sir Walter Raleigh; p. 6, 4 l. from the end—for *Teuchley*, read *Tenchley.*

Tho. Radclyffe, E. of Sussex; p. 4, l. 9—for *Suffolk*, read *Norfolk.*

Sir Philip Sidney; p. 2, l. 25—for *twenty-second*, read *twenty-fourth.*

Tho. Sackville, E. of Dorset; p. 4, l. 27—for *Queen*, read *King.*

Anne Clifford, Countess of Pembroke; p. 1, l. 14—for "1589," read "1590, O. S."

Wm. Seymour, Marquis of Hertford; p. 3, l. 30—for *Lanesborough*, read *Londesborough.*

Anne Carre, Countess of Bedford; p. 1, l. 10—dele the words from *who* to *withdrawn*, inclusive.

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Sir Henry Wotton.

From the original of Cornelius Jansen, in the Bodleian Gallery, Oxford.

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London, Published Feby 1, 1818 by Lackington, Allen & Co and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

Sir Henry Wotton had the happiness to possess one of those rare characters in which it is difficult to say whether the useful or the agreeable were most to be observed. He was equally remarkable for a keen and sober sagacity, a brilliant wit, and a lively and jocose humour. He was not only a profound scholar, but well skilled also in all those elegant and delicate arts a just judgment in which has acquired since his time the appellation of taste. The severity of his studies, and the abstract forms of an academical life, had not prevented him from being one of the best bred men in England. Indeed true politeness is a creature of nature, and not of education; the issue of good sense, joined to a cheerful heart, and a mild and kind temper, all of which he possessed in an eminent degree. In courts, in councils, in society, and in seclusion, his conduct was alike distinguished by a graceful singularity which all wondered at, and scarcely any understood. It was the result of that just estimation of men and things which in fact constitutes true philosophy. He lived beloved, respected, and admired; and descended into the grave with a character wholly unimpeached, and without leaving a single enemy.

His ancestors, and indeed the most of his family, had held considerable employments under the Crown, with the highest reputation, from the reign of Henry the sixth, till his father, who had been repeatedly urged to engage in public service, resolved to sit down in hospitable privacy on his ancient inheritance. That gentleman, Thomas Wotton, of Boughton Malherbe, in Kent, was twice married, and Henry, the subject of this memoir, his fourth, but only son by his second wife, Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Finch, of Eastwell, in that county, was born at Boughton, on the thirtieth of March, 1568. His education, in consequence probably of an early promise of extraordinary genius, was of an higher order than it has been usual in any time to allot to such a younger son. He was removed from the care of a domestic tutor to Winchester school, and from thence, at the age of sixteen, to Oxford, where he was admitted of New College, but resided, according to the frequent usage of that time, in Hart Hall, in the rank of a gentleman commoner. He afterwards studied at Queen's College, with the most rapid success, relieving however the labour of his severer occupations in more lively exercises of his genius, particularly in the composition of a tragedy, to which he gave the title of Tancredo. It is a sufficient proof of the estimation in which he was held in his college that the provost, at a period when dramatic composition was esteemed even disgraceful, should not only have encouraged him to write that play, but should have even permitted the representation of it, as it should seem, by the students; for Isaac Walton, in his short sketch of Wotton's Life, tells us that "he was by the chief of that college persuasively enjoyned to write it for their private use." Walton adds that it was, "for the method, and exact personating those humours, passions, and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed, that the gravest of that society declared he had in a slight employment given an early and a solid testimony of future abilities." The play however was never printed, and is probably wholly lost.

We have a remarkable proof of the variety of his genius in his success in the three customary lectures read by him on his taking the degree of Master of Arts, the subject of which was the human eye. He treated it at once with such depth of physical knowledge and moral feeling, and with so much poetical and rhetorical elegancy, that the celebrated Italian, Alberico Gentili, then Professor of Civil Law, and under whom he studied in that faculty, gave him the familiar appellation of "Henrico mi Ocelli," and he was better known, during the remainder of his residence in the University, by that name than by his

own. He continued there for two years after his father's death, which happened in 1589, and then set out to make the tour of Europe, with an annual income of one hundred marks, derived from that event. He visited France, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, travelling under feigned names, which he frequently changed, and passing always as a Roman Catholic; his immediate view general improvement, and his final object the qualifications for a statesman. It seems probable indeed, from some passages of uncertain import in a few of his letters written during that tour to his friend Lord Zouch, that he was even then in some sort of political correspondence with Elizabeth's ministers, which may account for the air of mystery which he assumed. He remained abroad for several years, and soon after his return, apparently in 1596, the favourite Robert, Earl of Essex, appointed him one of his two secretaries, in which capacity he attended that nobleman in his expeditions against the Spaniards, as well as in his journey to Ireland in 1599. Essex, upon his return from thence, was charged with high treason, and Wotton, who perhaps had good ground to forebode the catastrophe which ensued, fled into France, and from thence went again to Italy, and fixed his residence at Florence. Here he wrote his "State of Christendom, or a most exact and curious discovery of many secret passages and hidden mysteries of the times." It has been thought, and reasonably enough, that he composed that piece in the hope of removing some ill opinions conceived of him by Elizabeth, for it contains in fact a defence of almost every measure of her reign, mixed with the highest eulogies on her wisdom and goodness.

In his former visit to Italy he had become intimately acquainted with a gentleman of the name of Vietta, whom he now found at Florence, in the office of secretary to the Grand Duke. That Prince, not long after Wotton's arrival, had discovered from some intercepted letters a design to poison the King of Scotland, and was anxious to put James on his guard against the assassins. Vietta recommended Wotton to convey the intelligence; and introduced him to the Duke, from whom he received his instructions, together with such Italian antidotes against poison as had been till then unknown to the Scots. This expedition, which was secretly pregnant with the chief future events of his life, was marked by circumstances of romantic singularity. He assumed an Italian name, and, to avoid observation, particularly by any of his own country, travelled post into Norway, and there embarked for Scotland, where he found the King at Stirling. There is a sort of interest in Walton's relation of his introduction to James which any alteration would weaken. "He used means," says Walton, "by Bernard Lindsey, one of the King's bedchamber, to procure him a speedy and private conference with his Majesty, assuring him that the business which he was to negotiate was of such consequence as had caused the Great Duke of Tuscany to enjoin him suddenly to leave his native country of Italy, to impart it to his Majesty. This being by Bernard Lindsey made known to the King, he, after a little wonder, mixed with jealousy, to hear of an Italian ambassador, or messenger, required his name, which was said to be Octavio Baldi, and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that evening. When Octavio Baldi came to the presence chamber door, he was requested to lay aside his long rapier, which, Italian like, he then wore; and, being entered the chamber, he found there with the King three or four Scotch Lords, standing distant in several corners of the chamber, at the sight of whom he made a stand, which the King observing, bade him be bold, and deliver his message, for he would undertake for the secrecy of all that were present. Then did Octavio Baldi deliver his letters, and his message to the King in Italian, which when the King had graciously received, after a little pause, Octavio Baldi steps to the table, and whispers to the King in his own language that he was an Englishman, beseeching him for a more private conference with his Majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that nation; which was promised and performed by the King, during his abode there, which was three months."

Wotton returned to Florence with James's acknowledgements, and, Elizabeth dying within a few months, that Prince mounted the throne of England. Soon after his arrival in London, having found among the late Queen's servants a Lord Wotton (for she had bestowed a Barony on the eldest brother of Henry) in the office of Comptroller of the

[illegible] and being struck by the name, he demanded of that nobleman, to use again [illegible] Walton, "if he knew one Henry Wotton, who had spent much time in foreign [illegible] other replied that he knew him well, and that he was his brother. Then the [illegible] where he then was, was answered at Venice or Florence; but that by late [illegible] hence he understood that he would suddenly be at Paris. 'Send for him then,' said the King, 'and when he shall come into England, bid him repair to me.' The Lord Wotton, after a little wonder, asked the King if he knew him, to which the King answered, 'You must rest unsatisfied of that till you bring the gentleman to me.' Not many months after this discourse, the Lord Wotton brought his brother to attend the King, who took him in his arms, and bade him welcome by the name of Octavio Baldi, saying he was the most honest, and therefore the best, dissembler that ever he met with; and said, 'seeing I know you neither want learning, travel, nor experience, and that I have had so real a testimony of your faithfulness, and abilities to manage an embassage, I have sent for you to declare my purpose, which is to make use of you in that kind hereafter;' and indeed the King did so most of the two and twenty years of his reign; but before he dismissed Octavio Baldi from his present attendance on him, he restored him to his old name of Henry Wotton, by which he then knighted him."

James indeed amply proved the sincerity with which he had spoken of Wotton's abilities, by giving him the choice of those three missions which were at that precise period the most important—to Paris, Madrid, or Venice. He had formed strict friendships with the most eminent men in Italy, and his disposition, as well as his purse, was ill suited to the habits of luxurious and splendid courts: He made his election therefore for the Venetian embassy, and left England in the spring of 1604. Venice was at that time in a state of violent contention with the See of Rome, and James entertained hopes, by fomenting the division, of detaching it wholly from that Church. The celebrated Paul Sarpi, in every way formidable, and not least for being an ecclesiastic, was the chief director at that time of the Venetian counsels; Wotton formed a close intimacy with him; and flattered him by transmitting to James the sheets of his famous history of the Council of Trent as they fell from his pen. In the mean time Paul the fourth, who had succeeded to the papal throne amidst the heat of the feud, issued his sentence of excommunication against the whole Venetian State; and its final separation, which Wotton had earnestly endeavoured to effect, seemed to be at hand, when the Pope suddenly gave way, and the dispute, which had subsisted for some years, was accommodated. Burnet, in his life of Bishop Bedel, who was chaplain to this embassy, ascribes, with the carelessness or the malevolence which equally distinguished him, the failure of James's design to Wotton's negligence or treachery, and has been unwarily followed by Welwood; but the aspersion has been wholly wiped away by Dr. Hickes, in a statement of positive facts, too large to be admitted in this place.

Wotton returned from Venice, with undiminished favour, in 1610, when a singular circumstance cast a cloud over his prospects. On his journey thither, passing some days at Augsburgh, he had been persuaded, in an hour of cheerful relaxation, to write a few words in one of those common depositories of German wit to which they give the name of Alba. The sentence which he chose, certainly unworthy of him, was "Legatus est vir bonus, peregrè missus ad mentiendum reipublicæ causâ," which required an English translation to give it even the merit of a pun, the utmost to which it could be entitled. More than six years had now passed, when Gaspar Scioppius, a busy Romanist pamphleteer, happening to see this Album, published the ridiculous conceit in two several invectives against James, as a specimen of the religion and good faith practised by that Prince and his ambassador. James was highly offended, and Sir Henry found it necessary to apologize, which he did with great ingenuity, in a letter to the King, and another to Volser, one of the chief municipal officers of Augsburgh, both of which he printed, and dispersed over Germany; but this trifle is said to have sunk deeply into the mind of James, and certain it is that Wotton remained unemployed, though not wholly unconsulted, for more than four succeeding years. At length in 1615 he was appointed ambassador to the United Provinces, from whence, after a few months' residence, he was recalled, and again dispatched to Venice. He

returned in 1617, to solicit fruitlessly for the office of Secretary of State, vacant by the death of Sir Ralph Winwood, and was soon after sent Ambassador extraordinary to the Duke of Savoy, and subsequently employed in several missions into Germany, on the unfortunate affairs of the King of Bohemia. The termination of these last labours was marked by a noble instance of his high spirit and disinterestedness. Frederic's hopes having been finally crushed by the issue of the battle of Prague, Wotton was preparing to quit Vienna, when the Emperor, at his audience of leave, gave him a jewel worth more than a thousand pounds, a sum to him, who was always necessitous, of very high importance. He presented it immediately after to an Italian Countess, at whose house he had been by the Imperial order lodged. Before his departure, the Emperor was informed of this remarkable fact, and expressed his displeasure by an official message, to which Wotton answered that "though he had received it from his Majesty with thankfulness, yet he found in himself an indisposition to be the better for any gift that came from an enemy to his royal mistress, the Queen of Bohemia."

He was now once more appointed Ambassador to Venice, where he remained till the death of King James, when he was, to his great grief, superseded, and returned to sue for some permanent appointment the income from which might enable him to pass his declining years in tranquillity. From the hour in which he entered the public service he had been continually vexed by domestic necessities. Several thousand pounds were due to him for his expences in his repeated embassies, and he had long solicited in vain, even for the smallest remittances. His annuity of one hundred marks, his sole patrimony, he had been obliged to sell early in his public life. The reversions of the place of one of the Six Clerks in Chancery, and of the Mastership of the Rolls, had been long promised to him, but the only vacancy which had occurred in the former office had been filled without any regard to his claim, and Sir Julius Cæsar was still Master of the Rolls. The following letter from Wotton to the Duke of Buckingham at that period will best shew the painful circumstances under which he suffered, as well as the ready wit which even so unpropitious a subject could not banish from his pen.

"May it please your Grace,

Having some days by sickness been deprived of the comfort of your sight, who did me so much honour at my last access, I am bold to make these poor lines happier than myself, and withal to represent unto your Grace, whose noble patronage is my refuge when I find any occasion to bewail mine unhappy fortune, a thing which seemed strange to me. I am told, I know not how truly, that his Majesty hath already disposed of the Venetian ambassage to Sir Isaac Wake, from whose sufficiency if I should detract it would be but an argument of my own weakness. But that which herein doth touch me (I am loth to say in my reputation) surely much in my livelyhood, as lawyers speak, is that thereby, after seventeen years of foreign and continual employment, either ordinary or extraordinary, I am left utterly destitute of all possibility to subsist at home; much like those seal fishes which sometimes, as they say, oversleeping themselves in an ebbing water, feel nothing about them but a dry shore when they awake: which comparison I am fain to seek among those creatures, not knowing among men that have so long served so gracious a master any one to whom I may resemble my unfortunate business. Good my Lord, as your Grace hath vouchsafed me some part of your love, so make me worthy in this of some part of your compassion. So I heartily rest,

Your Grace's &c.

HENRY WOTTON."

At length, on the twenty-sixth of July, 1625, he was appointed Provost of Eton College: a strange provision for a retired statesman, and yet the great Bacon, who was his cousin and friend, had been now his competitor for it. His extreme indigence prevented him for some time from settling himself even in this humble retreat, for his personal liberty was threatened by his creditors. He procured at last, through the means of a man who had

ant to his brother, the Lord Wotton, and had obtained from that nobleman the
lerk of the King's kitchen, five hundred pounds of his arrears from the Crown.
n him to his humble benefactor, praying his assistance, is extant. "My face,"
or the want of this money, is wrinkled with care: procure it for me, and you
xt day find me in my college, with Invidiæ Remedium writ over my study
could not spare from that sum even sufficient to put the necessary moveables into his apartments, and they were furnished by a contribution among the fellows of the college. Soon after he entered on his office he was ordained a deacon.

To enumerate the particulars of the discipline of a school would be idle, but Sir Henry Wotton's conduct in his new station must not be passed over wholly unnoticed. He seems to have been the first reformer of that illiberal technicality which till his time prevailed in education: in other words, the first who discovered that justice and beneficence were at least as necessary as vigilance and severity; and that it was possible, in the prosecution of youthful study, to mingle delight with labour. From his first entrance on his unaccustomed and humiliating charge he performed the functions which it required with as much ardour and zeal, and with as scrupulous a circumspection, as if it had been the first object of his ambition, and the constant employment of his life. His hours of leisure were passed in refined conversation, which no man better understood, or more entirely loved; and in literary composition, in all parts of which he excelled. He had projected, and indeed commenced, some extensive works, but left them unfinished. Of those omissions none perhaps ought to be so much regretted as a life of Luther, intended to include the history of the reformation in Germany, which he was prevailed on to lay aside by Charles the first, who persuaded him to undertake a history of England, by a promise of five hundred pounds a year while he should be engaged in it. Little however appears to have been written, and probably less was paid; but we have enough from his pen to authorize us to rank him with the first writers of his age, in a small volume of his pieces in prose and verse, collected, and published after his death, by his great admirer, and brother angler, the excellent Isaac Walton. The most perfect, in all respects, of these, is his treatise on architecture, as unalterably valuable for the soundness of its principles, as delightful for the lively familiarity of its style. The rest are "A View of the Life and Death of George, Duke of Buckingham;" a Parallel between the characters of that nobleman, and Robert, Earl of Essex; and an Essay on the "Difference and Disparity" of their "Estates and Conditions," which last however has been said, I know not on what authority, to have been written by the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. A Panegyrick on King Charles the first, presented to that Prince on his return from Scotland in 1633: "Moral Architecture, or a philosophical survey of Education;" together with "Aphorisms of Education;" both which were framed for an intended large work on that arduous subject: "The Election of the New Duke of Venice, in 1618:" with some small devotional tracts; several Letters; and a very few short poetical pieces.

Mortifying indeed is it that they should be so few, for the fame and value of gems of this nature are not enhanced by their rarity, and many, even among polite readers, have scarcely heard of Sir Henry Wotton as a poet; yet who ever read his verses without regretting that his life had not been wholly dedicated to the muse? No apology then can be necessary for ornamenting this memoir with two brief specimens. The first, addressed "to his mistress, the Queen of Bohemia," is perhaps unequalled for elegance and simplicity by any composition extant of the same order.

You, meaner beauties of the night,
That poorly satisfy our eyes
More by your number than your light,
You common people of the skies,
What are you when the sun shall rise?

You, curious chanters of the wood,
That warble forth dame Nature's lays,
Thinking your voices understood
By your weak accents, what's your praise
When Philomel her voice shall raise?

You violets, that first appear,
By your pure purple mantles known,
Like the proud virgins of the year,
As if the spring were all your own,
What are you when the rose is blown?

So, when my mistress shall be seen,
In form, and beauty of her mind,
By virtue first, then choice, a Queen,
Tell me if she were not designed
Th' eclipse and glory of her kind.

And how full of truth, and boldness, and beauty, is this living picture; The very carelessness with which it is drawn increases its value. He has inscribed it "A Description of Spring; on a Bank, as I sate a fishing."

And now all nature seem'd in love;
The lusty sap began to move;
New juice did stir th' embracing vines;
And birds had drawn their Valentines.
The jealous trout, that low did lie,
Rose at a well dissembled fly.
There stood my friend, with patient skill,
Attending of his trembling quill.
Already were the eaves possesst
With the swift pilgrim's daubed nest.
The groves already did rejoice
In Philomel's triumphing voice.

The showers were short; the weather mild;
The morning fresh; the evening smil'd.
Joan takes her neat rubb'd pail, and now
She trips to milk the sand-red cow;
Where, for some sturdy foot-ball swain,
Joan strokes a syllabub or twain.
The fields and gardens were beset
With tulip, crocus, violet;
And now, though late, the modest rose
Did more than half a blush disclose.
Thus all look'd gay; all full of chear;
To welcome the new-liveried year.

Sir Henry Wotton held his office of Provost for fourteen years. Towards the close of his life he besought the King to grant him the reversion of the Mastership of the Savoy, but his death, or perhaps the exertion of some more powerful interest than he could employ, prevented his succeeding to that benefice. His health began to decline in the autumn of 1637, and on the first of October in that year he executed his last will, some legacies in which deserve to be particularly remembered. He bequeathed to the King his pictures of the four Dukes of Venice in whose time he was Ambassador to that State, painted by Edoardo Fialetto, together with a portrait of the Duke Leonardo Donato, and a picture of "the Venetian College, where Ambassadors had their audience;" and also his collection of the papers of the eminent statesman, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton: To the Queen, "Dioscorides, with the plants naturally coloured, and the text translated by Matthiolus, in the best language of Tuscany:" To the Prince of Wales, the portrait of his aunt, the Queen of Bohemia: To Archbishop Laud, a picture of divine Love: To Bishop Juxon, a picture of Heraclitus and Democritus: To Sir Francis Windebank, "the four seasons of old Bassano, to hang near the eye, in his parlour:" To Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, all his Italian books, and his viol de gamba: To Mr. Nicholas Pey, his "chest, or cabinet of instruments and engines of all kinds of uses; in the lower box whereof are some fit to be bequeathed to none but so entire an honest man as he is:" To the library at Eton, all his manuscripts not before bequeathed. He desired to be buried in the chapel of the College, and that a plain marble stone should be placed over his remains, with the following inscription, a final proof at once of his wisdom and his wit—

Hic jacet hujus sententiæ primus Author,
Disputandi Pruritus Ecclesiarum Scabies.
Nomen alias quære.

He survived however for two years, till at length, worn out by repeated attacks of fever and asthma, he departed on or about the fifth of December, 1639. Sir Henry Wotton was never married.

WILLIAM, LORD RUSSELL.

The ingenious biographer, Granger, has arranged his multitudinous subjects under various descriptive denominations, and we find among them a class of—"Persons remarkable from a single circumstance in their lives." In this class Lord Russell, had he not belonged to that of the nobility, would have been properly placed. The story of his life is nearly destitute of those circumstances which usually excite a lasting general interest, for what fame is so transient as that of a political partisan? but the termination of it furnishes one of the most remarkable authentic instances extant of that pure and perfect heroism which in the legends of antiquity generally excites our doubts, as well as our admiration. For the rest, Lord Russell was one of many engaged in a conspiracy of which he was not even the leader: a nobleman of honest nature, who had been unhappily led to lend his great name to a faction headed by the worst man in the kingdom: a victim to that too exquisite and mistaken sense of honour and fidelity which alone can attach the virtuous to the worthless. All this unfortunately is too common to claim justly any unusual degree of attention; but Lord Russell prepared for death, and suffered it, with the firmness of a stoic, and the resignation of a saint. Had he escaped it, his name would have been barely noticed on the page of history.

He was the second son, but, by the death of his elder brother, heir apparent, to William, fifth Earl of Bedford, by Anne, daughter and sole heiress of Robert Carre, Earl of Somerset. From his father, who had been deeply engaged on the popular side at the commencement of the grand rebellion, and who, like too many other great men of his time, had fought against the Crown till his opposition ceased to be mischievous, and had returned to his allegiance when it was no longer in his power to render service, he seems to have imbibed those political prejudices which formed the conduct, and furnished most of the business of his life. Burnet, indeed, expressly tells us that "he was inclined from his first education to favour the nonconformists;" and of other education, in the ordinary sense of the word, we hear nothing, but doubtless he received such as was suited to his high rank. Neither are we further informed as to his early habits and pursuits than that he indulged with freedom, for a while after the restoration, in the gaieties of Charles the second's luxurious court. He became a member of the House of Commons in the Parliament summoned immediately after the restoration, but at what time during the sixteen years for which it sat is uncertain; nor does it appear that he took any very active concern in its measures. In the following, which was called in 1678, he was returned, as he was afterwards during his life, for the county of Bedford, and seems, at the opening of that Parliament, to have placed himself among the friends of the government, or, at all events, to have exercised a calm impartiality, since, after the King's positive and repeated refusal to confirm the first choice of a Speaker, which had fallen on Mr. Edward Seymour, the gentleman who was appointed to that office by a second election was proposed to the House by Lord Russell.

It was immediately after that period when Charles, weary of contests that, at the best, could not but be unprofitable, determined on a mixture of parties; dissolved his Privy Council; and instituted another; professing, by a formal declaration, his resolution to be guided solely by its advice in all public affairs whatsoever. To this Council he called most of the popular leaders, and Lord Russell, who had scarcely yet acquired that character, was summoned in consideration of his birth. By a singular error, Shaftesbury, whom nature had formed to be an enemy to concord, was appointed President. This man, who was wholly devoid of principle, either religious, social, or political, after having been

engaged in the most arbitrary measures of the Court, had of late affected an extraordinary dread of popery, and, of course, an equal zeal for liberty. He carried with him into the Council a secret resolution to distract its deliberations, and the final end that he had in view, if we may attempt to fathom the motives of the most mysterious man living, was to raise himself to the highest eminence, by placing a nominal crown on the head of the Duke of Monmouth. He possessed surprising powers of persuasion, and applied them with peculiar success to the seduction of the young and unwary. Russell, who was all honour and simplicity, fell easily into a snare baited with his favourite political doctrines. He attached himself earnestly to Shaftesbury, and when the furious intemperance of that nobleman obliged the King to remove him from the Presidency, not many months after his appointment, Russell, with some others of his proselytes, asked leave to resign their seats in the Council, to which Charles, with his usual carelessness, answered " with all my heart." This happened on the thirty-first of January, 1679, O. S.

From that hour Lord Russell became one of the most strenuous opponents of the government. Soon after he withdrew from the Council he personally presented the Duke of York in the Court of King's Bench as a Popish recusant. On the twenty-sixth of the following October, upon the opening of a session, he exhorted the House, in a short speech which had little else remarkable in it, " to suppress Popery, and prevent a Popish successor;" and the fierce debate which followed prepared the way for the famous bill of exclusion, which passed the Commons on the eleventh of November, and was carried up to the Lords by Lord Russell on the fifteenth. His parliamentary conduct on the rejection of that bill by the Upper House assumed a character of violence which had till then seemed foreign from his nature. The singular fury which daily marked the proceedings of the House of Commons during the few weeks of its existence from that date seems to have arisen mostly from his exertions. Among many other bitter votes, it was resolved, chiefly at his suggestion, that until a bill should be passed for excluding the Duke of York from the succession, they could vote no supply, without danger to his Majesty, and extreme hazard to the Protestant Religion; that whosoever should advise a prorogation of the Parliament was a betrayer of the King and the kingdom, and of the Protestant faith; and that no member of the Commons' House should accept of any office, or place of profit, from the Crown, without leave of the House, nor of any promise of such while he should continue a member of it. In the short space of two months this Parliament had made larger specific strides towards absolute dominion than the famous Long Parliament of Charles the first in as many years. The faculties of the government seemed on the eve of being suspended; and, on the eighteenth of January, 1680, O. S. the King dissolved the Parliament; perhaps the most blameless political act of his reign.

The most overheated of the Whigs, as they began now to be called, thus disappointed, for the time, of the means of compulsion by legislative authority, determined to seek them in unlawful force. They had been spurred on to this by the frantic restlessness of Shaftesbury, who, though now almost in the grasp of death, preserved in a great measure his always misapplied activity, and vigour of mind. He had contrived to associate in one grand scheme of confusion, composed of different designs, some of the best and the worst, the noblest and the vilest, of mankind, and Lord Russell unhappily threw himself into this chaos of mischief. In June, 1683, a mean person of the name of Keeling communicated to the Secretary of State a plot for the assassination of the King, and the Duke, on their return from Newmarket to London, and a proclamation was immediately issued for the apprehension of several, of various ranks, that he had named. Two of these, John Rumsey, who had been a Colonel under Cromwell, and West, a lawyer, surrendered voluntarily, and in a large confession accused the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, the Lords Russell and Grey, and others, of treasonable practices. Monmouth, whom the King was naturally desirous of saving, was made prisoner, and admitted to bail, Lord Russell being one of his securities; and, on the commencement of the term a few days after, was discharged, and fled from the danger of a further accusation, as Shaftesbury had done even before the first rumour of the discovery. Whether in the hope of obtaining fuller evidence

against him, or to give him time to withdraw from the kingdom, is uncertain, but Lord Russell's apprehension was somewhat delayed. At length warrants of high treason were issued against him, and the Earl of Essex, and they were brought before the Privy Council, where, says Burnet, "the King told Russell that nobody suspected him of any design against his person, but that he had good evidence of his being in designs against his government." After a long examination, he was committed a close prisoner to the Tower.

It was probably true that Lord Russell, and most of the other men of rank engaged in the grand conspiracy, were really ignorant of that bloody purpose the detection of which led to the developement of the whole. It seems to have been suddenly devised by some of the subordinates, who, weary of waiting the fruition of a plan widely extended, and involving various minute considerations, and anxious to do something, had hit on the expedient of all others the most likely to suggest itself to fierce and vulgar minds. But, having so far exonerated him, it becomes necessary to state candidly of what he was guilty. The primary object of the scheme in which he had engaged himself was a general insurrection in England and Scotland, and the means of effecting it were concerted and conducted by himself, the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, Algernon Sidney, Hampden, and Lord Howard of Escrick, who at last called themselves, and were called by their followers, the Council of Six. Shaftesbury directed all their operations, but with such consummate artifice, that they themselves were insensible of his superiority. The awful and almost endless consequences of an effectual rising provoked by their united efforts may be certainly inferred from the various, and indeed opposite, views entertained by the parties themselves, which are thus briefly described by an elegant and accurate historical writer. "Russell, Essex, and Hampden, intended to make no further use of insurrection than to exclude the Duke of York, and to fix the barriers of the constitution with precision. Sidney aimed at the destruction of monarchy, and on its ruins to found that republic which in imagination he adored. Monmouth hoped, amidst public distractions, to pave a way for himself to the throne. Howard, with luxuriant eloquence and wit, adopted the views of each particular person, and incited all to vigour and action, feeling for moments what they felt through life." The whole had been methodised with great precision. Each of the leading conspirators was named to manage the insurrection in a particular district: the western counties were committed to the charge of Lord Russell; and the general explosion was at hand when he was made a prisoner.

On Friday, the thirteenth of July, 1683, he was brought to trial. The proof against him was not so strong as had been expected, and the witnesses fell under the obloquy which usually attends participators who place themselves in that character: the truth of their evidence however was unimpeached, and indeed unsuspected by all persons of sound judgment, who well knew that the common fault of fabricated testimony consists in proving too much. The jury was composed of men of strict honour and integrity, and Pemberton, the Chief Justice, conducted the trial with the strictest impartiality. Lord Russell's lady was present in the Court, and he took care that it should be known to the crowd, for he requested that she might be allowed to take notes for him: Strafford had produced his children on a similar occasion: it was an innocent artifice, but perhaps unworthy of the dignified minds of such men. He neither avowed nor denied the facts with which he was charged, and there was little remarkable in his conduct during the trial, and less in his defence; but his whole deportment was firm and collected, and he listened to the verdict by which he was convicted, and afterwards to the sentence of death, without the slightest apparent emotion. Two days after, he conveyed to the Duke of York a solicitation, in terms of the deepest humility, for a pardon. "If your Royal Highness," said he, "will interpose in it, I will in no sort meddle any more in the least opposition to your Royal Highness, but will be readily determined to live in any part of the world which his Majesty shall prescribe, and will never fail in my daily prayers for his Majesty's preservation and honour, and your Royal Highness's happiness; and will wholly withdraw myself from the affairs of England, unless called by his Majesty's order to serve him, which I shall never be wanting to do to the utmost of my power." He is said to have

written this letter at the earnest solicitation of his lady, and, while he was folding it up, he observed to Dr. Burnet, " this will be printed, and will be selling about the streets as my submission when I am led out to be hanged." It is clear indeed that he did it against his inclination, for on the Wednesday following, two days before his death, all hopes of pardon having vanished, he wrote a cold letter to the King, soliciting forgiveness in general terms for unacknowledged faults, but for the evident purpose of introducing a bitter and deliberately framed reproach. His last hours were distinguished by a calmness of piety, and a decency of courage, perhaps unexampled; and in the paper which, instead of the customary speech to the people, he delivered to the Sheriffs on the scaffold, he maintained his political sentiments with a magnanimous moderation; and, while he arraigned, on a point of legal distinction, the judgment under which he was about to suffer, owned, with a noble candour, that he had been guilty of misprision of treason. A variety of minute particulars of his fine conduct and expressions after his condemnation, too numerous to be here inserted, have been preserved by Burnet, in his History of his own Times, who, together with Dr. Tillotson, attended him constantly in the concluding days of his life, even to his final moment. He was beheaded, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on the twenty-first of July, 1683.

Nearly a century after Lord Russell's death, a most extraordinary fact was brought to light by the late Sir John Dalrymple, a Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland, in a publication of certain original papers remaining in the depot of the office for foreign affairs in Paris. It appeared that Lord Russell, in the year 1678, and afterwards, was in the closest correspondence with the Court of France, and had accepted from Louis the fourteenth an authority to use secretly that Prince's influence for the more effectual distraction of the measures of the English government. I will insert here an extract from the most material document on the subject, together with the passage prefixed to it by Dalrymple, without offering a single remark of my own.

" In Lord Danby's letters," says Dalrymple, " which are published, there are several letters in the beginning of the year 1677-8, from Mr. Montagu, Ambassador at Paris, to Lord Danby, informing that Rouvigny" (a near relation to Lady Russell) " was to go over with money, to be distributed among the popular party in the English Parliament, and to act in concert with Lord Russell; and that Barillon" (the French ambassador) " was intriguing with the Duke of Buckingham, and others of that party, in England. The truth of this information is confirmed by the following memorial of Barillon. An English reader will perhaps start at a paper being offered to his eyes which lays open an intrigue between the virtuous Lord Russell and the Court of France; yet it will give him some relief to find, amidst the imprudence of such an intrigue, the man of honour appearing."

" M. de Rouvigny a vû Milord Roussel, et Milord Hollis, qui ont ete tous deux forts satisfaits de l'assurance qu'il leur a donnee, que le Roi" (of France) " est bien convaincu qu'il n'est point de son interêt de rendre le Roi d'Angleterre maitre absolu dans son royaume, et que sa Majesté," (of France) " vouloit travailler à la dissolution de ce Parlement dés que le tems y paroitroit favorable. Milord Roussel lui a dit qu'il engageroit Milord Shafbery dans cette affaire, et que ce seroit le seul homme à qui il en parleroit clairement; et qu'ils travailleroient sous main à empecher qu'on augmentât la somme qui a été offerte pour faire la guerre; et qu'ils feroient ajouter à l'offre du million de livres des conditions si désagréables pour le Roi d'Angleterre, qu'ils esperoient qu'il aimeroit mieux se réunir avec la France, que d'y consentir. Il temoigna à M. de Rouvigny qu'il soupçonnoit que sa Majesté trouvoit bon que le Roi d'Angleterre lui declarât la guerre pour avoir de l'argent, avec promesse que dés qu'il seroit le maitre, il conclurroit la paix. M. de Rouvigny lui dit que, pour lui faire voir le contraire bien clairement, j'étois prêt à répandre une somme considerable dans le Parlement, pour l'obliger à refuser absolument de l'argent pour la guerre, et le solicita de lui nommer des gens qu'on pût gagner. Milord Roussel répondit qu'il seroit bien fâché d'avoir commerce avec des gens capables d'etre gagnés par de l'argent; mais il lui parût fort aisé d'etre assuré par cette proposition qu'il n'y a entre votre Majesté et le Roi d'Angleterre nulle intelligence qui puisse prejudicier a leur gouvernement,"

(or, as we call it, Constitution). " Il dit à M. de Rouvigny que lui, et tous ses amis, ne souhaitoient autre chose que la cassation du Parlement; qu'ils savoient qu'elle ne pouvoient venir que du coté de la France; que puisqu'il les assûroit que c'etoit le dessein de sa Majesté d'y travailler, ils se voyoient obligé de se bien fier en lui, et faire tout leur possible pour obliger le Roi d'Angleterre à rechercher encore une fois son amitie; et mettre par ce moyen sa Majesté en etat de contribuer à leur satisfaction. Il l'assura que ce seroit là le sentiment de Milord Shafbery, qui doit voir un de ce jours M. de Rouvigny chez Milord Roussel, &c."

Lord Russell married Rachel, second daughter, and at length heir, to Thomas Wriothesley, fourth and last Earl of Southampton of his name, and widow of Francis Lord Vaughan, eldest son of Richard, Earl of Carbery, in Ireland. By that Lady, so highly and justly distinguished by her virtues and her talents, he left an only son, Wriothesley, who succeeded to his grandfather's honours and estates; and two daughters; Rachel, married to William Cavendish, second Duke of Devonshire; and Catherine, to John Manners, Marquis of Granby, son and heir of John, first Duke of Rutland.

MARY SIDNEY,

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

This lady, who possessed in herself qualifications bright enough to have rendered her name famous, and to have added dignity and ornament to the most illustrious blood, enjoyed also the proud distinction of being sister to Sir Philip Sidney. She was daughter to Sir Henry, the wise and worthy Deputy of Ireland, and President of Wales, by Mary, eldest daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and seems to have been born about the year 1550. Her maternal uncle, the well known Robert, Earl of Leicester, in whom we find nothing amiable but his affection for her family, negotiated for her a marriage with Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and increased her portion by a large gift from his own purse. A long letter in Collins's Sidney Papers, from Sir Henry to Leicester, dated at Dundalk, in Ireland, on the fourth of February, 1576, contains the following passages relative to the match.

"Your Lordship's later wrytten letter I received the same day I dyd the first, together with one from my Lord of Penbroke to your Lordship, by both whych I find, to my excedyng great comfort, the lykleod of a maryage betwyne his Lordshyp and my doghter, whych great honor to me, my mean lynuage and kyn, I attrybute to my match in your noble House, for which I acknoleg myself bound to honor and sarve the same to the uttermost of my power: Yea, so joyfully have I at hart that my dere chyldy's is so happy an advancement as thys ys, as in troth I would ly a year in close pryson rather than yt should breake. But alas, my derest Lord, myne abylyte answereth not my harty desyer. I am poore. Myne estate, as well in lyvelod and moveable, is not unknown to your Lordshyp, whych wanteth mutch to make me able to equal that whych I knowe my Lord of Penbroke may have. Twoo thousand £ I confes I have bequeathed her, whych your Lordship knoweth I myght better spare her whan I wear dead than one thousand lyvyng; and in troth, my Lord, I have yt not, but borro yt I must, and so I will; and, if your Lordshypp wyll get me leave, that I may feede my eyes wyth that joyfull syght of thear couplyng, I wyll gyve her a cup worth fyve hundreth £. Good my Lord, bear wyth my poverty; for, if I had it, lyttell would I regard any sum of money, but wyllyngly would gyve it; protestyng before the Almighty God, that if he, and all the powers on earth, would geve me my choyce for a husband for her, I would choose the Earl of Penbroke. I wryte to my Lord of Penbroke, whych hearwyth I send your Lordshyp: and thus I end in answering your most welcom and honorable letter with my harty prayer to Almyghty God to perfect your Lordshypp's good good work, and to requyte you for the same, for I am not able."

Within a few weeks after the date of this letter she became wife to the Earl, who had been twice before married.

She seems to have regarded with equal indifference the magnificence of Elizabeth's, and the intrigues of James's courts, and to have devoted herself wholly to the exercise of private virtues, and the retired enjoyment of literary leisure. With regard to such characters the absence of detraction is sufficient evidence of moral merit, for in her time the practice of domestic duties by her sex was too universal to challenge particular praise, and it is the conduct of the worthless therefore that has been chiefly recorded. She had received the learned education which was then usually bestowed on women of her rank, but attained

to a proficiency which had before been seldom reached by any. 'She has left the reputation of having been mistress even of the Hebrew tongue, and a translation by her, from the original text, of several of the psalms is said to remain, in manuscript, in the library at Wilton. Anthony Wood, and some others, it is true, have told us that she was assisted in it by Babington, who was the Earl's domestic chaplain, and afterwards Bishop of Worcester; but if it were so, the assertion will furnish no ground whereon to doubt that she understood the language; since no one who was not already known to possess a competent skill in it durst publicly to have assumed the credit of such a production. Dr. Donne, in one of his poems, speaks of these translations, and with more probability, as the joint work of this lady and her brother.

Possessing, with a powerful and masculine understanding, a considerable richness and variety of fancy, she fell almost naturally into the practice of poetical composition, of which she became passionately fond; but her prose, of which very few specimens remain, is better than her verse: more ornamented, and yet more graceful; more metaphorical, and yet more simple and intelligible. We have a remarkable example of this in the introduction to her translation from the French of Mornay's Discourse of Life and Death. The following passage, in which a fine moral sentiment is clothed in such justness and diversity of thought, and delivered with so much force and elegancy of expression, is scarcely to be equalled among the works of the best prose writers of her time.

"It seems to me strange, and a thing much to be marveiled, that the laborer, to repose himself, hasteneth as it were the course of the sun: that the mariner rowes with all force to attaine the port, and with a joyfull crie salutes the descried land: that the traveller is never quiet nor content till he be at the end of his voyage: and that we, in the meane while, tied in this world to a perpetuall taske; tossed with continuall tempest; tyred with a rough and combersome way; yet cannot see the end of our labour but with griefe, nor behold our port but with teares, nor approach our home, and quiet abode, but with horrour and trembling. This life is but a Penelope's web, wherein we are always doing and undoing; a sea open to all winds, which, sometimes within, sometimes without, never cease to torment us; a wearie journey through extreame heats and colds; over high mountaines, steepe rockes, and theevish deserts; and so we terme it, in weaving at this web, in rowing at this oare, in passing this miserable way. Yet loe, when death comes to end our worke; when she stretcheth out her armes to pull us into the port; when, after so many dangerous passages, and lothsome lodgings, she would conduct us to our true home and resting place; insteade of rejoycing at the end of our labour; of taking comfort at the sight of our land; of singing at the approch of our happie mansion; we would faine, who would beleeve it? retake our worke in hande: we would again hoise saile to the wind, and willingly undertake our journey anew. No more then remember we our paines: our shipwracks and dangers are forgotten: we feare no more the travailes or the theeves: contrariwise, we apprehend death as an extreame paine; we doubt it as a rocke; we flie it as a thiefe: we do as little children, who all the day complaine, and when the medicine is brought them are no longer sicke; as they who all the weeke long runne up and downe the streetes with paine of the teeth, and, seeing the barber coming to pull them out, feele no more paine. We feare more the cure then the disease; the surgeon then the paine. We have more sense of the medicine's bitternesse, soone gone, then of a bitter languishing, long continued; more feeling of death, the end of our miseries, than the endlesse miserie of our life. We fear that we ought to hope for, and wish for that we ought to fear."

Her poems have never been collectively published, and many perhaps remain unknown among the anonymous pieces so frequent in the numerous miscellanies which appeared within a few years before and after her death. She wrote an Elegy on Sir Philip Sidney, which is printed in Spenser's Astrophel, and a Pastoral Dialogue, in praise of Astræa (Queen Elizabeth) which appears in Davison's Poetical Rhapsody: the one unworthy of the subject, and of her affection; the other, remarkable chiefly for strange conceit, and coarse expression. A view of the four first stanzas will amply justify this censure, and the reader will not complain that the rest are omitted.

MARY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE.

1.

T. I sing divine Astræa's praise.
O Muses, help my wits to raise,
And heave my verses higher.
P. Thou need'st the truth but plainly tell,
Which much I doubt thou canst not well,
Thou art so great a liar.

2.

T. If in my song no more I shew
Than heaven, and earth, and sea do know,
Then truly have I spoken.
P. Sufficeth not no more to name,
But being no less, the like, the same;
Else laws of truth be broken.

3.

T. Then say she is so good, so fair,
With all the world she may compare,
Nor Momus' self denying,
P. Compare may think where likeness holds;
Nought like to her the earth enfolds:
I look'd to find you lying.

4.

T. Soon as Astræa shews her face
Strait every ill avoids the place,
And every good aboundeth.
P. Nay, long before her face doth shew,
The last doth come, the first doth go;
How loud this lye resoundeth.

She translated from the French the Tragedy of Antonius, and seems to have interwoven into it occasionally some verses of her own composition, but neither the play nor her additions deserve much consideration. Her longest work has been least noticed. It is a poem on the sublime subject of our Saviour's Passion, consisting of no less than one hundred and ten stanzas, a copy of which remains in manuscript, for it has never been printed, among the Harleian Papers. This singular production is equally destitute of plan or connection, and exhibits little either of pious reflection, or historical circumstance. It is alternately bombastic and mean in expression; generally obscure, and frequently unintelligible; yet grand conceptions sometimes flash suddenly on us from this chaos. The following is one of the very few passages in the poem that can claim the praise of regularity, either of thought or diction. It abounds too in a sweet and graceful tenderness.

I saw him faultlesse, yet I did offend him.
I saw him wrong'd, and yet did not excuse him.
I saw his foes, yet sought not to defend him.
I had his blessinges, yet I did abuse him.
But was it myne, or my forefather's deede,
Whose'ere it was, it makes my hart to bleede.

To see the feete that travayled for our goode;
To see the handes that brake that livelye breade;
To see the heade whereon our honor stoode;
To see the fruite whereon our spyrite fedd—
Feete pearc'd, handes bored, and his heade all bleedinge—
Who doth not dye with such a sorrowe readinge?

He plac'd all rest, and had no restinge place:
He heal'd ech payne, yet liv'd in sore distresse:
Deserv'd all good, yet liv'd in greate disgrace:
Gave all hartes joy, himselfe in heavynesse:
Suffred them live by whome himself was slayne.
Lorde, who can live to see such love againe?

But who will undertake to dispel the more than Sybilline mystery which clouds the meaning of such lines as these?—

There is a lacke that tells me of a life.
There is a losse that tells me of a love.
Betwixt them both a state of such a strife
As makes my spyritt such a passion prove,
That lacke of one, and t'other's losse, alas!
Makes me the woefulst wretch that ever was.

The truth seems to be that Lady Pembroke, as a poet, was spoiled by adulation, and mplimented into self conceit and carelessness. A tribe of small and hungry wits antici- ted the efforts of her muse by extravagant praise, and received the fruits of them with

affected rapture. Among these we find the names of Harvey, Daniel, France, Lock, Fitz-geffrey, Lanyer, Stradling, and Davies. One of them gravely declares that he will not name her, because he will not "dishonour with his pen her whom he cannot blazon enough;" and another calls himself the "Triton of her praise." Bards, however, of a higher class eulogized her in more temperate strains. Spenser designates her as—

> The gentlest shepherdess that liv'd that day,
> And most resembling, both in shape and spirit,
> Her brother dear;

and the severe and honest Jonson, in that inimitable tribute to her memory which, though already so often published, must be presently once more repeated, is, as well as Spenser, silent on the subject of her poetry. Even Sir Philip Sidney, who loved her to idolatry, and delighted to dwell on her merits, passes it over, I think, wholly unnoticed. It is well known that he dedicated to her his celebrated romance, which he wrote at her request, and entitled it therefore, "The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia."

She died, at her house in Aldersgate-street, on the twenty-fifth of September, 1621, having survived her lord for twenty years, and was buried with him in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, leaving two sons, William, and Philip, successively Earls of Pembroke. Ben Jonson has immortalized her name and his own by this epitaph, which it is strange should never have appeared on her tomb.

> "Underneath this marble hearse
> Lies the subject of all verse;
> Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother:
> Death, ere thou hast slain another
> Wise, and fair, and good, as she,
> Time shall throw a dart at thee."

CARDINAL POLE.

Reginald Pole, a noble example to the age in which he lived, stood almost alone, without acquiring the degree of distinction which he justly merited. The splendor of his birth forbade his mixing with a clergy generally sprung from the most ordinary ranks of the people, and the native candour and generosity of his heart restrained him from taking any share in those secret intrigues, those pious frauds, which were then the venial faults of the rulers of a falling church. He was in a great measure disqualified, not only by the sweetness of his temper, and the politeness of his breeding, but by the large scope of his mind, for controversies in which the most obscure and insignificant subtleties were always discussed with ill nature and ill manners. His aversion to persecution made him a silent and inactive member of those ecclesiastical commissions which in his own country derived credit from his name, and a sincere christian humility, joined to that dignified spirit which ruled his conduct in temporal affairs, detached him from the parties which agitated the Conclave, and besieged the Papal Throne. Thus in his own time more admired than understood; respected, but not imitated; and of habits too widely dissimilar from those of others of his own station to admit easily of comparison; it is rather his character than his history that has been transmitted to posterity. It is the common fate of good counsels that have been rejected, and of worthy examples that have been contemned, to pass in a great measure unrecorded.

The blood of the House of York flowed largely in his veins, and he was doubly related to royalty. He was the fourth and youngest son of Richard Pole, Lord Montague, cousin german to Henry the seventh, by Margaret, daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward the fourth. He is said to have been born in the month of March, 1500, at Stoverton Castle, as Camden informs us, the seat of his father, in Staffordshire. Designated from his earliest infancy for the clerical profession, he was sent at the age of seven years to commence his education with the Carthusians of the monastery of Sheen, in Surrey, and afterwards to the Carmelites of the White Friars, in London, from whence, when about twelve years old, he removed to Oxford, and was entered a nobleman of Magdalen College, where he studied under those eminent scholars, Thomas Linacre, and William Latimer. It is perhaps unimportant to record those steps which may be considered as mere formalities of advancement in one whom power had predestined to fill the highest station in his profession, but we find that on the nineteenth of March, 1517, he was appointed Prebendary of Yoscomb, and on the tenth of April, 1519, of Yatminster Secunda, both in the church of Salisbury; and that he was, about the same time, Dean of Wimbourne Minster in Dorsetshire, and, shortly after, Dean of Exeter. Henry the eighth now sent him, with a large allowance, and a retinue becoming his rank, to Italy, and he settled at Padua, where he was presently surrounded by the ablest and most erudite of that country, and acquired in their society those final graces and refinements of education which even learning can never attain but in the warmth and freedom of good conversation.

Having passed seven years at Padua, Venice, and Rome, he returned home, and, remaining in the court barely long enough to receive the homage which it was eager to pay to his talents and acquirements, modestly retired to a small house at Sheen, where for two years he prosecuted his studies and devotions with severity, and bestowed his hours of relaxation on such of his old Carthusian masters as still survived. He quitted this retreat upon the first rumours of Henry's inclination to dissolve his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, to which he was utterly averse, and, in order to avoid the necessity of giving unwelcome advice to the King, by whom he was certain to be consulted on that difficult sub-

iect, went to Paris, under the pretence of completing his studies. He was soon however followed thither by the question which Henry, by Cranmer's advice, had determined to lay before all the learned of Europe—"whether it were lawful for a man to marry the widow of a brother, to whom she had borne no issue;" and he was commanded by the King to use his best endeavours to prevail on the French Universities, particularly that of Paris, to answer negatively. He contrived to excuse himself from this employment, and, for the time, to evade giving a direct opinion. The King became displeased; and Pole's family advised him to return to England, and to that simplicity of life which might prevent suspicion. He came accordingly, after a year's absence, and resumed his former habitation at Sheen, where he had scarcely seated himself when Henry, who had now determined to sound the inclinations of the most eminent for power or learning of his own subjects on the question of his divorce, besieged him with emissaries, who pressed him vainly for his concurrence. The See of Winchester, and afterwards that of York, were offered to him as the price of his concession, but he still declined to utter any judgment on the matter, and begged only to be left in peace. His brothers were at last induced to endeavour to move him by representations of the ruin to his family that would inevitably follow his refusal, and with which they had actually been threatened, and his kind nature now gave way. He consented to wait on the King, and to dissemble those scruples which he could not abandon. In his audience he long remained mute; but at length, nobly sacrificing passion to conscience, and safety to sincerity, burst into that flow of powerful argument in which he was so great a master, and finally exhorted the King to desist from his purpose. Henry during their discourse is said frequently to have laid his hand on his dagger. Pole however escaped with no further punishment at that time than the loss of favour, and availed himself of this precarious interval of forbearance to solicit the King's permission once more to leave the country.

He now resided for a year at Avignon, and removed from thence to his favourite Padua, where he had not long been before a messenger arrived from Henry, not only again to urge his concurrence in the divorce, but in the greater matter of the King's assumption of the supremacy. As this Prince had already denounced the penalties of high treason against those of his subjects who might oppose that act, it is clear that his meaning was now to reduce Pole to implicit obedience, or virtually to sentence him to banishment. He sent also, under the pretence of argumentative persuasion, a book which had been published in England, by Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, intituled "Oratio hortatoria ad obedientiam Regis, contra Papam." Pole, in answer, declared his total disapprobation both of the divorce, and the separation from the See of Rome, and soon after addressed to the King his large treatise, composed in four months, and subsequently published at Rome, "Pro Unitate Ecclesiasticâ," in which he not only answered the chief points of Sampson's oration, but openly exhorted Henry to return to his obedience to the Pope, and called on the Emperor Charles the fifth to resent the injury done to his aunt, the repudiated Queen. Henry, who, with all his faults, was seldom treacherous, now dissembled his anger, in the double hope of preventing the publication of this book, and of getting the person of the author into his power. He sent therefore, specially by post, a mild message, from which it might have been inferred even that his resolutions were somewhat shaken, requiring Pole to return to England, for the purpose of discussing more at large some particular passages in his treatise, which he answered by a direct refusal, and by a spirited reiteration of his former counsel. It was doubtless of that book, though Strype seems to think that it referred to some other, now unknown, that Cranmer, in a letter which may be found in the appendix to Strype's Life of that prelate, thus expressed himself to Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire. "As concerning the Kyng his cause," says Cranmer, "Mayster Raynold Poole hathe wrytten a booke moche contrary to the Kynge hys purpose; wythe such wytte that it apperith that he myght be, for hys wysedomē, of the Cownsell to the Kynge his Grace, and of such eloquence, that if it were set forthe, and knowne to the comen people, I suppose yt were not possible to persuade them to the contrary." Such was the testimony borne to the talents of this eminent person by his most determined adversary.

The King now proceeded to deprive him of his ecclesiastical preferments, and of the large pension which even to this time he had received, and soon after caused him to be proclaimed a traitor, offering a reward to any who should kill him. The favour of the Court of Rome naturally kept pace with Henry's vengeance, and in January, 1536, Paul the third created him a Cardinal, and soon after appointed him Legate to the Court of France, and afterwards, at the desire, as it should seem, of the Emperor, to Flanders. He had not been long at Paris when he was secretly informed that Henry had written to the French King to deliver him up as a rebel subject, and fled therefore precipitately to Cambray, and from thence to Liege; nor was his mission to the Low Countries more successful, for the Queen Regent, intimidated by the threats of Henry, refused to receive him in his legantine character. He was therefore recalled by the Pope, and travelled through Germany to Rome, from whence he accompanied Paul to Nice; negotiated a peace between the Emperor and Francis the first; and soon after travelled, with all possible privacy, into Spain, and from thence to Paris, to engage those Princes, and others, to abandon their designs against the Turk, and to form a league for the restoration of the ancient faith, and of the papal authority, in England. While these matters were passing, in 1539, Henry, with a savage meanness, wreaked his vengeance on the Cardinal's family. His mother, and two of his three brothers, were brought to trial, chiefly on the charge of having corresponded with him, and condemned to die. The younger, Sir Geoffery Pole, wrought on by his fears, was induced to accuse the rest of an incredible design to depose the King, and raise the Cardinal to the throne, and received therefore a pardon; but the Lord Montague suffered death, and his venerable mother, heir of the great House of Plantagenet, after two years' imprisonment, was also brought, at the age of seventy, to the scaffold, where, says Lord Herbert, "being commanded to lay her head on the block, she refused, saying 'so should traitors do, but I am none;' neither did it serve that the executioner told her it was the fashion: so, turning her grey head every way, she told him, if he would have her head, to get it as he could; so that he was constrained to fetch it off slovenly"!

Pole, overwhelmed probably by these domestic miseries, now passed some years nearly in inactivity, and the Pope, anxious to preserve him from Henry's fury, sent him to Viterbo, with the honorary character of Legate. He resided there till 1546, when on the meeting, in the beginning of January, of the Council of Trent, he was deputed thither, with two other Cardinals, to represent the Pontiff. He was obliged by ill health to leave the Council sitting, and to retire again for a time into privacy, and during that interval his great enemy, King Henry, was taken off by death. Paul the third dying in 1549, Pole was twice elected, if it may be so said, to the Popedom. He was opposed by the Cardinals in the French interest, and the first determination of the Conclave in his favour was made amidst tumult and party rage. He refused it therefore as irregular, and not sufficiently deliberate; whereupon his friends reluctantly proceeded to a new scrutiny, and the former election was confirmed, late in the evening of the same day, by a clear majority of voices. They repaired to his apartment to notify it, and to adore him, according to the custom, but he had retired to rest. "He received them with anger," says the translator of that passage in his life, written by his friend Ludovico Baccatelli, "telling them that he would not have a thing which was to be feared, rather than desired, carried on tumultuously and rashly, but decently and orderly: That the night was not a proper time: God was a God of light, and not of darkness; and therefore it ought to be deferred till day came." These answers were ill suited to the pride and the vivacity of Italians, and on a third scrutiny the Cardinal del Monte was elected, and took the name of Julius the third. From that Pontiff, who was Pole's particular friend, he obtained leave to retire from all public concerns at Rome, and seems at that time to have resolved to pass the remainder of his life in a devout seclusion. He fixed his abode at a monastery in the territory of Verona, where he remained for nearly four years, when the death of Edward the sixth drew him suddenly from his retirement.

Of Mary's attachment to that form [illegible] which Pole so sincerely professed it

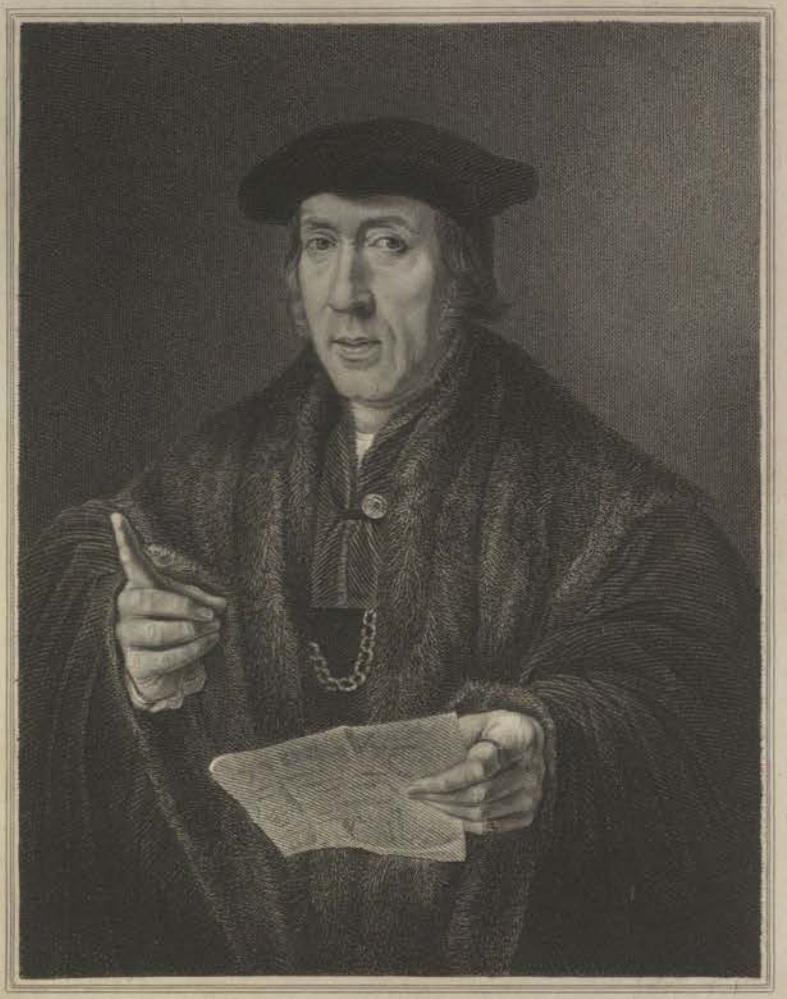
is unnecessary to speak; and he, above all men, possessed those talents which were best calculated to aid its restoration in England. The Pope therefore, soon after the Queen's accession, nominated him Legate to her Court, and he set out towards London in the end of October, 1554. A slight and ineffectual opposition to his appointment was offered by the Emperor. Some advances had been already made towards a treaty of marriage between his son, Philip of Spain, and the Queen, but it was rumoured that she had betrayed an inclination to bestow her hand on the Cardinal, and well known that a large party in England preferred him to the Spaniard. The marriage with Philip however was soon after celebrated, and Pole arrived in London just upon the meeting of Mary's second Parliament, on the eleventh of November. One of its first acts was to reverse his attainder; the King and Queen paid him the extraordinary compliment of going in person to assent to that single bill; and the Cardinal took his seat among the Peers. In the long catalogue which history furnishes of the triumphs of worldly interests over principle and conscience perhaps no one can be found more remarkable than that which immediately followed, and in a single hour suspended the effect of twenty-five years' labour. "A little after his coming," says the translator of Bishop Godwin's history of the reign of Mary, "both Houses being assembled, and the King and Queen being present, the Lord Chancellor having notified the Cardinal's grateful arrival, Pole himself, in his native tongue, made a long speech, full of extraordinary acknowledgments to their Majesties, to the Lords and Commons, by whose favour, his banishment and proscription being repealed, he was restored to the rights and privileges of his native country. 'And the best return,' he said, 'which in duty and gratitude he could make for so great an obligation was this—that, since by the late schism they had become exiles from the unity of the church, and the kingdom of heaven, he would, by authority from Christ's Vicar, bring them back to the fold, and so restore them to their heavenly inheritance. Therefore he exhorted them ingenuously to acknowledge and detest the errors of the late times, and with sincere alacrity of mind to accept and retain the benefit which God, by his Vicar's Legate, offered to them; for, since he was come with the keys, to open to them the church gates, nothing now remained than, that as they had opened a way for his return, by abrogating the laws which had made him an exile, so they should abrogate all those laws too which, being lately made against the Apostolical See, wholly separated them from the body of the church.'

"After he had made a long harangue," continues the Bishop, "to this effect, and ransacked antiquity to shew how religiously their forefathers were devoted to the See of Rome, the gravity of his countenance, his smooth language, and the elegant method of his discourse, so sensibly affected the devotees of Popery that they believed themselves just then regenerated to the hopes of salvation: yet there were some of the House of Commons who strenuously opposed the submitting again to the Roman yoke; but, in fine, by the pressing instances of the King and Queen, all things were concluded to the Cardinal's satisfaction; the Pope's former authority in this realm was restored; and the title of Supreme Head of the Church abrogated from the Crown. A petition for absolving the clergy and laity from the crime of heresy was presented by the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, to the Legate, who pronounced the absolution, in English, to all the Estates, kneeling. After this they went in procession to the Chapel Royal, singing Te Deum; and on the Sunday following the Bishop of Winchester in his sermon related the particulars of that day's proceeding."

The Cardinal's soon proved, however, a painful, and indeed but a nominal, preeminence. Mary, gloomy, morose, and revengeful, and, as may be feared, in her very nature cruel, was easily led to reject the wise and temperate plans which he seems to have formed, and to set at nought those mild, as well as wise, counsels which would probably have perpetuated the Romish religion in England. Gardiner, barbarous as herself, and with powers of mind which, though of a different cast, were equal to those of Pole, obtained her ear, and laid the foundation of those measures which have rendered her name a blot on the page of history. He regarded Pole too with the jealousy of a rival, and thirsted for the Primacy, vacant by the deprivation of Cranmer, which Mary had designed for the Cardinal, and

which he now held in sequestration. In the spirit of hatred which soon arose out of these causes Gardiner intrigued at Rome for the dignity of the Purple, and to induce the new Pope, Paul the fourth, of the family of Caraffa, who had been always Pole's bitter enemy, to transfer the legantine character from that Prelate to himself. Gardiner however died while he was eagerly prosecuting these schemes, and three months after, on the fifteenth of February, 1556, the next day after Cranmer's execution, Pole was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. In the mean time the Pope proceeded to deprive him of the office of Legate, and invested another with that character, but Mary refused to admit him into her kingdom, and, after a sharp contest, which she maintained with a becoming and laudable spirit, Pole was reinstated. But the hand of death then hovered unseen over the mistress and the servant. He was soon after attacked by a feverish complaint, in which he lingered for several weeks, while Mary also gradually sunk under an unknown malady. She died on the seventeenth of November, 1557, and the Cardinal, whose departure was probably accelerated by receiving the news, survived her exactly sixteen hours. He was buried with great state in the Cathedral of Canterbury, but with no other epitaph than this short inscription, " Depositum Cardinalis Poli."

The productions of Pole's pen, as might be expected, were very numerous. In addition to his book de Unitate, which has been mentioned, he addressed to Henry the eighth a defence of that work, and another to Edward the sixth. His other printed writings are " Reformatio Angliæ, ex decretis Reg. Poli"—" De Concilio"—" De Baptismo Constantini Imperatoris"—" De summè Pontificis officio et potestate," and other tracts on that subject—" Oratio in Materia de Pace"—" Oratio ad Imperatorem contra Evangelicos"—and " A Treatise of Justification," with which are printed translations of several small ancient works, chiefly on the same subject. He left also in manuscript, according to Anthony Wood—" Comment. in Esaiam"—" Comment. in Davidis Hymnos"—" Catechismus"—" Dialogus de Passione Christi"—" De natali die Christi"—" De modo concionandi"—A Discourse unfinished, addressed to Philip and Mary, of restoring the Goods to the Church—and three Homilies. He had likewise been for several years employed, as we learn from the same authority, in collecting with the greatest care the various readings and emendations of the text of Cicero's works, together with the critical observations of all his learned friends on that author, with the intention of publishing a complete edition. This classical curiosity is it seems totally lost, as are probably most of the rest of his unpublished works.



Sir John More.

From the original of Holbein, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Pembroke

Drawn by H. Creuse. & Engraved (with Permission) by C. Scriven

London. Published July 21st 1818, by Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown

SIR JOHN MORE.

We know nothing of this gentleman's ancestors. No record of them remains in the College of Arms, and among the many who have written the life of his son, though all strive to combat a prevailing opinion that he came of an obscure family, not one has attempted to advance a single fact which might tend to trace his pedigree beyond his father, the subject of the present sketch. Sir John More was bred to the law; received his professional education in Lincoln's Inn; and acquired a high reputation as an advocate soon after his appearance at the bar. In 1501, that son, afterwards the admirable Chancellor, gave high offence to the Court by opposing in the House of Commons, of which in very early life he had become a member, a motion for the impost of a subsidy, and three fifteenths, for the marriage of the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry the seventh, to James the fourth, King of Scotland, and his father was immediately after committed, by the royal order, to the Tower. Of the nature of his accusation, for some specific charge, even in those days of violence and injustice, must have been alledged, we are wholly ignorant, but the few who have spoken of the circumstance agree in ascribing his imprisonment to the anger excited in the King by the freedom of his son's parliamentary conduct. This is by no means improbable. Revenge and avarice were the ruling features of Henry's character; and having in this instance gratified the former unreasonable disposition by the punishment of a guiltless person, he proceeded to feed the latter by the base exaction of a fine of one hundred pounds, on the payment of which More was set at liberty, and, resuming the exercise of his profession, was called to the degree of a Serjeant in Michaelmas term, 1505. He was appointed a Judge of the King's Bench in 1518, and on that occasion received knighthood; and, as he never experienced any further promotion, it may be plausibly inferred that his abilities were of no superior cast, especially when we recollect the great source of legal preferment which existed in his family, for he survived for many years his son's appointment to the Chancellorship. Sir Thomas, who wrote his own epitaph, describes his father in it as "Homo civilis, innocens, mitis, misericors, æquus, et integer:" it may be reasonably supposed that he would have added sapiens, if the subject had merited that epithet. We are told that he possessed much of the pleasant and jocose humour which distinguished that great and good man; in proof of which, says the grandson and biographer of the Chancellor, "he would compare the multitude of women which are to be chosen for wives unto a bag full of snakes, having in it one eel. Now if a man should put his hand into this bag, he may chance to light on the eel, but it is a hundred to one that he shall be stung by a snake."

He was to the last degree beloved and respected by his son, whose constant practice it was, in passing through Westminster Hall in state, towards his judgment seat in the Chancery, to step for a minute into the Court of King's Bench, and kneel to his father for his blessing. From the little that has been transmitted to us respecting Sir John More, he appears to have been a worthy, humble, and prudent man. He must have amassed considerable wealth in the practice of his profession, for he purchased the manor and extensive estates of Gubbins, more properly Gobions, in the parish of North Mims, in Hertfordshire, which remained long in his posterity. He was thrice married: first, to the daughter of a Mr. Handcombe, of Holywell, in Bedfordshire, by whom he had his celebrated only son, and two daughters; Jane, married to Richard Stafferton; and Elizabeth, to John Rastall, father of the eminent judge of that name. Secondly, to Alice, daughter of John More, of Losely, in Surrey, by whom he had no issue. His third wife is unknown. He died in 1533, at the age of ninety, of a surfeit, as it is said, occasioned by immoderate eating of grapes, and was buried in the Church of St. Laurence, in the Old Jewry.

John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.

From the original of Holbein, in the Collection of

John Shelley Sidney Esq.re

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London, Published July 2d 1838 by Lackington, Allen & C.o and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

JOHN DUDLEY

DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

TYRANNY and faction are the alternate followers, if not the necessary consequences of each other. The furious and fearless spirit of Henry the eighth had awed into inactivity those contending passions which under his inexperienced successor burst forth therefore with increased violence. Hence the six years of the amiable and beneficent Edward were stained even perhaps by more enormities than had disgraced the long reign of his barbarous father; for that philosophy of faction, if the expression may be allowed, which in our day bestows impunity on the leaders, and transfers the penalties to the innocent community, was then unknown, and every political contest ended in the bloodshed of some of it's authors. The minority of the Monarch, the rich spoils of the reformation, and the confusion in which Henry had left the succession to the throne, presented to the minds of the ambitious the most extravagant visions of power. The subject of the present memoir chose the last as the means of increasing a grandeur already too lofty; and by failing in the attempt forfeited his life, and acquired an eminent station in history, without exciting either pity or respect.

He was born in the year 1502, and his infancy was marked by the most unfavourable circumstances. His father, Edmund Dudley, a descendant from the ancient Barons Dudley, was one of the two chief ministers to the avarice of Henry the seventh, and was put to death, together with his colleague, Empson, in the first year of the succeeding reign. It has been said that there was more of policy than justice in this act of severity, and the restoration in blood of the son a very few months after favours that opinion. The influence however of his mother, Elizabeth, who was a coheir of the Greys, Viscounts Lisle, a title which was afterwards revived in her second husband, Arthur Plantagenet, perhaps did much towards procuring that grace. By her, who was equally illustrious for her high birth and eminent virtues, he was brought to the court about the year 1523, in the autumn of which he attended Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in his expedition into France, and was knighted for his gallant conduct there. On his return he attracted the notice of Wolsey, whom he accompanied on his embassy to Paris in 1528, and through whose favour he obtained the office of Master of the Armoury in the Tower, and on the fall of that minister attached himself to Cromwell, who, after the marriage, so fatal to himself, of Henry the eighth to Anne of Cleve, procured for him the appointment of Master of the Horse to that Princess. Such were the insignificant steps which this extraordinary person first mounted on his progress towards almost unlimited power.

He was one of the handsomest men of his time; excelled in military exercises; and was peculiarly distinguished by his adroitness and rich equipment in tournaments. Henry, till he arrived at middle age, generally selected his favourites from such persons, and those qualifications, perhaps, first recommended Dudley to his good graces. Hitherto undistinguished but in the inauspicious stations of a retainer to two disgraced ministers, and a servant in the household of a detested Queen, the King suddenly took him into the highest favour; bestowed on him in 1542, on the death of his father-in-law, the dignity of Viscount Lisle, and, immediately after, the Order of the Garter, and the office of High Admiral of England for life. He commanded, in that capacity, in the succeeding year, a formidable expedition to the coasts of Scotland, in which he seems, Lord Herbert only having left a hint to the contrary, to have been completely successful, as well in the military as in the

naval part of his commission, for he commanded the vanguard of the army which had sailed in his fleet. This service performed, he instantly embarked for Boulogne, then besieged by the King in person; assisted considerably in the reduction of the place, and was appointed governor of it. Henry, however, had further views in selecting him for that office. He had discovered in Dudley's mind a quick and penetrating judgment, united to that gallant courage which he so much admired. He knew that France was then secretly straining every nerve to equip a fleet for the invasion of England, and it was of the utmost importance to him to place such a man at a point equally apt for observation, and for active service. The consequence fully proved the sagacity of his arrangement. The French force suddenly put to sea, and Dudley, with a fleet much inferior, not only effectually repulsed it, but attacked, in his turn, the enemy's coast, and destroyed the town of Treport, and several adjacent villages in Normandy. These circumstances led to the treaty of peace with Francis the first of the seventh of June 1545, for the ratification of which he was appointed a commissioner.

Henry, who survived that event not many months, constituted him one of the sixteen executors to his will, and those eminent persons were invested by him also with the guardianship of the young Edward. The Earl of Hertford, soon after Duke of Somerset, who was the King's maternal uncle, prevailed however on the majority of them to declare him Protector, and here, though Dudley made no open opposition to the appointment, originated the enmity between those two great men. One of the Protector's first acts was to bestow on his brother, Thomas, Lord Seymour, the post of High Admiral, which had been held with so much credit by Dudley, and which he was now compelled to relinquish, under the shew of a voluntary resignation. It is true that he received magnificent compensations, for on the very day that the patent was passed to his successor, the seventeenth of February, 1547, he was appointed Great Chamberlain of England, and created Earl of Warwick, a title the dignity of which was presently after highly enhanced by a gift from the Crown of the castle and manor of that town, to which were added grants of many other estates of great value, but the revocation of his commission of Admiral still rankled in his bosom. He endeavoured to conceal his disgust from Somerset, and the Protector, on his part, affected not to perceive it. Their characters were dissimilar, even to positive opposition, but they were necessary to each other. The Protector, with many admirable talents for a statesman in more composed times, was mild, timid, and irresolute; Warwick was active and courageous; sudden, and seldom erroneous in judgment, and always prompt in execution. Somerset had already risen to the highest exaltation, but felt his inability to maintain himself there by his own resources; while Warwick, on whom the prospect of his own future deceitful glory had not yet opened, sullenly determined to place himself for a time on that heavy but powerful wing which he was not at present able to clip. While he acted however with the Protector, he served him with zeal and fidelity. He commanded the English army in Scotland under Somerset, in the quality of his Lieutenant General, and the signal victory of Musselborough has been ascribed by those of our historians who wrote nearest to his time, to his conduct and courage; and signalized himself immediately after as a statesman in a negotiation at Paris, where he dexterously contrived at once to reject steadily the demand by the French king of Boulogne, and to avert the conflict which was expected to follow that refusal. In the mean time the Protector's government assumed a more despotic form, and many of his measures were unfortunate. The war in Scotland, which it is said would have occupied only the campaign of 1547 had the vigorous plan suggested by Warwick been adopted, was feebly and expensively managed; strange feuds occurred between Somerset and his brother, which ended in the Admiral's attainder and execution; the people became discontented, and at length broke out into a formidable insurrection, in many parts of the kingdom. Warwick was sent against them in Norfolk, at the head of an army which had been raised to serve in Scotland; defeated them in a general action; prevailed on them to give up their leaders; and treated the rest with a mildness which would have done honour to a more civilized age.

Hitherto this great man had preserved a noble character, but irresistible temptations

were at hand. The Lords of the King's guardian council, to whom the Protector had of late allowed little share in the government of the State, became indignant, and conspired to divest him of his authority. Warwick possessed all the talents, as well as the temper, for the leader of such a band, and fell, as it were naturally, into that station. The Protector was imprisoned, and the Earl took his place in the favour and confidence of the King, which he soon after effectually fixed by releasing Somerset, whom Edward sincerely loved, from the Tower, and consenting, at the request of that Prince, to the marriage of his heir to the daughter of his fallen adversary, which was solemnized in the King's presence on the third of June, 1550. About the same time his office of High Admiral was restored to him; he resigned the place of Lord Great Chamberlain, and accepted that of Steward of the Royal Household; was soon after appointed Earl Marshal; and on the eleventh of October, 1551, was raised to the dignity of Duke of Northumberland. Within very few days after, Somerset was suddenly accused of an intention to murder him, and on the first of December following was brought to a trial by his Peers. The mysterious circumstances of his case, on which our historians are much disagreed, will be mentioned somewhat at large in their proper place in this work. Suffice it therefore to say here that he was convicted of felony, and on the twenty-second of the succeeding month was beheaded. In considering of this sanguinary catastrophe, and of the steps which led to it, it is difficult to believe that Northumberland was wholly innocent, but impossible either to say that he was guilty, or to guess at the probable measure of his guilt. Perhaps the strongest presumption to be urged in his favour, inasmuch as it tends to strengthen the opinion that Somerset was fairly charged with the crime for which he suffered, may be founded on the fact that the just, acute, and affectionate Edward made no effort to save his uncle's life, nor does he, in his Journal, that most curious historical collection, express any regret for the Protector's awful fate.

Northumberland now rose to the possession of absolute dominion. The King submitted himself wholly to his direction; and the Nobility, variously swayed, by affection, interest, or fear, were divided into humble agents of his government, and silent spectators of his grandeur. At this remarkable juncture Edward's health suddenly declined, and his recovery presently became hopeless. Northumberland, who could scarcely indulge the reasonable hope even of an humble and obscure impunity under a legitimate successor to the throne, conceived, with his usual boldness and impetuosity, the extravagant project of placing on it the grand-daughter of a sister of Henry the eighth, having first made her the wife of one of his sons. This was the admirable Jane Grey, who was married to the Lord Guildford Dudley, in May, 1553. Edward, always too compliant, and now worn out by sickness, was easily prevailed on to acknowledge her visionary right, and the Judges were bribed, cajoled, or threatened, till they submitted to draw letters patent for the disposal of the Crown to her, which the King signed on the twenty-first of June, fourteen days before his death. It would be impertinent and useless to enlarge here on great points of English history already so frequently and so minutely detailed. From the hour of the King's departure Northumberland's high spirit and presence of mind seem to have forsaken him. On the tenth of July he caused Jane to be proclaimed Queen; and placed her for security in the Tower. On the fourteenth, he left London, to try the temper of the country, and reached, at the head of a feeble force, the town of Bury St. Edmunds. Discouraged by the indifference of the people, he returned to Cambridge, and there, on the twentieth of the same month, having heard of the defection of his pretended friends in London, he pusillanimously proclaimed Queen Mary, throwing his cap into the air, in token of his joy and loyalty. Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, arrived the next day with an order to arrest him, which he received with childish expressions of grief and contrition. He was conveyed to London, and, on the eighteenth of August, arraigned before his Peers, and condemned to die. Two days after, he wrote to the Earl of Arundel the following letter, which remains in the Harleian collection, a melancholy testimony of the truth of those historical relations which have been hitherto nearly incredible, of the utter abasement of spirit into which this great man fell under the reverse of his fortunes.

JOHN DUDLEY, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

" Honble L^d and in this my distress my especiall refuge, most wofull was ye newes I receyved this eveninge by Mr. Lieutenant, that I must prepare my selfe ag^n. to morrowe to receyve my deadly stroke. Alas, my good L^d, is my crime so heynows as noe redemp-c'on but my bloud can washe awaye ye spottes thereof? An old proverbe there is, and yt is most true, y^t a lyving dogge is better then a dead lyon. Oh y^t it would please her good Grace to give me life, yea ye life of a dogge, y^t I might but lyve, and kisse her feet, and spend both life, and all, in her hon^.able services, as I have ye best part allready under her worthy brother, & her most glorious father. Oh y^t her mercy were such as she would consyder how little proffitt my dead and dismembered body can bringe her; but how great and glorious an honor it will be in all posterityes, when ye report shall be y^t soe gracious & mighty a Queen had graunted life to soe miserable & penitent an abject. Your hon^able usage and promises to me since these my troubles have made me bold to challenge this kindness at your handes: Pardone me if I have done amiss therein, & spare not, I pray, your bended knees for me in this distresse. Y^e. God of heaven, it may be, will requite it one day on you or your's; and, if my life be lengthened by your mediac'on, & my good L^d. Chancellor's, to whom I have alsoe sent my blurred L^re, I will ever vowe it to be spent at your hon^able feet. Oh, good my Lord, remember how sweet life is, & how bitter ye contrary. Spare not your speech and paines, for God I hope, hath not shutt out all hopes of comfort from me in y^t gracious, princely, and womanlike harte, but y^t as the dolefull newes of death hath wounded to death both my soule & bodye, so ye comfortable newes of life shall be as a new resurrecc'on to my wofull heart. But, if noe remedy can be founde, eyther by imprisonm^t, confiscation, banishm^t, and the like, I can say noe more but God graunt me patyence to endure, and a heart to forgive, the whole world.

Once yor fellowe, & lovinge companion, but now worthy of noe name but wretchednes & misery.

J. D."

The next day, the twenty-second of August, 1553, he was brought out to suffer execution on Tower Hill, where he uttered a long speech to the multitude, in the same strain of miserable humiliation. Fox, to blacken Mary and her government, informs us that he had a promise of pardon, " even if his head were on the block," which that address tended to contradict, and which indeed is fully refuted by the terms of his letter to Lord Arundel. It is true that, contrary to the profession of his life, he declared himself on the scaffold a son of the Romish Church, a very natural artifice at such a moment. He seems indeed to have been indifferent as to modes of faith, and perhaps to religion in general.

Dudley married Jane, daughter of Sir Edward, and sister and heir of Sir Henry Guldeford, or Guildford, as commonly called, by whom he had eight sons, and five daughters. Henry, the eldest, was killed at the siege of Boulogne, at the age of nineteen; Thomas, died an infant; John, who bore the title of Earl of Warwick, and died a few months after the death of his father; Ambrose, who was restored to that title by Queen Elizabeth; Robert, who became also in that reign Earl of Leicester, and the great favourite of that Princess; Guildford, who has been mentioned, and whom his father's ambition led to the scaffold; Henry, killed at the siege of St. Quintin's, in 1557; and Charles, who died in infancy. The daughters were Mary, wife of Sir Henry Sidney, and mother to the admirable Philip; Catherine, married to Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon; Margaret, Temperance, and another Catherine, who died infants.

LUCY PERCY,

COUNTESS OF CARLISLE.

THIS Lady, equally remarkable for beauty, talents, and singularities, was the second and youngest daughter of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, by Dorothy, daughter of Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex of his name. She was born in 1600, and had scarcely reached her fifth year when her father, whom undeserved ill-fortune seems to have prevented from shining among the first great characters of his time, was charged with being accessary, or at least privy, to the Gunpowder Plot; enormously fined; and condemned to imprisonment in the Tower of London for life, where indeed he remained for nineteen years. An illustrious family, thus deprived of its protector, perhaps wisely sought security in seclusion, and it was probably amidst the mountains and forests of her mighty ancestors that Lucy acquired the activity and independence, the masculine and haughty sentiments and prejudices, by which she was always distinguished. On the sixth of November, 1617, she was married to James, Lord Hay, afterwards created Viscount Doncaster, and Earl of Carlisle, a young Scotsman, whom King James, with the extravagancy which usually marked his partialities, had loaded with favours. The legends of Asiatic magnificence, and of Roman luxury, fall short of the accounts which have been transmitted to us of the habits of this nobleman's life. Having already imbibed much of the romantic in rural retirement, such a union presented to her a new series of illusions of a nature wholly opposite, and, together with the idolatry lavished on her beauty by a splendid Court, contributed to form a character at once admired, disliked, feared, little understood by any, and perhaps least of all by herself.

This marriage, which had been made by the King, and which he honoured by his presence, was highly offensive to her father, but in the end procured his liberation. Wilson, in his Life of James the first, tells us that "the younger daughter, Lucy, a lady of incomparable beauty, solemnized in the poems of the most exquisite wits of her time, married the Lord Hayes, now made Viscount Doncaster, against her father's will, (who aimed at higher extractions;) which the old Earl's stubborn spirit not brooking, would never give her any thing; and Doncaster, whose affection was above money, setting only a valuation upon his much admired bride, strove to make himself meritorious, and prevailed so with the King for his father-in-law that he got his release: but the old Earl would hardly be drawn to take a release from his hand; so that when he had his liberty he restrained himself, and with importunity was wrought upon, by such as knew the distempers of his body might best qualify those of his mind, to make a journey to the Bath, which was one special motive to accept of his son-in-law's respects." The Earl's enlargement, however, did not take place for four years after his daughter's marriage.

In the following reign she turned her attention to politics; despised the society of her own sex; studied systems of government, intrigued in matters of state, actually obtained considerable influence, and exercised it with adroitness and security. Lord Clarendon, to whose very gravity the interference of a woman, and such a woman, must have been sufficiently offensive, occasionally mentions her, and always unfavourably. Speaking of Lord Holland's transactions with the disaffected party, after his shameful abandonment of the King at York in the autumn of 1641, and of the mischievous intelligence with which they were treacherously supplied by that nobleman, he concludes,—"and he added to all this whatever information he had received by the Lady Carlisle of words or actions spoken or

done by the Queen, which might increase their jealousy or malice to her Majesty." On the discovery probably of this, or some such correspondence, she lost the Queen's favour; for he tells us elsewhere, in treating of the affairs of the Prince of Wales, after his flight to Holland, that "the Countess of Carlisle, who was now much trusted by the citizens, and had gotten again confidence with the Queen," had engaged herself in a negotiation between the Prince and the city, and had given his Royal Highness her advice as to his conduct towards the leading men there. Lord Clarendon however soon after acknowledges that she had "pawned her necklace of pearls for fifteen hundred pounds, which she totally disbursed in supplying officers, and making other provisions for the expedition of the Earl of Holland;" but takes care to add, in the same sentence, that the Lord Percy, her brother, had been "a very importunate solicitor to the Prince for the repayment of that sum," and that "she had committed faults enough towards the King and Queen."

All this, it is true, might have been reasonably expected from any woman of a lively and busy cast of mind; but that she should have gained an influence over the wise, severe, and haughty Strafford, would, if supported but by mean evidence, be utterly incredible. Of this, which is more than once alluded to by historical writers, we have a full proof in a letter of the tenth of January, 1636, from her sister, Dorothy Percy, Countess of Leicester, to her Lord, which may be found in the Sidney Papers. "I shall be in much hope," writes the Countess, "that you will succeed the Deputy of Ireland," (Strafford) "whom they saie will only stay the accomplichement of what he has undertaken; but I fear that Lady Carlisle, who has more power with him than any creatur, will do nothing for our good." This fact might be corroborated too by several letters from Lady Carlisle herself, two of which, one to the Earl of Leicester, the other to his Countess, from the same collection, I will insert here; not however so much for that purpose, as to shew her vehement inclination to politics, and as specimens of her epistolary style and method. The names are written in cypher in the originals, and afterwards decyphered, I suppose by Collins, the editor of the Papers, and it may be observed that she always mentions herself in the third person.

My Lord,

A Sunday last the King cald Hamilton, and Lord Deputy, and commanded them to be friends, saying thaye wayr persons that he meant to trust with most of his busnise, and therefore that thaye must agree. Hamilton mayd great professions that he had never spoken to the disadvantage of Lord Deputy, and calld the King to witnes it, which he did, though Lady Carlisle knowse he hase indeavourd all that's posible to keepe the Deputy from being Lo. Treasorer. The Queene has mutche lamented this losse of the Spaniards, which the French Ambassador takes very ill. Sir Henry Vane has behaved himself verie well in H. Percy's busnise, and hase spoken verie boldly to the King; but yet it cannot be overcome, for Hamilton dosse hugly opose it, and his power is sartanely verie great; but the Queene is confident it will be donne, which I fear. Three days agoe my brother Northumberland wase calld to the Junto, and yesterdaye my Lord Hamilton, and the Deputye. There is ane other littell Junto that is mutch apprehended hear, of which there is but three; the Bishop, and Hamilton, and Deputye. They have meet twise, and the world is full of guesses for the ocation of it. My Lord, it is a great pain to me that you have yet no more sartanty of my sister's health, and I fear your Lordship gives me your greatest hopes. My best consolation is that you saye she is cheerfull, for that is not her humor of great indispositione, without the being with your Lordship make that change. I beseetch you lett me again hear from your Lordship the nexst weeke, for tell I am free from thes feares I cane thinke of nothing ells, which I am confident will make you love me, and believe me more

Your's, &c.

17 Oct. 1639

Dear Sister,

I am glad that you wish a friendshipe between my Lord of Leicester and Deputy, for I am confident it will be ane essy worke, and, if Lady Carlisle be not much deceaved, for the servis of Leicester, which above all things at the present I thinke of. Northumberland is better with the Deputy then he hase binne. Those two Lords have hade a littell expostulatione, and Northumberland more satisfyd by mutche, and is now cald to all the greatest secrets of the King, which are nowe only in the trust of Canterbury, Deputy, and Hamilton. Conway will be General of the Horse, and Counseler, which is absolutely the Deputy's act. I desier you not to take notis of it to any body. The Deputy dosse absolutely govern Canterbury, and sartanly maye perswade him to anything; and Lady Carlisle is verie confident that she cane engage the Deputy as far as you please in any betwixt Canterbury and E. of Leicester. I was desiered by my Lord Deputy to send some of your servants to bye him 2 beds, one of crimsone velvet, and the other of watched damaske; the crimsone, with silke fringe, and the other with gold and silver; but I, that dayr saye anything to you, will let you knowe that by giving this command to one of your servants you will do him a huge favor. I did expect to have found the prise of my particler in the trunke, but not finding it, I beseetche you send it by the next, and let me know whether I shall paye the mony to Jone Illoyts, or send it to France. I have not binne well this weeke, and therefor excuse my strang writing. If you have found anything for a New year's Gift send me word by the next; and let my Lady Spencer knowe that my indispositione keept me from writing to her. My Lord of Holland asks your pardon for not writing, being at Theobalds with the King.

Your's &c.

19 of December, 1639.

We will take leave here of her political speculations, observing only, in addition, that they seem to have been built on no fixed principles. Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs, accuses her, the friend, and alledged confident, of Strafford, of having given notice to Pym of the King's coming to the House of Commons to demand the five members, in order that they might have time to absent themselves. And St. Evremond, in the spirit of true French politeness, founding a compliment on her duplicity, tells us that—"from the inmost recesses of Whitehall, she had a great hand in animating the faction at Westminster." It is said that Monk obtained his first commission for military service in England through her recommendation, at the commencement of the civil war.

If her talents, whatever they might have been, attracted the notice and favour of one class of men, her beauty, not to mention her vanity, in which she seems to have been by no means deficient, commanded the positive worship of another. "Solemnized indeed she was," to use again the words of Arthur Wilson, "in the poems of the most exquisite wits of the time." At the head of these was Waller, the bard of the Sidneys, her relations, from the numerous eulogies dedicated to her by whose muse I will select the most agreeable.

The Country to my Lady of Carlisle.

Madam, of all the sacred Muse inspir'd,
Orpheus alone could with the Woods comply.
Their rude inhabitants his song admir'd,
And nature's self, in those that could not lye.
Your beauty next our solitude invades,
And warms us, shining through the thickest shades.

Nor ought the tribute which the wond'ring court
Pays your fair eyes prevail with you to scorn
The answer, and consent to that report
Which, echo like, the country does return.
Mirrors are taught to flatter, but our springs
Present th' impartial images of things.

A rural judge dispos'd of beauty's prize:
A simple shepherd was preferr'd to Jove:
Down to the Mountains, from the partial skies,
Came Juno, Pallas, and the Queen of love,
To plead for that which was so justly given
To the bright Carlisle of the Court of heav'n.

Carlisle! a name which all our woods are taught
Loud as their Amaryllis to resound.
Carlisle! a name which on the bark is wrought
Of every tree that's worthy of the wound.
From Phœbus' rage our shadows and our streams
May guard us better than from Carlisle's beams.

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Voiture too, the Waller of France, in which country she resided during her husband's embassy thither, has addressed to her some highly complimentary verses. It is remarkable that her poets have confined themselves almost wholly to the celebration of her personal charms, seldom adverting to the powers of her mind, and never to her virtues; this however furnishes scarcely a negative evidence against her moral character. Such a person must have had abundance of enemies, and yet we meet with no direct censure on her conduct as a woman, except in the memoirs, already quoted, of Sir Philip Warwick, who, it must be confessed, expresses himself of her pretty freely. He calls her "that busy stateswoman, the Countess of Carlisle, who had now changed her gallant, from Strafford to Pym, and was become such a she-saint that she frequented their sermons, and took notes, &c." If Warwick intended to apply the word "gallant" in its most usual sense, we shall have less cause to wonder at the strictness of her intimacies, either with royalists or rebels.

Nor were her panegyrics confined to verse. Sir Toby Matthews, whose eccentricities have found their way into all the memoirs of the reigns of James and Charles the first, drew her character with an intenseness of labour, and an extravagancy and obscurity of thought and expression, which must discourage all hope, could any one be found with such a hope, to discover a parallel. This singular production lay dormant till 1660, the last year of Lady Carlisle's life, when it appeared, occupying no less than ten octavo pages, in a volume of Letters of eminent persons, collected by Matthews, and edited by Dr. Donne, who prefixed to it a dedication to the Countess, in which he seems to have striven to tear the palm of absurdity from the brow of his author. "But, Madam," concludes Donne (having uttered everything that common sense, and moderate taste, would have rejected, on the subject of epistolary correspondence, particularly of the dead with the living, and, above all, of Sir Toby Matthews with his surviving friends in England, and all for the sake of introducing a poor final conceit) "that which would concern us more than all this is a hope that by a letter from him we should hear that your Ladyship were to favour us for many years to come with your presence here; whose absence would make such a chasm in our Galaxy, that it would grieve us less to see all our saints ascend into the heavens than that the earth should lose so much of her splendor, beauty, and goodness." Among the most intelligible passages of Matthews's long eulogium, the whole of which, as Lord Orford justly observes, might fairly pass as satire, are the following.—"She is of too high a mind and dignity not only to seek, but almost to wish, the friendship of any creature—Her nature values fortunate persons as virtuous—She has as much sense and gratitude for the actions of friendship as so extreme a beauty will give her leave to entertain—She more willingly allows of the conversation of men than of women; yet when she is amongst her own sex, her discourse is of fashions and dressings, which she hath ever so perfect upon herself as she likewise teaches it by seeing her—She hath too great a heart to have naturally any strong inclination to others—She affects particular so much that she dislikes general courtesies; and you may fear to be less valued by obliging her—She believeth nothing to be worthy her consideration but her own imaginations: those gallant fancies keep her in satisfaction when she is alone; when she will find something worthy of her liking, since in the world she cannot find anything worthy of her loving—She hath a grace and facility, and I might well say a felicity, in her expressions, since they are certain and always in the fewest words—She is in disposition inclined to be choleric, which she suppresses, not perhaps in consideration of the persons who occasion it, but upon a belief that it is unhandsome towards herself—She affects extremes, because she cannot suffer any condition but of plenty and glory." The reader doubtless will be satisfied with the extent of these extracts.

The Countess of Carlisle died in November, 1660, having survived her husband, by whom she had no children, for twenty-four years. She was buried, near her father, at Petworth, in Sussex.

ANNE CARRE,

COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

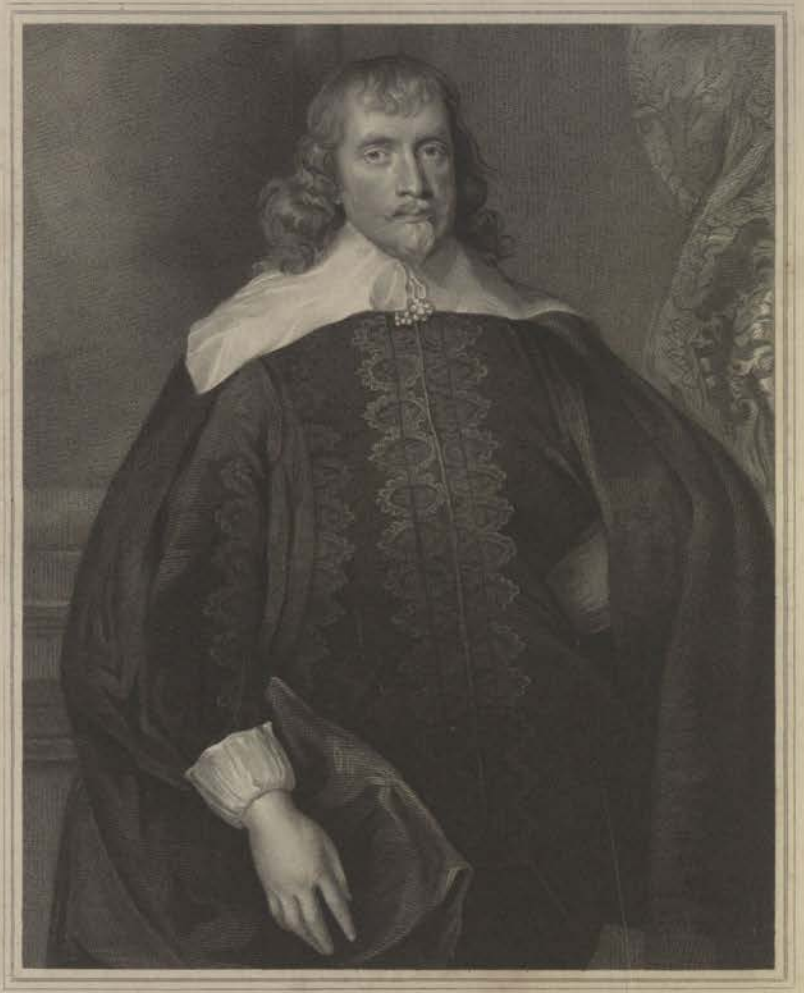
THE history of the parents, and of the issue, of this lady has rendered her more remarkable than the circumstances of her own life. She was the only daughter, and sole heir, of that deservedly miserable pair, Robert Carre, Earl of Somerset, and Frances, daughter of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk of his family, and was married in the summer of 1637 to William, Lord Russell, son and heir of Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford. That nobleman, naturally enough, had been so averse to the alliance as to endeavour to detach his son from it, not only by his positive interdiction, but by giving him permission to choose a wife from any other family in England; but the attachment of the lovers, which reigned equally in the bosom of each, was unconquerable. At length, all parties having tormented themselves and each other for many months, the King, who delighted in making up marriages, and whose kindness to Somerset was never wholly withdrawn, was prevailed on to interfere, and the Duke of Lenox, whom he employed to solicit the old Earl, at last obtained his consent; but with so much difficulty, that the nuptials did not take place till more than a year after the Duke's first application. There is in the Strafford Papers, among Mr. Garrard's lively letters of court news, one to the Lord Wentworth, afterwards the great Earl of Strafford, then in Ireland, chiefly on the subject of this match. It is dated on the twenty-third of March, 1636, O. S. and I need, perhaps, offer no apology for inserting a rather long extract from it, especially as it relates chiefly to a person of whom the very slender particulars which have been preserved of her have never before been collected, not to mention certain curious features which it will be found to exhibit of the manners of some of the highest of James's courtiers.

"The marriage," says Mr. Garrard, "will now shortly, at Easter, be solemnized. A most fine lady. My Lord of Bedford loves money a little too much, which, together with my Lord of Somerset's unexpected poverty, hath been the cause of this long treaty, not any diminution of the young parties' affection, who are all in a flame in love. My Lord of Somerset told the Lord Chamberlain" (the eccentric and profligate Philip, Earl of Pembroke) "who hath been a great moderator in this business, before his daughter, 'though one of them must be undone if that marriage went on, he chose rather to undo himself than to make her unhappy;' and he hath kept his word; for he hath sold all he can make money of, even his house that he lives in, at Chiswick, with all his plate, jewels, and household stuff, to raise a portion of twelve thousand pounds, which my Lord of Bedford is now content to accept. This Lord" (Somerset) "pretends that he lent my Lord Goring three thousand pounds, when he was in the Tower, and, being now in some straits about raising the portion, he hath sent to the Lord Goring, and demanded it of him. He denies it lent, for he says it was given for real services then done him, which the Duke of Bucks could witness, were he living. This hath made a great noise, and much siding in the business. My Lord Chamberlain, most fierce to carry it for Somerset, being one night at Salisbury House, fell into discourse about this three thousand pounds, saying that it was due to my Lord of Somerset, and that Somerset would ask leave of the King to sue my Lord Goring, and that he would recover it, for somewhat that he knew. This he speaking with much vehemence, my Lord Powis, being by, spoke to moderate him, especially since it concerned my Lord Goring, who had always been his true and faithful friend. He replied he loved my Lord Goring well, but he loved a truth better. For one good service my Lord Goring

had done him he had requited him with twenty. Powis said that he believed further that my Lord Goring was not able suddenly, if it were due, to pay such a sum; and asked him whether he would make himself a solicitor, to gather in Somerset's debts. That word 'solicitor' heated his Lordship. He fell into higher passion, and swore deeply, 'God damn me, I have seen a letter under my Lord Goring's hand, where he confesseth the debt, and it must be a great courtesy must deserve three thousand pounds. It was a gift for a Prince to give, not for a subject. Let my Lord Goring shew wherein he did ever my Lord Somerset a courtesy worth three hundred pounds, and he shall quit his three thousand, for which he hath his letter to shew.' My Lady Salisbury saying then—'If he had such a letter to shew, let him shew it, and the business was at an end.' That 'If,' the Lord Chamberlain took worse from her than any thing spoken before—'Would she If, when he had sworn he had seen it?' Still she repeated 'If;' and she thought she might say If to the King, much more to him. She further told him that in all disputes he must have his own way, but he should not have it of her—He should not silence her in her own house—She would speak. So she rose up, and went from him, and the company, into her chamber. But it must not rest so. My Lady Vaux, and my Lady Powis, undertook his Lordship, and he, being in an excellent good disposition, they brought him to a better temper, and to more reason, which effected, in they go to my Lady Salisbury's chamber, who was now the angrier of the two. There they made them friends: Powis made them kiss. Sic finita est fabula." It appears from a subsequent letter in the same collection that the marriage did not take place till the following July, Lord Russell being then twenty-three years old, and the bride seventeen.

It is not only agreeable but useful to find traits of goodness in the worst characters. Such discoveries excite kind and compassionate feelings, abate the uncharitable arrogance with which we are apt to view fallen sinners, and, by shewing that the same sources in the human heart may produce the most detestable crimes, and the most excellent affections, warn us against too proud a confidence in the principles with which we may flatter ourselves that we can fortify our frail nature. The guilty and degraded Somerset, whose first step towards deliberate murther had been made under the influence of the gentlest of all passions, loved his only child with the sweetest extravagancy of a parent's fondness. She inherited his tenderness; but the same disposition which by a sad fatality involved him in the most frightful ruin, and rendered him an object of disgust and horror, blessed her marriage bed, and shed on her fame a mild lustre, which the lapse of time has not yet wholly obscured. It is said that she was ignorant of her mother's dishonour till she read it in a pamphlet which had been incautiously left in a window, and that she was so struck by this accidental discovery that she fell into a fit, and was found senseless, with the book open before her.

This lady, bowed down probably by grief for the premature loss of her son, Lord Russell, a few months before, died on the tenth of May, 1684, at the age of sixty-four, leaving a character perfectly unblemished. She was buried at Cheneys, in Bucks, where, after the death of her lord, who was in 1694 created Duke of Bedford, and survived her till the year 1700, a superb monument was erected to their memory, in which their figures are represented, under a canopy supported by pillars of the Corinthian order. She had seven sons, of whom the first and third, Francis and John, died bachelors; William, the second son, ancestor of the succeeding Dukes, suffered death for high treason in 1683; Edward, Robert, James, and George, married, but no male issue remains from them. She had also four daughters: Anne, who died unmarried; Diana, married first to Sir Greville Verney, of Compton Verney, in Warwickshire, Knight of the Bath, secondly to William, Lord Allington; Catherine, died an infant: and Margaret, became the wife of her kinsman, Edward Russell, Earl of Orford.



Francis Russell, Fourth Earl of Bedford.

From the original of Vandyke, in the Collection of

His Grace, The Duke of Bedford.

Drawn by R. W. Satchwell & Engraved (with Permission) by W. T. Fry.

London. Published Oct.r 31. 1816 by Lackington, Allen & C.o and Longman Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

FRANCIS RUSSELL,

FOURTH EARL OF BEDFORD.

FRANCIS, second Earl of Bedford, the brightest ornament of his eminent family, had four sons, of whom the two elder, Edward and John, left no male issue: the third, Francis, had an only son, Edward, the successor to his grandfather's honours and estates, who died also childless. William, the fourth son, who highly distinguished himself in the office of Lord Deputy in Ireland, and was created by King James the first, Baron Russell of Thornhaugh, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Henry Long, of Shengay Hall, in the county of Cambridge, and had by her an only son, Francis, who, on the third of May, 1627, succeeded his first cousin, Earl Edward, and is the subject of this memoir.

Of the date of this nobleman's birth, the form of his education, and the conduct of his private life, we have no intelligence. He had arrived at a mature age when he inherited the dignities and vast possessions of his ancestors, and the first step which he made in the sight of his country displayed a character equally sagacious, enterprising, active, and resolute. It was in the project for draining those fens called the Great Level, and afterwards, in honour of him, the Bedford Level, which extend into the counties of Northampton, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk, and Lincoln. Of that stupendous work he was the principal undertaker, and on the first of September, 1630, articles were signed for the performance of it, and ninety-five thousand acres of the inundated land were allotted to him, and to the few whom his example had encouraged to take inferior shares in the enterprise, as the uncertain reward for their labours. In the autumn of 1637 the Earl had expended on it the immense sum of one hundred thousand pounds, and on the twelfth of October, in that year, it was adjudged at a session of sewers, held at Peterborough, that the work was defective, and the grant of land was reduced to forty thousand acres. He persisted, however, with unabated spirit till the horrors which disfigured the latter years of Charles's reign had put to flight the arts of peace; but the undertaking was resumed in 1649, by his son and successor, to whom, and those concerned with him, the ninety-five thousand acres were regranted in 1653, and on the second of March it was decreed at another session, held at Ely, that it had been at length completely accomplished. All the circumstances of this great enterprise, so important in the history of agriculture and mechanics in England, as well as to the fortunes of this family, may be found in Sir William Dugdale's "History of embanking and draining."

In the great contest between the King and the Parliament, such a man as the Earl of Bedford could not have remained an inactive spectator. His interests, as well as his honour, seemed to require that he should take an active part in it, and his capacious and fervid mind, suddenly detached from the contemplation of a mighty object in private œconomy, pined for employment. He engaged with warmth, not to say violence, with the popular party, and presently became the leader of it in the House of Peers. "He was there," says the Earl of Clarendon, "the great contriver and principal agent of those who were for asserting the liberty of the subject; but a wise man, and of too great and plentiful a fortune to wish a subversion of the government; and it quickly appeared that he only intended to make himself and his friends great at court, not at all to lessen the court itself." In the furtherance of this view, he carried himself towards the King with the most profound respect, and with all professions of loyalty and zeal for his service; and contrived to live in a decent and grave familiarity with the ministers, while in Parliament he decried their

measures and their motives with the utmost eagerness. So too, with regard to ecclesiastical matters, while he openly espoused the puritan faction, the great leader of which, Pym, was his most intimate and confidential associate, as well in private as public life, he was a friend, or at least not an enemy to the legal establishment. "The Earl of Bedford," says Lord Clarendon in another place, "had no desire that there should be any alteration in the government of the church, and had always lived toward my Lord of Canterbury himself with all respect and reverence, and frequently visited and dined with him; subscribed liberally to the repair of St. Paul's church, and seconded all pious undertakings; though, it is true, he did not discountenance notoriously those of the clergy who were unconformable." This nobleman, in fine, who had the fortune to live in an age when patriotism was less frequently professed than practised, may perhaps be properly esteemed the main inventor of a method of opposition too familiar to us of later days, but which then charmed some by its novelty, and others by its apparent impartiality, while it gained some credit with all parties, because there had not yet been time to detect its selfishness and insincerity.

Charles, who possessed more penetration than any of his ministers, for Strafford had been lately dragged from his councils, easily discerned the Earl's motives, and endeavoured to profit by them. He secretly determined to form a new administration, composed chiefly of the most important men in the discontented party, and to place the Earl of Bedford at their head. In the mean time the Earl conducted with the most active assiduity the affairs of his faction, in which he possessed more authority, and was trusted with more confidence than any other of its leaders. He had the chief management of the treaty with the Scottish Commissioners at Ripon, in 1640, on which the Parliament had built so much, and which in fact produced such important results; and, on his return to London, was the foremost, both in public and private, in the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford. Archbishop Laud, in his "History of his own Troubles and Trial," says, "This Lord was one of the main plotters of Strafford's death; and I know where he, with other Lords, before the Parliament sat down, determined to have his blood." This passage has been charged with ignorance, or wilful misrepresentation, because it has been since discovered that the Earl of Bedford had about that time found occasion, as will be presently seen, to engage for Strafford's security; but of this Laud, who, when he made the statement, was a close prisoner, was probably wholly unconscious; or if, indeed, he had been informed of it, there was nothing in his knowledge of that fact to affect the correctness or veracity of his report of the Earl of Bedford's former disposition. The motives which induced the Earl to alter that disposition, and to reconcile himself to the royal interest, are, with an admirable clearness and conciseness, thus explained by Lord Clarendon; and the detail furnishes matter of high curiosity for the history of a mode of party intrigue which was then in its infancy.

"The Earl of Bedford secretly undertook to his Majesty that the Earl of Strafford's life should be preserved, and to procure his revenue to be settled as amply as any of his progenitors, the which he intended so really that, to my knowledge, he had it in design to endeavour to obtain an act for the setting up the excise in England, as the only means to advance the King's profit. This Lord was the greatest person of interest in all the popular party, being of the best estate and best understanding of the whole number, and therefore most likely to govern the rest. He was, besides, of great civility, and much more good nature than any of the other. And therefore the King, resolving to do his business with that party by him, resolved to make him Lord High Treasurer of England, in the place of the Bishop of London, who was as willing to lay down the office as any body was to take it up: and, to gratify him the more, at his desire, intended to make Mr. Pym Chancellor of the Exchequer, as he had done Mr. St. John his Solicitor General, all which hath been touched before; as also Mr. Hollis was to be Secretary of State; the Lord Say Master of the Wards; and the Lord Kimbolton to be Lord Privy Seal, after the death of his father, who then held that place. Others were to be placed about the Prince, and to have offices when they fell."

This design, from the fruition of which at that particular point of time the happiest

effects might have been expected, was suddenly frustrated by the Earl's death. In the midst of his negotiations with Charles, he was attacked, on the first or second of May, 1641, by a virulent small pox, which terminated his life on the ninth of that month, the very day on which the King, by commission, passed the bill of attainder against Strafford. "God," says Laud, with his usual vehemence, "would not let him live to take joy therein, but cut him off in the morning, whereas the bill for the Earl of Strafford's death was not signed till night." Lord Clarendon, with becoming coolness and impartiality, tells us that "he fell sick within a week after the bill of attainder was sent up to the Lords' house, and died shortly after, much afflicted with the passion and fury which he perceived his party inclined to, insomuch as he declared to some of near trust to him, that he feared the rage and madness of this Parliament would bring more prejudice and mischief to the kingdom than it had ever sustained by the long intermission of Parliaments. He was a wise man, and would have proposed and advised moderate courses; but was not incapable, for want of resolution, of being carried into violent ones, if his advice were not submitted to; and therefore many, who knew him well, thought his death not unseasonable, as well to his fame as his fortune, and that it rescued him as well from some possible guilt as from some visible misfortunes, which men of all conditions have since undergone."

This nobleman married Catherine, daughter and coheir of Giles Brydges, third Lord Chandos, and by her, who survived him till the twenty-ninth of January, 1653-4, had issue four sons and four daughters. William, his eldest son and successor, was, in his old age, in 1694, advanced to the Dukedom, and from him the present Duke is lineally descended: Francis, the second, married, but died childless in his father's life-time: John, the third son, who was bred to military service, died unmarried in 1681: and Edward, the youngest, left five sons, of whom the second, Edward, was, for his distinguished naval services, created Earl of Orford, &c. in 1697. The daughters of Earl Francis were Catherine, married to Robert Greville, Lord Brooke: Anne, to George Digby, Earl of Bristol: Margaret, first, to James Hay, Earl of Carlisle; secondly, to Edward Montague, Earl of Manchester; and, thirdly, to Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick and Holland. Diana, the youngest daughter, became wife to Francis, Lord Newport, ancestor to the extinct Earls of Bradford.

DOROTHY SIDNEY,

COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND.

THE subject of this memoir has been so largely celebrated under a fictitious title that she is little known by her own, and Sacharissa, but for the pains of modern commentators, might have been mistaken for a lovely creature of the poet's imagination. Her bard, really inspired by the tender passion, in chanting the praises of her beauty raised his own fame, without rendering justice to her's. He has left a sweet but unfinished picture, conscious probably of his inability to pourtray her character; for there is reason to fear that Waller was little sensible to the charms of virtue, and Lady Sunderland seems to have been faultless.

She was the eldest of the eight daughters of Robert Sidney, second Earl of Leicester of his family, by Dorothy, daughter of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland, and was born in the year 1620. Her parents were the chief ornaments of the almost irreproachable court of Charles the first; not more distinguished by their good sense, politeness, and perfect honour and probity, than by those mild and sweet affections which form the great charm of private life. This daughter, if they made a distinction which it is always difficult for parents to avoid, appears to have been their favourite. In the many little enquiries and communications between the Earl and Countess, respecting their numerous family, which may be found scattered in the "Sidney Papers," it is easy to discover that her name is always mentioned with more than ordinary solicitude; and, when the years of childhood had passed over, the same degree of anxiety is manifested as to the choice of a husband for her.

Before she had reached the age of sixteen she was surrounded by suitors. It appears indeed by a letter in the Strafford collection that Lord Russell, the heir of the great house of Bedford, had been allotted to her by the gossips of the court even so early as in the spring of 1635; and it is probably to that nobleman that the Countess alludes, in a letter to the Earl her husband, of the nineteenth of the succeeding December, in which she says "it would joy me much to receave sume hope of that Lord's addresses to Doll which you writt of to me; for, next to what consearns you, I confes she is considered by me above any thing of this world." This negotiation however failed, and Lord Russell was succeeded by the Earl of Devonshire. On the fourteenth of March, 1636, the Countess writes—"I am confident that if Holland had shewed himself reall to my Lord of Devonshire's marrieng Doll, which he professed, thaie wold never have imploied him in making a mariage for another; wich makes me conclude that eather his Ladie commaunds him to hinder Doll, or ells he is so weake, and so unfaithfull, as his friendship is not worthie the least rushe." Another of her letters, May the eighteenth, 1637, in which we find that Devonshire was retiring from his pretensions, introduces to us, in no very favourable light, a new lover. "Now conserning Doll, of whom I can neather saie what I desier, nor what I thought I should have done; for I find my Lord Lovelace so unsertaine, and so idle; so much addicted to meane companie, and so easily drawne to debocherie; as it is now my studie how to breake off with him in such a manner as it maie be saide that we refused him; for since Sundaie last we have not seene him, though he be everie daie verie neere us. Many particulars I could tell you of his wildnes; but the knowleg of them would be of no use to you, since he is likelie to be a stranger to us; for, though his estate is good, his person pretie enowfe, and his witte much more then ordinarie, yet daire I not venture to give Doll

to him. And concerning my Lord of Devonshire I can saie as little to please you; for, though his mother and sister maide faire shows of good intentions to us, yeet in the ende we finde them, just as I expected, full of desaite and jugling. The sister is gone from this towne, but the yonge Lord is still here, who never visited us but once, and yeet all the towne spoke of a marriege, which I thinke came upon my Lord of Holland's divolging his confidence that it wolde be so, and he conceaves that he had much reason to beleeve what he did. My deere hart, lett not these crose accidents troble you; for we do not know what God has provided for her."

Of Waller's addresses to her in any other character than that of a poet little is known but that they were offered, and rejected. He had been left a widower at the age of five and twenty, with a fine person, a large estate, and the most refined accomplishments. The dignified feelings however of the nobility of that day induced her parents, burthened as they were with a most numerous family, to dismiss him with disdain. It has been said that he was so severely afflicted by the disappointment as to have resolved to quit his country for ever; but it is known that he remained at home, and soon after took a second wife. The mind that can pour forth its griefs in song will find no great difficulty in recalling a desperate resolution.

At length, on the eleventh of July, 1639, she was married, at Pensehurst, to Henry, third Lord Spencer, soon after created Earl of Sunderland, of whose admirable character and story as a faint sketch is given elsewhere in this collection, little need be here added. Mutual affection, equally ardent and delicate; similarity, almost exact, of ages and dispositions; youth, and health, and virtue; seemed to have combined to bless their union, and to promise them lengthened days, crowned with the highest felicity. But it was otherwise decreed. Sunderland, full of loyalty and patriotism, and blushing at the thought of being absent from a contest in which grey-headed nobles were hastening to take the field, tore himself from his sweet consort, and, following the King to York, appeared in arms as a volunteer at Nottingham, when the Royal Standard was erected there on the twenty-second of August, 1642; served for twelve months, with the gallantry and skill of a veteran soldier; and fell, pierced by a cannon ball, at the battle of Newbury, on the twentieth of September, 1643. The letter written to her by her father on this terrible occasion is fortunately preserved in the Sidney Papers. It is of great length, composed with excellent judgment, and the most affecting tenderness. I will select one short extract, more particularly because it tends to disclose some features of the delightful character of her to whom it was addressed.

"Your reason will assure you that, besides the vanity of bemoning that which hath no remedy, you offend him whom you loved if you hurt that person whom he loved. Remember how apprehensive he was of your dangers, and how sorry for any thing that troubled you. Imagine how he sees that you afflict and hurt yourself. You will then believe that, though he look upon it without any perturbation, for that cannot be admitted by that blessed condition wherein he is, yet he may censure you, and think you forgetful of the frendship that was between you, if you pursue not his desires in being careful of yourself, who was so deare unto him. But he sees you not. He knowes not what you do. Well; what then? Would you do any thing that would displease him if he knew it because he is where he doth not know it? I am sure that was never in your thoughts; for the rules of your actions were, and must be, virtue, and affection to your husband; not the consideration of his ignorance or knowledge of what you do: that is but an accident; neither do I think that his presence was at any time more than a circumstance not at all necessary to your absteining from those things that might displease him, &c."

The affection of this excellent parent and child towards each other was fully reciprocal. A few of Lady Sunderland's letters are to be found in the Sidney Papers. They were written mostly before her marriage; addressed to her father; very short, and containing little but expressions of duty and endearment. I cannot however refrain from inserting one of them, peculiarly characteristic of the sweet humility of her disposition, as well as affording an agreeable example of the finished style in which she had learned to clothe her sentiments.

" My Lord,

Had not my intentions bine deverted by the trouble of a distemper which a great cold produced, and since that by the expectation of Rochell's coming hither, I would not have bine thus slow in presenting your Lordship with my most humble thankes for the many fine things that you have bestowed on mee. And, though they will bee my greatest ornements, which is of much consideration by persons no wiser then I am, they could not give me any contentment but as I understand they are expressions of your Lordship's favor, a blessing that above all others in this world I do with most passion desier; and my ambition is that whatsoever your Lordship doth propounde to be in the perfectest good child upon the earth you may find accomplisht in me, that will ever be your Lordship's most affectionet, most humble, and exactly obedient,

D. SIDNEY."

Nor must Waller's admirable letter on her marriage, written to her sister, the Lady Lucy Sidney, though already frequently printed, be omitted here. The annals of gallantry surely cannot furnish another instance of such sprightliness from the pen of a disappointed lover.

" Madam,

In this common joy at Penshurst I know none to whom complaints may come less unseasonable than to your Ladyship, the loss of a bedfellow being almost equal to that of a mistress; and therefore you ought at least to pardon, if you consent not to, the imprecations of the deserted, which just heaven no doubt will hear.

" May my Lady Dorothy (if we may yet call her so) suffer as much, and have the like passion for this young Lord, whom she has preferred to the rest of mankind, as others have had for her; and may this love before the year go about make her taste of the first curse imposed on womankind, the pains of becoming a mother. May her first born be none of her own sex, nor so like her but that he may resemble her Lord as much as herself. May she that always affected silence, and retiredness, have the house filled with the noise and number of her children, and hereafter of her grand children; and then may she arrive at that great curse, so much declined by fair ladies, old age. May she live to be very old, and yet seem young; be told so by her glass, and have no aches to inform her of the truth: and when she shall appear to be mortal, may her Lord not mourn for her, but go hand in hand with her to that place where we are told there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage; that, being there divorced, we may all have an equal interest in her again. My revenge being immortal, I wish all this may also befal their posterity to the world's end, and afterwards.

" To you, Madam, I wish all good things; and that this loss may in good time be happily supplied with a more constant bedfellow of the other sex. Madam, I humbly kiss your hands, and beg pardon for this trouble from,

Your Ladyship's most humble servant,
EDM. WALLER."

To forbear from giving here at least one quotation from the poems of her constant bard would needlessly add to the imperfections of this sketch. Of the numerous tributes of Waller's muse to Sacharissa most are insignificant, and none of very high interest. Perhaps the best is to be found in some very lively lines " to Amoret," said to have been a Lady Sophia Murray, which Dr. Johnson, in his Life of Waller, has honoured by observing that they are among those of his poetical pieces, whose " excellency ought to save them from oblivion." Johnson, in another place, seems to refer the poet's complaints in these verses of her haughtiness and severity to the general character of her mind; but it is clear that Waller meant to apply them merely to her rejection of his addresses.

DOROTHY SIDNEY, COUNTESS OF SUNDERLAND.

TO AMORET.

Fair, that you may truly know
What you unto Thyrsis owe,
I will tell you how I do
Sacharissa love, and you.
Joy salutes me when I set
My blest eyes on Amoret;
But with wonder I am struck
While I on the other look.
If sweet Amoret complains,
I have sense of all her pains;
But for Sacharissa I
Do not only grieve but die.
All that of my self is mine,
Lovely Amoret, is thine:
Sacharissa's captive fain
Would untie his iron chain,
And, those scorching beams to shun,
To thy gentle shadow run.
If the soul had free election
To dispose of her affection,
I would not thus long have borne
Haughty Sacharissa's scorn:
But 'tis sure some power above
Which controuls our wills in love:
If not love, a strong desire
To create and spread that fire
In my breast solicits me,
Beauteous Amoret, for thee.
'Tis amazement, more than love,
Which her radiant eyes do move:
If less splendour wait on thine,
Yet they so benignly shine,
I would turn my dazzled sight
To behold their milder light;
But as hard 'tis to destroy
That high flame as to enjoy,
Which how eas'ly I might do
Heav'n (as eas'ly scal'd) does know.
Amoret, as sweet and good
As the most delicious food,
Which, but tasted, does impart
Life and gladness to the heart.
Sacharissa's beauty's wine,
Which to madness doth incline:
Such a liquor as no brain
That is mortal can sustain.
Scarce can I to heav'n excuse
The devotion which I use
Unto that adored dame;
For 'tis not unlike the same
Which I thither ought to send:
So that, if it could take end,
'Twould to heav'n itself be due
To succeed her, and not you,
Who already have of me
All that's not idolatry;
Which, though not so fierce a flame,
Is longer like to be the same.
Then smile on me and I will prove
Wonder is shorter liv'd than love.

To return however to simple truth, Lady Sunderland at the death of her Lord was left great with child, and was delivered, soon after that sad event, of a daughter, which scarcely survived its birth. She then retired to his estate of Brington, in Northamptonshire, where she lived for several years, distinguished only by the benignity of her disposition, and by the invariable exercise of every religious and moral duty. "She is not to be mentioned," says Lloyd, in his Memoirs of the Loyalists, "without the highest honour in this catalogue of sufferers, to so many of whom her house was a sanctuary, her interest a protection, her estate a maintenance, and the livings in her gift a preferment." At length, on the eighth of July, 1652, she married, apparently at the request of her father, Robert Smythe, a Kentish gentleman, of the family of the Viscounts Strangford in Ireland, which was already allied to her house. Him also she survived, and, dying in 1683-4, was buried on the twenty-fifth of February in that year, at Brington, with her Lord, by whom she left one son, Robert, his successor, and one daughter, Dorothy, married to Sir George Savile, Bart., afterwards Marquis of Halifax. By her second husband she had an only child, Robert, Governor of Dover Castle, under Charles the second, to whom that venerable judge, Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe, who died not many years since Chief Baron of the Exchequer, was grandson.

Henry Spencer, First Earl of Sunderland.

From the original of Walker, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl Spencer.

Drawn by R. W. Satchwell. & Engraved (with Permission) by R. Cooper.

London, Published Feb.y 1.1817, by Lackington, Allen & Co.s and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

HENRY SPENCER,

FIRST EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

THIS admirable young man, perhaps the brightest ornament to the pedigree of the noble persons who are lineally descended from him, was the first born son of William, second Lord Spencer of Wormleighton, by Penelope, eldest daughter of Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and was born at Althorpe, in Northamptonshire, and baptized there on the twenty-third of November, 1620. His early studies were conducted under the eye of his father, and his education was completed at Magdalen College, in Oxford, where he became a student before the age of sixteen, for we find that on the thirty-first of August, 1636, during a royal visit to that University, he was admitted, on the King's nomination, to the degree of Master of Arts. A singular writer who lived in his time tells us that "he had a tutor, crooked with age, who straitened the manners of his youth, arming him against those customs that are not knocked, but screwed, into the soul; inuring him to good discourse and company; habituating him to temperance and good order, whence he had the advantage of others, not only in health, but in time and business; and diverting him with safe, cheap, but manly and generous, recreations; the result of which education was a knowing and a staid nature, that made him a lamb when pleased, a lion when angry." But the truth is that his whole nature was excellent; and that it is difficult to say which deserved most to be admired, the exactness of his own moral conduct, or his charitable judgement of that of others; the sobriety or the acuteness of his understanding; his bravery or his gentleness; the simplicity of his heart, or the refinement of his manners.

His father died in 1636, leaving him an immense estate, and placing him under the guardianship of his uncle, Thomas, Earl of Southampton, a nobleman of equal worth and wisdom. Three years after, on the twentieth of July, 1639, he was married at Penshurst, in Kent, the seat of her father, to Lady Dorothy Sidney, the Sacharissa of Waller, and daughter of Robert, Earl of Leicester, the charms of whose person and character are elsewhere celebrated in this work. The Earl, her father, was then Ambassador to the Court of France, and the young couple, almost immediately after their nuptials, joined him at Paris, and remained there till October, 1641, when his mission ended, and the family returned to England, and Lord Spencer, within a few days after, took his seat in the House of Peers. His eminent, and indeed universal, merit was presently discovered, and the two great parties are said to have contended with earnestness for the support of a youth who had scarcely passed the age of twenty-one. He espoused at first the popular side, in which his conduct was equally distinguished by prudence, moderation, and candour. The Parliament, which was then beginning to assume the executive power, endeavoured to bind him effectually to the rebel cause by nominating him to the office of Lord Lieutenant of his native County, which he accepted, evidently with the hope of fortifying that medium between the King and the Parliament in which many virtuous men then placed themselves, as at a point from which they might at favourable opportunities propose terms of reconciliation suited to the honest interests of both. The vanity, however, of these excellent views presently became too evident, and he was among the first to express to the Peers his honest abhorrence of their alternate excesses and submissions. Lloyd, in his Memoirs of the Loyalists, has preserved some slight fragments of his speeches. He advised those who complained that the King had withdrawn himself "to lure him home by their loving behaviour, and not to do as those troublesome women who by their hideous outcries drive

their wandering husbands further off." He told them that he "pitied not them that bemoaned his Majesty's distance; and, whereas they expected to be commended for their patience under so great a punishment, he condemned them for deserving it; often urging that of Seneca, Epist. 80, 'Nihil Rex male parentibus, majus minari potest, quam ut abeat de regno." At length, according to Lloyd, he took leave for ever of the Parliament, with a solemn admonition, concluding with these expressions. "We had been satisfied long 'ere this, if we did not ask things that deny themselves; and if some men had not shuffled demands into our propositions on purpose that we may have no satisfaction."

He now followed the King to York, with his gallant kinsman, and, as it unhappily proved, fellow martyr, Spencer Compton, Earl of Northampton, whom he had persuaded to accompany him, and was one of that superb band which assembled to support the royal standard, when it was set up at Nottingham, on the twenty-second of August, 1642. He found the King's service already distracted by private interests, and selfish pretensions, and his piercing judgement formed an unfavourable apprehension of the issue of the great contest. In one of the very few of his letters which have fortunately been preserved in Collins's collection, written to his Lady, from Shrewsbury, on the twenty-first of the following September, he glances at the posture of the King's affairs at that moment with a warmth and freedom of mind and expression truly remarkable. Such a letter, from such a man, is worth volumes of cold historical compilation on the circumstances of a particular epoch. It was mostly written in cypher, and some few names have been unluckily suffered to remain unexplained.

"My dearest Hart,

The King's condition is much improved of late. His force increaseth daily, which increaseth the insolencie of the papists. How much I am unsatisfied with the proceedings here I have at large expressed in several letters; neither is there wanting daylie handsome occasion to retire, were it not for gaining honor: for, let occasion be never so handsome, unless a man resolve to fight on the Parlement side, which, for my part, I had rather be hanged, it will be said a man is afraid to fight. If there could be an expedient found to salve the punctilio of honor, I would not continue here an hower. The discontent that I, and many other honest men, receive dayly is beyond expression. People are much devided. The King is of late much averse to peace, by the persuasions of 202 and 211. It is likewise conceived that the King has taken a resolution not to do any thing in that way before the Queen comes; for people advising the King to agree with the Parlement was the occasion of the Queen's return. Till that tyme no advice will be received. Nevertheless the honest men will take all occasions to procure an accommodation, which the King when he sent the late messages did hartily desier, and would still make offers, but for 202, and 211, and the expectation of the Queen, and fear of the papists, who threaten people of 342. I fear the papists' threats have a much greater influence on the King than upon 343. What the King's intentions are to those that I converse with are altogether unknown. Some say he will hasard a battell very quicklie: others say he thinks of wintring; which, as it is suspected, so, if it were generally beleeved, I, and many others, would make no scruple to retier; for I think it is far from gallant, either to starve with the King, or to do worse, as to avoid fighting. It is said the King goes on Fryday towards Chester, for a day or two, leaving his forces here, which are six thousand foot, fifteen hundred dragoons, and above two thousand horse. There are four thousand foot more raised, they saie: two thousand by my Lord Strange; one thousand by Sir Thomas Salisburie; and twelve hundred by Sir Edward Stradling; all which will be here within a few days. This is a lightninge before death.

I am your's,

SPENCER."

The little that we have of the story of his short life is mostly to be found in those letters, which have been already, but very incorrectly, printed; and I regret that the scope

of this work prevents me from inserting the whole of them in their original state. In one from Birmingham, of the fourteenth of the next month, he again deprecates the endeavours of the Roman Catholics to prevent any accommodation with the Parliament; expresses his determination, should a treaty be offered by that assembly, to give it his strenuous support; and tells his Lady that he had lately above an hour's discourse with the King on that subject. A few days after, he marched with Charles into Northamptonshire, and, on the twenty-third, when the King's guards, in the battle of Edgehill, besought his Majesty to permit them to quit his person, and to charge in the front of the army, threw himself into that gallant body, and was particularly distinguished in the memorable overthrow which they that day gave to the rebel horse. He returned with the King to Oxford, and, on the eighth of June, 1643, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Sunderland. He was at that time assisting Prince Rupert in the reduction of Bristol, which he left, in the beginning of August, to join the King before Gloucester, on the siege of which city the King had suddenly and unexpectedly determined. Writing to Lady Sunderland, on the ninth of that month, he expresses himself unfavourably of that resolution. "The King's going to Gloucester," says he, "is, in the opinion of most, very unadvised: the Queene unsatisfyed with it; so is all the people of quality." But I cannot forego the satisfaction of giving entire a letter, which he wrote to the Countess from thence not many days after, and another, which closed their correspondence for ever; both exquisitely illustrative of the character of his talents, his affections, his accomplishments, and his temper.

"My dearest Hart,

Just as I was going out of the trenches on Wednesday I received your letter of the 20th of this instant, which gave me so much satisfaction that it put all the inconveniencies of this siege out of my thoughts. At that instant, if I had followed my own inclinations, I had returned an answer to your's, writing to you, and hearing from you, being the most pleasant entertainment I am capable of receiving in any place, but especially here, where, but when I am in the trenches (which place is seldom without my company) I am more solitarie than ever I was in my life; this countrie being very full of private cottages, in one of which I am quartered, where my Lord Falkland did me the honour to sup. Mr. Chillingworth is here with me, at Sir Nicholas Selwin's, who has been this week at Oxford. Our little engineer (Chillingworth) comes not hither so much out of kindness to me as for his own conveniency, my quarters being three or four miles nearer the leaguer than my Lord of Devonshire's, with whom he staid till he was commanded to make ready his engines with all possible speed. It is not to be imagined with what diligence and satisfaction (I mean to himself) he executes his command: for my part, I think it not unwisely done of him to change his profession; and I think you would have been of my mind, if you had heard him dispute last night with My Lord Falkland in favour of Socinianism; wherein he was by his Lordship so often confounded, that really it appears he has much more reason for his engines than for his opinions. I put of my writing till last night, out of hopes that somewhat here would have happened worthie of your knowledge, and you see what good companie made me defer it last night, at which time I was newly come from our leaguer, whither I thought to have gone this morning, but I have got such a kinde of small boile, in such a place that I cannot ride without pain, so I cannot with modesty make a more particular discription. I find that we had only an alarum, which they gave to hinder our working, not daring to sally any more, being so well beaten the last time. Our gallery will be finished within this day or two, and then we shall soon dispatch our mine, and them with it. Many of the soldiers are confident that we shall have the towne within this four days, which I extremely long for; not that I am weary of this siege, for really, though we suffer many inconveniences, yet I am not ill pleased with this variety, so directly opposite as the being in the trenches, with so much good company, together with the noise and tintamarre of guns and drums, with the horrid spectacles, and hideous cries, of dead and hurt men, is to the solitariness of my quarter, together with all the markes of peace, which often brings into my thoughts, notwithstanding your mother's

opinion of me, how infinitely more happy I should esteem myself quietly to enjoy your company at Althorp than to be troubled with the noises, and engaged in the factions of the Court, which I shall ever endeavour to avoid." (Here follow many undecyphered lines) "When we were at Bristol, Sir William was there, but I heare he is now gone to Hereford, for which I envie him, and all others that can go to their owne houses; but I hope 'ere longe you will let me have your companie, and Popet's, the thought of which is to me most pleasant, and passionately desired by your's,

SUNDERLAND."

Aug. 25th. before Gloucester.

In the first week of September Charles abandoned the siege of Gloucester, and passed over the Severn towards Bristol. Lord Sunderland, whose military service was distinguished by two peculiar resolutions; the one, always to be present when the King commanded in person; the other, never to accept a commission; attended his royal master thither, and, after a visit of a few days to Oxford, again joined the army, when it was on the point of engaging the rebels in the first battle of Newbury. Immediately before he left Oxford he wrote thus to his Lady.

"My dearest Hart,

Since I wrote to you last from Sulbey we had some hope of fighting with my Lord of Essex's army, having certain intelligence of his being in a field convenient enough, called Ripple Field, towards which we advanced with all possible speed; upon which he retired with his army to Tewxbury, where, by the advantage of the bridge, he was able to make good his quarter, with five hundred men against twenty thousand; so that, though we were so near as to have been with him in two hours, his quarter being so strong, it was resolved on Thursday, as he would not fight with us, we should endeavour to force him to it by cutting off his provisions, for which purpose the best way was for the bodie of our army to go back to Evesholme, and for our horse to distress him. Upon which I, and others, resolved to come for a few days to Oxford, where we arrived late on Thursday night, there being no probability of fighting very suddenlie. As soon as I came I went to your father's, where I found Alibone, with whose face I was bettre pleased then with any of the ladyes here. This expression is so much a bolder thing then charging Lord Essex that, should this letter miscarry, and come to the knowlege of our dames, I should, by having my eies scratcht out, be cleared from coming away from the army from feare, where if I had stayed it's odds if I had lost more then one. Last night very good news came to the Court, that we yesterday morning fell upon a horse quarter of the enemie's, and cut off a regement; and my Lord of Newcastell hath killed and taken prisoners two whole regements of horse and foot, that issued out of Hull, which place he hath hopes to take. By the same messenger, last night, the King sent the Queene word he would come hether upon Monday or Tewsday; upon one of which daies, if he alters his resolucions, I shall not fail to return to the army. I am afraid our setting down before Gloucester has hindred us from making an end of the war this yere, which nothing could keepe us from doing if we had a moneth's more time which we lost there, for we never were in a more prosperous condition; and yet the divisions do not at all deminishe, especiallie between 142 and 143, by whiche we receve prejudice. I never sawe the King use anie bodie with more neglect than the Earl of Holland; and we saie he is not used much better by the Queene. Mrs. Jermin met my Lord Jermin, who, notwithstandinge your intelligens, is but a Baron, with whom I came to Woodstoke, who told me she would write to you, which I hope she hath don; for since I came here I have seen no creature but your father, and my unkell; so that I am altogether ignorant of the intreigues of this place. Before I go hence I shall have a letter for you. I take the best care I can about my oeconomicall affaires. I am afraid I shall not be abell to get you a better house, every bodie thinking me mad for speaking about it. Pray bless Popet for me, and tell her I would have writt to her, but that, upon mature deliberacon, I found it uncivil to return an answer to a lady

in another character then her owne, which I am not yet learned enough to do. I cannot, by walkinge about my chambre, call any thinge more to mynde to sett downe here; and really I have made you no small complement in writinge thus muche, for I have so great a colde that I do nothinge but sneeze, and my eies do nothinge but water, all the while I am in the posture of holdinge downe my head. I beseche you present his servis to my ladie, who is most passionatelie and perfectlie your's,

SUNDERLAND."

Oxford, Sept. 16, 1643.

They never met again. The battle was fought on the twentieth, the fourth day after the date of this letter. The King's Horse, in which Sunderland served, " charged," says Lord Clarendon, " with a kind of contempt of the enemy, and with wonderful boldness, upon all grounds of inequality; and were so far too hard for the troops of the other side, that they routed them in most places:" and here, adds the noble author, fell " the Earl of Sunderland, a Lord of great fortune; tender years, being not above three and twenty years of age; and an early judgement; who, having no command in the army, attended upon the King's person, under the obligation of honour; and, putting himself that day in the King's troop, a volunteer, was taken away by a cannon bullet." He lived for some short time after having received the shot. " His holy thoughts," says Lloyd, " went, as harbingers of his soul, to heaven, whereof he had a glimpse before he died, through the chinks of a wounded body." He was, adds that writer, " a good patriot upon all other occasions, as one of them at Westminster observed; promoting the trade, manufactures, and privileges of this country; and now standing by his Majesty as he evidently saw him stand for his kingdom; saying, by a foresight and prospect that he had of things suitable to the eminence of his place, that 'one seven years would shew that the King was the true Commonwealth's-man:' A true nobleman, that was virtuous because it became him, as well as because it was enjoined him; being above all vice, as well as without it; looking upon it as his shame and dishonour, as well as sin and offence: A good neighbour; the country about him, when he had occasion to make use of it, being his friends that loved him, rather than slaves that feared him: A discreet landlord, finding ways to improve his land, rather than rack his tenants: A noble housekeeper, to whom that ingenuity that he was master of himself was welcome in others: An honest patron, seldom furnishing a church with an incumbent till he had consulted the college he had been of, and the Bishop he lived under: An exemplary master of a family; observing exactly the excellent rules he so strictly enjoined; consecrating his house as a temple, where he ordered his followers to wrestle with God in prayer, while he wrestled with the enemy in fight."

The remains of this matchless young nobleman were interred at Brington, in Northamptonshire. He left one son, Robert, his successor, lineal ancestor to the Dukes of Marlborough, and Earls Spencer; and one daughter, Dorothy, married to Sir George Savile, Baronet, afterwards created Marquis of Halifax. His Countess, at his untimely death, was pregnant, and was soon after delivered of a daughter, who was baptized Penelope, and died an infant.

ELIZABETH CECIL,

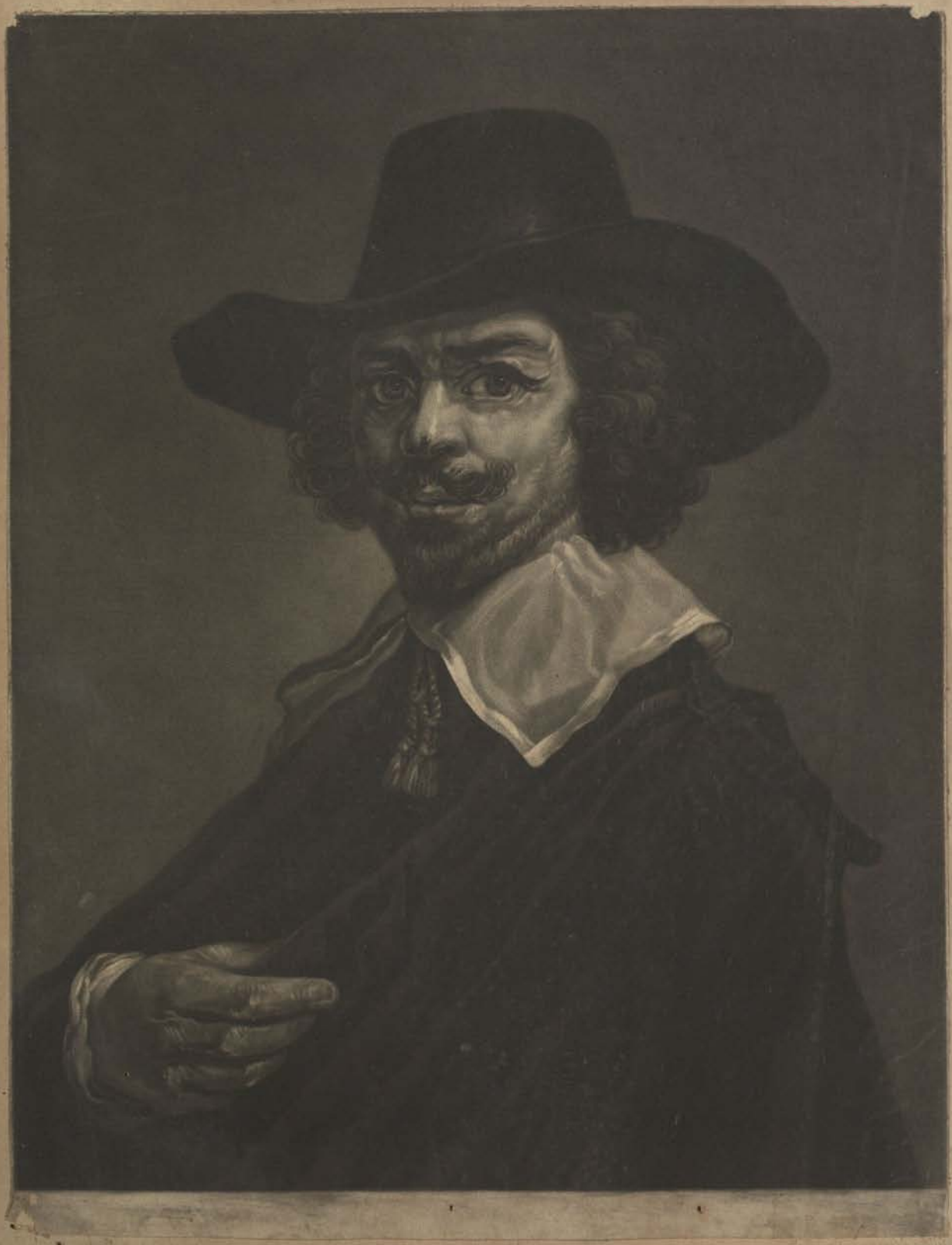
COUNTESS OF DEVONSHIRE.

THIS Lady was the second daughter of William, second Earl of Salisbury of the Cecils, by Catherine, youngest daughter of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk of his family, and Lord Treasurer. Little is known of her, than that she was distinguished by the most exquisite beauty; but the unceasing attachment of her excellent husband, and the silence of scandal in an age and court not sparing of censure, leave little doubt that her character was at least blameless. William, third Earl of Devonshire, that great ornament to the name of Cavendish, alluding to whose fine person Hobbes, his tutor, prayed that "God might give him virtues suitable to the fair dwelling he had prepared for them;" and of whom the respectable biographer of a part of his family has said that "he was seasoned with the just tincture of all private and public worth;" returning from his travels in 1637, was captivated by her charms, and soon after made her his wife. The match was little pleasing to his family. The Earl of Salisbury was not rich; burthened with a most numerous offspring; and of a character different from that of his son-in-law, even to contrariety. Salisbury was deficient in all the worthy and amiable relations of private life, and totally without public principles, or even prejudices: Devonshire was a pattern of honour, politeness, and loyalty. An union formed under circumstances so unpropitious afforded but a doubtful prospect of happy results. The ardent passion however of this youthful pair seems to have subsided gradually into that nameless species of mutual affection which sometimes blesses and adorns the connubial state, and is never found to exist in any other form of human relation. They lived together nearly half a century. The Earl died on the twenty-third of November, 1684, and she survived him till the sixteenth of the same month, in the year 1689, and was buried, on the twenty-second, in a large vault, under the east window of Henry the seventh's chapel, in Westminster Abbey, known by the name of the Ormond vault, in which the body of Oliver Cromwell lay, till it was removed soon after the restoration.

This Lady brought to the Earl two sons: William, afterwards eminently conspicuous in the public affairs of his time, who, on the twelfth of May, 1694, was created Duke of Devonshire, and Marquis of Hartington, and from whom the present Duke is lineally descended; and a second son, Charles, born in 1655, who died unmarried about 1670. She left also one daughter, Anne, married first to Charles Lord Rich, only son to Charles, the last Earl of Warwick of his family; secondly, to her kinsman, John Cecil, Lord Burghley, afterwards Earl of Exeter. To this lady Prior addressed a poem of some length, which may be found in his works, inscribed "to the Countess of Exeter, playing on the Lute," which commences thus—

> "What charms you have, from what high race you sprung,
> Have been the pleasing subjects of my song;
> Unskill'd and young, yet something still I writ
> Of Candish' beauty, joined to Cecil's wit."

If the poet meant, in the conclusion of the last of these lines, to allude to the wit of her mother, and it is difficult to conceive that he could have had any other meaning, the passage lends some aid to the intention of this scanty memoir.



THOMAS WENTWORTH,

FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.

KING Charles the first, in his celebrated apology (for doubtless it was the offspring of his heart and pen) published under the title of Eikon Basiliké, says of this nobleman, "I looked upon my Lord of Strafford as a gentleman whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid than ashamed to employ him in the greatest affairs of state; for those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors." The just censure conveyed by these words is expressed with a kind and noble delicacy. Strafford possessed deep wisdom, and the highest honour, but the one was clouded by choler, and the other by a vindictive spirit. In the absence of those unhappy weaknesses he had an exact sense of pure and genuine dignity. It was a principle which infused itself into all he thought, or said, or did; which attended him in courts, in councils, and in private society; increased at once the elegancy of his sentiments, and the grandeur and justness of his conceptions; shed an equal grace on his eloquence and demeanour in the Senate, and on his domestic conversation and œconomy; added weight to his advice, and vigour to his action. This, in milder times, would have been in such a man a virtue; but when a mutual interchange of condescension was necessary between King and people; when parties were to be reconciled, and confidence restored, and the changing events and humours of each day required a pliancy of manners, as well as temper, to meet their various irregularities; its effects were highly pernicious. No public minister ever sought the welfare of the State with more constant sincerity, or with less regard to his own private interests, and few have been so ill requited; for he, as well as his royal master, perished in the defence of the political establishment, or, to use a term of modern invention, of the constitution, of that day, and posterity has not yet fully rendered justice either to his conduct or his motives.

He descended from the senior line of one of the most ancient and powerful families of the order of English gentry; was the eldest son of Sir William Wentworth, of Wentworth Woodhouse, in Yorkshire, by Anne, daughter of Robert Atkinson, of Stowell, in Gloucestershire, an eminent Barrister, and a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn; and was born in that gentleman's house, in Chancery Lane, on the thirteenth of April, 1593. His education, the early part of which he seems to have received at home, was completed at St. John's College, in Cambridge, on leaving which he passed nearly two years in France, not extending his travels beyond that country, and returned in the spring of 1613. His father died towards the conclusion of the following year, when he inherited, together with the title of Baronet, an estate to the full annual amount of six thousand pounds, largely charged however with portions for younger children. A man of such property, possessed too of splendid talents, was not likely to remain long undistinguished, at least by provincial honours. In 1615, Sir John, afterwards Lord, Savile, who had misconducted himself in his post of Custos Rotulorum for Yorkshire, was obliged to relinquish that office, to which Sir Thomas Wentworth was immediately appointed. Savile ascribed his disgrace to his successor, and, by some channel of interest now forgotten, prevailed on the Duke of Buckingham to move the King to reinstate him, and the favourite wrote to Wentworth soliciting him for that purpose to resign. He replied by a long and spirited statement, and Buckingham conceded for the time, but the affair produced a mortal enmity between them, which subsisted till the Duke's death, and perhaps contributed not a little to form

the line of political conduct first adopted by Wentworth. In 1621 he was chosen to represent the County of York, and again in 1625, in the first Parliament of Charles the first. He resolutely opposed in the House of Commons all those measures of the Court the doubtful legality of which was now discussed in that assembly with a boldness and freedom hitherto unknown, and was already considered as a chief leader, which indeed was every where his natural station, of the party which he had espoused, when that Parliament was dissolved. He was disqualified from sitting in the next by the appointment of High Sheriff, which was forced on him purposely to that effect; and had no sooner entered on the duties of his unwelcome office than a writ was put into his hands, even while he was presiding on the bench in a County Court, to remove him from his place of Custos Rotulorum. The speech by which in the instant he disclosed this insult to the Magistrates and others then assembled is published in the "Strafford Papers," and furnishes an admirable specimen of the greatness of mind, ready wit, and powerful expression, which always distinguished him.

These injuries, which had been inflicted at the suggestion of Buckingham, excited Wentworth's resentment to the utmost, and naturally sharpened his opposition to those public measures in the direction of which his enemy was known to have so large a share. In the close of the succeeding year, on his stedfast refusal to pay the sum charged on him by a loan levied without the authority of Parliament, he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, and afterwards restricted for several months to a space not exceeding two miles around the town of Dartford, in Kent. Soon after his release however he was a third time elected by the County of York, to serve in the Parliament which met in the spring of 1628, and renewed his efforts for the popular cause in the House of Commons with much apparent zeal, particularly in forwarding, by the utmost exertions of argument and eloquence, the memorable Petition of Right, which it is well known was granted by Charles in its fullest extent. He now declared his opinion that the country ought to be satisfied with the concessions that it had obtained from the Crown; suddenly abandoned a party the violence of which he too well knew to expect that it should yield to his suggestions; and offered his services to the King, who, pressed on all sides by difficulties, received him with open arms: forms of reconciliation passed between him and Buckingham, over whom the assassin's dagger then hung; and, on the twenty-second of July, 1628, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron, and on the tenth of the following December promoted to that of Viscount, Wentworth. Within very few weeks after those dignities had been conferred on him, he was appointed Lord President of the North, Lieutenant of the County of York, and a Privy Counsellor.

These extraordinary circumstances excited, as might be expected, in the two great opposing parties censures which agreed in nothing but the vehemence with which they were uttered. Wentworth was branded by the popular faction with the odium of a traitor and an apostate, while the royalists held, or affected to hold him as a politician wholly guided by wisdom and virtue, and doubtless, as is usual in such cases, he was misrepresented by each. He had in fact been always earnestly attached to monarchy. The splendor that surrounds a throne; the air of generosity which gilds the manners of a Court; the dignified submission of counsellors who own but a single superior; and the power necessarily annexed to the station of such ministers; were all well suited to the loftiness of his ardent mind. On the other hand, the part which he had hitherto taken in the House of Commons was as consistent with the strictest loyalty as it was with true patriotism and with common sense, nor had parliament yet been disgraced by the practice of bartering opposition for favour and employment. It is an historical fact that he quitted the popular party, at the precise moment when the power of the Crown had been reduced to a wholesome standard, and all the just claims of the people satisfied. There was a remarkable agreement between the most important features of the King's character and his own, and it was always allowed, even by Charles's most implacable enemies, that he was a Prince in whose service there was no danger of derogation from honour. Rushworth, a writer not to be suspected of partiality to Wentworth, speaking of his accession to the

royal cause, says " His arguments for the rights of the subject were mixed with so dutiful an appearance of the highest concern and honour both for his King and country as made him generally esteemed, and begot him an interest in his Sovereign; whereupon Sir Richard Weston, about that time made Lord Treasurer, with much application sought his acquaintance and friendship. After their first interview they engaged in a near familiarity; and soon after it happened that in some conferences touching the popular humour then appearing in the House of Commons, and the measures they were on tending to no good, Sir Thomas Wentworth proposed such candid and rational methods to be followed in that exigence of affairs as ever after caused his judgement on all occasions to be much valued, and his advice pursued." Lord Clarendon, however, with that candour which, amidst so many perfections, is the chief ornament of his noble history, thus admits that the change in his political conduct was not wholly uninfluenced by private motives. " His first inclinations and addresses to the Court were only to establish his greatness in the country, where he apprehended some acts of power from the Lord Savile, who had been his rival always there, and of late had strengthened himself by being made a Privy Counsellor, and officer at Court: but his first attempts were so prosperous that he contented not himself with being secure from the Lord's power in this country, but rested not till he had bereaved his adversary of all power and place in Court, and so sent him down, a most abject disconsolate old man, to his country, where he was to have the superintendancy over him too, by getting himself at that time made Lord President of the North." To quit the subject of Wentworth's political change, I will observe that the strongest presumption of its sincerity may be fairly founded on the strict uniformity of his subsequent public conduct.

The King, now deprived of Buckingham, received Lord Wentworth into the most unlimited confidence. On the tenth of April, 1632, he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, Lord Falkland having been removed from that office to make way for him, as was soon after Lord Wilmot from the station of General in chief, which was also conferred on him. He was invested with powers never before granted to any governor of that country, the exercise of which was left almost wholly to his discretion. Before his departure, he drew in his closet the system by which he proposed to govern a distracted and discontented country. It was full of wisdom and boldness, and received the King's implicit approbation. He prevailed on Charles to permit him to call a Parliament, and the Irish, who had not for many years been flattered by that sign of freedom, hailed him as the restorer of their independence, and granted supplies with an alacrity equal to the reluctance which then impeded all financial measures at home. All parties have agreed that Ireland had never before been so wisely or so beneficently governed, and the Deputy himself, with an honest pride, boasted of the success of his unremitting endeavours: " Very confident I am," says he, in a letter to the Lord Danby, " that his Majesty hath now made himself more absolute master of this kingdom by his wisdom than any of his progenitors were ever able to do by their swords."

Amidst the general conciliation, however, inspired by the mildness and prudence of his administration, instances of severity occurred which have left a stain on his memory. Patient amidst the difficulties and solicitudes of the government of a State, Wentworth lost his magnanimity on occasions of personal offence, and even made his state authority an instrument of private vengeance. One of his gentlemen ushers, and an officer in his own regiment of horse, a Mr. Annesley, related to the Lord Mountnorris, having accidentally hurt him in removing a stool on which he had rested his foot, in the ceremony of meeting the Parliament, Lord Mountnorris, a few days after, said at the Lord Chancellor's table, alluding to some reprehension which his kinsman had previously received from Wentworth on a matter of military discipline, " perhaps it was done in revenge of that public affront which the Lord Deputy had done him formerly; but he has a brother who would not take such a revenge." These words were interpreted as conveying a threat against the Deputy's life. A formal accusation to that effect was submitted to a council of war, Lord Mountnorris happening to have the command of a regiment. He was convicted, on an overstrained application of some articles of a military code lately instituted: stripped

of his military rank and offices; and condemned to be shot or beheaded, at the pleasure of the Lord Deputy. The Viscount Loftus, Chancellor of Ireland, having, in a moment of irritation, charged him at the Council Board with some partial interference in a suit concerning the Chancellor's family then pending before that body, and, on the Deputy's denial, having rejoined "I wish to God I had not found it so," was subjected to a tedious imprisonment; endeavoured in vain to obtain his release by the most humiliating apology perhaps ever penned by a great public officer; and fell, in the end, into utter disgrace. On these misapplications of authority Lord Clarendon remarks that Wentworth "had been compelled, upon reason of state, to exercise many acts of power, and had indulged some to his own appetite and passion, as in the cases of the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Mountnorris; the first of which was satis pro imperio, but the latter, if it had not concerned a person notoriously unbeloved, and so the more unpitied, would have been thought the most extravagant piece of sovereignty that in a time of peace had been ever executed by any subject."

In June, 1636, he returned for a time to England, and rendered to the King, in Council, an exact statement of all the matters of his government, together with his further designs for the benefit of Ireland, and for the advancement of the royal interests there, all which was received with expressions of the highest approbation and gratitude. He took this opportunity to renew to the King his suit for an Earldom, for he had asked fruitlessly for that dignity two years before, and now prefaced his request by observing that such a mark of his master's favour would silence his enemies, and by an apology for those acts of violence which have been just now spoken of, and some others with which he had been charged, but he was again refused. Charles's answers to his applications have been preserved, and are pieces of considerable interest: the first, for the firmness with which that accomplished and unfortunate Prince asserts his resolution to be the sole dispenser of his own favours; the second, for sound sense and argument; and both, for elegant conciseness of expression.

—"Now I will begin," says Charles, in concluding a letter of business, from Hampton Court, of the twenty-third of October, 1634, "concerning your suit, though last come to my hands. And, first, for the form; that is to say in coming to me not only primarily but solely, without so much as acquainting any body with it, the bearer being as ignorant as any. This I do not only commend, but recommend to you to follow always hereafter, at least in what concerns your own particular; for to servants of your quality, and some degrees under too, I allow of no mediators, though friends are commendable, for the dependance must come merely from me, and to me. And, as for the matter, I desire you not to think that I am displeased with the asking, though for the present I grant it not; for I acknowledge that noble minds are always accompanied with lawful ambitions; and be confident that your services have moved me more than it is possible for any eloquence or importunity to do; so that your letter was not the first proposer of putting marks of favour on you; and I am certain that you will willingly stay my time, now you know my mind so freely, that I may do all things a mi modo; and so I rest your assured friend,

CHARLES R."

The second denial, dated from Lyndhurst, the third of September, 1636, is as follows.

"Wentworth,

Certainly I should be much to blame not to admit so good a servant as you are to speak with me, since I deny it to none that there is not a just exception against; yet I must freely tell you that the cause of this desire of your's, if it be known, will rather hearten than discourage your enemies; for if they can once find that you apprehend the dark settling of a storm when I say no, they will make you leave to care for any thing in a short while but for your fears; and, believe it, the marks of my favour that stop malicious tongues are neither places nor titles, but the little welcome I give to

accusers, and the willing ear I give to my servants. This is not to disparage those favours, for envy flies most at the fairest mark, but to shew their use; to wit, not to quell envy, but to reward service, it being truly so when the master without the servant's importunity doth it; otherwise, men judge it more to proceed from the servant's wit than the master's favour. I will end with a rule that may serve for a statesman, courtier, or a lover—never make a defence or apology before you be accused; and so I rest your assured friend,

CHARLES R."

There is somewhat of sharpness in these letters that might seem inconsistent with the affectionate friendship which the King certainly entertained for Wentworth, but Charles's personal attachments were coloured by the seriousness of his nature, and regulated by a discerning judgement. He saw the errors of Wentworth's character, and endeavoured to correct them by the wholesome chastisement of parental authority. Wentworth returned in the succeeding November, mortified, but with unshaken fidelity, to Ireland, where the altered complexion of affairs called him to the performance of duties which had not hitherto been necesssary. The infection of the Scottish rebellion had been communicated to that island, especially in the province of Ulster, the inhabitants of which were mostly of Scottish descent, and professed the persuasion of the Kirk. By equal exertions of prudence and firmness he averted the danger. He obliged all the Scots resident in Ireland to take an oath of allegiance, by which they also abjured "all covenants, oaths, or bonds of mutual defence and assistance against any persons whatsoever by force, without his Majesty's sovereign and regal authority;" entered into a direct correspondence with the great leaders of the discontented in Scotland, and considerably damped their designs on the Irish by his persuasions or menaces; took the most vigorous measures for equipping an army; and totally frustrated for the time the hopes of the rebellious party. These arduous occupations consumed nearly three years, and in the month of September, 1639, he passed over, by the King's private command, to England. He now obtained that rank in the peerage which he had so long and earnestly desired: on the twelfth of the following January he was created Earl of Strafford, to which title was added that of Baron of Raby, and his office of Deputy of Ireland was at the same time dignified by the more lofty style of Lord Lieutenant.

Charles's affairs were at that precise epoch in a state of the most critical urgency, and his servants weak, timid, or disaffected. Among them Laud alone possessed at once talents, boldness, honesty, and loyalty, but his breeding had been that of a churchman, his political views were narrow, and his temper, as well as his habits, inclined him to intolerance. Between him and Strafford the closest friendship had long subsisted, and the King, hoping that the enlarged mind of the one might correct the occasional errors of the other, now determined to make them the joint depositories of his entire confidence, and Strafford the main adviser of his government. The Earl was accordingly received into the Cabinet, and became in the instant the ostensible chief minister. He proposed an immediate war with the Scottish rebels; that Parliaments might be summoned without delay, both in England and Ireland; and that, as the supplies expected to be granted would be long in levying, a sum should be raised by voluntary contribution among the nobility, and especially the King's immediate servants, to furnish the means for the war, and other pressing exigencies of the State. All was implicitly agreed to, and Strafford, after having subscribed twenty thousand pounds, departed once more for Ireland, and arrived in Dublin on the eighteenth of March, 1640, where he immediately met the Parliament, which cheerfully gave him four subsidies. He appointed a Council of War for that country, and gave orders for the raising eight thousand foot, and five hundred cavalry, to be sent into Scotland, together with two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, of the standing army of Ireland, the whole to serve under his command. He arranged these great affairs in the space of one fortnight, and quitting that country, never to return to it, embarked, in very bad health, on the third of April, and reached London, in a litter, about the middle of that month.

He found the English Parliament, which had been called by his advice, then sitting,

and a powerful opposition in the House of Commons to Charles's requisition of supplies. His illness had scarcely permitted him to communicate with the King on the posture of affairs, when his Majesty, prompted by the misrepresentations of Herbert, his Solicitor General, but, more especially, of Sir Henry Vane, then one of his Secretaries of State, and without taking the advice of any others, suddenly dissolved the Parliament. It was believed by many, perhaps extravagantly, that Vane had been prompted to counsel this measure by his implacable hatred to the Earl of Strafford. Jealousies and disgusts had long subsisted between them, and his enmity to that nobleman had been sealed by Strafford's imprudent, and possibly perverse, acceptance of the Barony of Raby, to which Vane, from some circumstances of his descent, thought he rather ought to have been preferred. Be this as it might, the dissolution of that Parliament was a severe blow to Strafford. The share he was known to have had in procuring it had added popularity to his power. Even the republican Whitelock confesses in his "Memorials" that "the Earl of Strafford, for preventing the growth of the present evils, highly approved and magnified the King's resolution of taking the advice of his Parliament of England, and had the honour of the people's good opinion for it." But the chief misfortune was that it distracted and disconcerted in great measure the comprehensive and well digested plan which he had laid for the restoration of order and tranquillity, under a royal government.

This disappointment, together with the malice of the popular party, which could never for a moment forget the discredit, as well as the loss, that they had suffered by his secession, perhaps induced him now to accept a military command. It had in the preceding year become indispensably necessary to send troops against the Scots, who were preparing with much activity to invade the northern counties. That expedition had been shamefully mismanaged, and was concluded by a disgraceful treaty, which could scarcely be considered more than a suspension of hostilities. The King, who was already at York, determined at length to lead in person his army against them, and Strafford was appointed Lieutenant General, under the Earl of Northumberland, who was named to the chief command, but was prevented by a sudden and dangerous illness from assuming it. Strafford therefore entered on it, still retaining the commission of Lieutenant. Lord Clarendon informs us that "he was scarce recovered from a great sickness, yet was willing to undertake the charge, out of pure indignation to see how few men were forward to serve the King with that vigour of mind they ought to do; but, knowing well the malicious designs which were contrived against himself, he would rather serve as Lieutenant General under the Earl of Northumberland than that he should resign his commission; and so, with and under that qualification, he made all possible haste towards the north, before he had strength enough for the journey." On his arrival in Northumberland he met the army shamefully flying, even without resistance, before the Scots, who had possessed themselves of Newcastle; and now, again says Lord Clarendon, "those who by this time no doubt were retained for that purpose, took that opportunity to incense the army against him, and so far prevailed in it that in a short time it was more inflamed against him than against the enemy; and was willing to have their want of courage imputed to excess of conscience; and that their being not satisfied in the grounds of the quarrel was the only cause that they fought no better. In this indisposition in all parts, the Earl found it necessary to retire with the army to the skirts of Yorkshire, and himself to York, whither the King was come, leaving Northumberland and the Bishoprick of Durham to be possessed by the victors." Charles, however, boldly testified his approbation of Strafford's endeavours in this service by immediately conferring on him the Order of the Garter, into which he was elected at York, on the twelfth of September, 1640.

It was now that the King took the unusual step of summoning a great Council of all the Peers, to meet him at York, and to take into their consideration his state, and that of the country. In that assembly, as well as by his private advice to the King, Strafford earnestly recommended the calling another Parliament, which it was at length agreed should meet on the third of November. It was determined also to propose a treaty to the Scots, and that it should be held at York, but they declined it, alledging that they doubted the

safety of their Commissioners in a city where Strafford, who had proclaimed them traitors in Ireland, kept his head quarters. This declaration was esteemed to be, and indeed it was so intended, a public denunciation of vengeance against him by that people: It was agreed to hold the treaty at Ripon, from whence, unhappily for Strafford, and indeed for the country, it was soon after adjourned to London. The meeting of the Parliament, for ever miserably distinguished in English history by the title of the Long Parliament, approached, and it became a question in the Cabinet whether Strafford should attend it, or remain with the army. Whitelock, the fairest of the rebel writers, gives a more full account of the decision of that question than is to be found elsewhere, and there seems to be no reason to doubt its fidelity. "The time of the meeting of the Parliament," says Whitelock, "drawing near, it was considered at York whether the Earl of Strafford should repair to the House, or continue in the North with the army. The King was earnest for his going up to the Parliament, as one of whose services he should have great occasion, and placed such confidence in his faithfulness and abilities. The Earl humbly desired his Majesty to excuse his going to the Parliament, alledging that he should not be able to do his Majesty any service there, but should rather be a means to hinder his affairs, in regard he foresaw that the great envy and ill will of the Parliament, and of the Scots, would be bent against him, whereas if he kept out of sight he would not be so much in their mind as he should be by shewing himself in Parliament; and, if they should fall upon him, he being at a distance, whatsoever they should conclude against him he might the better avoid, and retire from any danger, having the liberty of being out of their hands, and to go over to Ireland, or to some other place where he might be most serviceable to his Majesty: but, if he should put himself into their power by coming up to the Parliament, it was evident that the House of Commons, and the Scots, with all their party, especially being provoked by his coming among them, would presently fall upon him, and prosecute his destruction. The King, notwithstanding these reasons, continued very earnest for Strafford's coming up to the Parliament, for which he laid his commands upon him, and told him that, as he was King of England, he was able to secure him from any danger, and that the Parliament should not touch one hair of his head. The Earl thanked his Majesty, but replied that if there should fall out a difference between his Majesty and his Parliament concerning him it would be a great disturbance to his Majesty's affairs, and he had rather suffer himself than that the King's affairs should in any measure suffer by reason of his particular. The King remained unalterable in his resolution concerning Strafford's coming up to the Parliament, saying that he would want his advice in the great transactions which were like to be in this Parliament, and, in obedience to his commands, the Earl came up to London."

History cannot furnish another instance of so many adverse circumstances concurring to effect the ruin of one man as those which in that hour surrounded Strafford: Pursued by the bitter hatred of the whole nation of Scotland, whose rebellion his vigilance would have thwarted, and his bravery chastised; of the Irish nobility, whose power he had curbed, to serve the interests of the community; and, most of all, of the party at home which he had justly abandoned: misrepresented to the people of England, who had been industriously taught to consider him as the author of their imaginary afflictions; disliked by the Queen, whose influence he had always wisely opposed; and scarcely considered by his ministerial colleagues, whose envy and jealousy of his favour, since that favour was now become a source of danger, had subsided into indifference. But the grandeur of Strafford's spirit, as well as the fervour of his loyalty, was unalterable. A few early days of the Parliament having been necessarily occupied by the usual forms which attend the first meeting of those assemblies, on the eleventh of November, Mr. Pym, in a long and studied speech, enumerated the grievances of the nation, and concluded by ascribing them chiefly to the counsels of Strafford. Other leaders of the party followed, and, as had been preconcerted, each poured forth against him the particular invective which he was thought best qualified to maintain. Scarcely a breath of opposition was heard, except in a few words from the virtuous Lord Falkland; and it was tumultuously determined that the Earl should be

impeached of high treason; and Mr. Pym was ordered to state the resolution of the Commons to the Upper House, and to require that he might be placed in custody. Strafford had come down to meet the attack, and had scarcely seated himself among the Peers when his accuser entered, and preferred the impeachment, generally. The Earl was ordered to withdraw, and, having with difficulty obtained leave to utter a few words, rather in defence of the privileges of the peerage than of himself, was committed to the Usher of the Black Rod, and, shortly after, to the Tower.

The consequent proceedings against this great man are perhaps better known than any other important feature of English history. The virulent spirit of persecution and injustice by which they were conducted, and the dignified humility, and noble firmness, with which they were endured, produced so many touching circumstances which have found their way through the heart to the memory of the reader, that it would be impertinent to go into any lengthened detail of them. Among them, the horrible feeling of revenge which dictated the impeachment; the treachery and perjury of the testimony of Sir Henry Vane, who disclosed some words of obscure and uncertain import uttered by the Earl at the Council Board, and invented others; the infernal deceit of the Lord Say, who put the King on a measure to save Strafford's life which he knew would inevitably produce his destruction; the shameful artifices practised to intimidate the Crown and the Peers; and the total absence of sufficient evidence to warrant his conviction of high treason, or indeed of any other important public offence; stand prominently forward. Yet more interesting and affecting were the entire friendship and the helpless anxiety of Charles, and the unbounded magnanimity and patience of the devoted victim: the King's promise that his life should be safe, and the Earl's exquisite letter, by which he released his Majesty of that promise, and besought him to sign the bill for his attainder: the wisdom and eloquence of his defence; the piety and philosophy of his preparation for death; and the unexampled heroism of his departure. He was beheaded on Tower Hill on the twelfth of May, 1641.

Strafford's mind and heart, as will ever be those of truly great men, abounded in simplicity: It is therefore that we find so little disagreement in the reports of those who have undertaken to pourtray them. His friends have not endeavoured to conceal his faults, nor have his enemies ventured to deny his excellencies; but a candid character insists always on a candid story, and he was perhaps the only eminent statesman whom party spirit has not dared widely to misrepresent, as well in private as public capacities. "Thus fell," says Whitelock, "this noble Earl, who, for natural parts and abilities, and for improvement of knowledge by experience in the greatest affairs; for wisdom, faithfulness, and gallantry of mind; hath left few behind him who may be ranked equal with him." "And thus," more largely writes Lord Clarendon, "fell the greatest subject in power, and little inferior to any in fortune, that was at that time in any of the three kingdoms; who could well remember the time when he led those people who then pursued him to his grave. He was a man of great parts, and extraordinary endowments of nature, not unadorned with some addition of art and learning, though that again was more improved and illustrated by the other, for he had a readiness of conception, and sharpness of expression, which made his learning thought more than in truth it was. He was, no doubt, of great observation, and a piercing judgement, both in things and persons, but his too good skill in persons made him judge the worse of things, for it was his misfortune to be in a time wherein very few wise men were equally employed with him, and scarce any but the Lord Coventry, whose trust was more confined, whose abilities were equal to his; so that, upon the matter, he relied wholly upon himself, and, discerning many defects in most men, he too much neglected what they said or did. Of all his passions his pride was most predominant; which a moderate exercise of ill fortune might have corrected and reformed, and which was by the hand of heaven strangely punished by bringing his destruction upon him by two things that he most despised, the people and Sir Henry Vane. In a word, the epitaph which Plutarch records that Sylla wrote for himself may not unfitly be applied to him, 'that no man did ever exceed him, either in doing good to his friends, or in doing mischief to his enemies,' for his acts of both kinds were most notorious."

But Sir George Radclyffe, his kinsman, and most intimate friend and constant companion, brings us home to him in his closet and at his table, disclosing, in a curious piece which may be found in the appendix to the Strafford Papers, together with many remarks on his public conduct, the most minute circumstances of his private character and domestic life. I will add a few extracts from that large and irregular mass, and have done. Radclyffe tells us that "he loved justice for justice itself, taking great delight to free a poor man from a powerful oppressor, or to punish bold wickedness, whereof there are sundry instances to be given, both at York and in Ireland, which lost him some men's good will, which he thought better to be lost than kept upon those terms:" "he bore a particular personal affection for the King, and was always a lover of monarchy, although some that observed him in former parliaments thought not so; it is true," adds Sir George, "he was a subject, and sensible enough of the people's liberties; and he always thought they were best preserved when they went hand in hand, and maintained one another. He always disliked the abuse of royal authority to the oppression of subjects for private ends and interests; yet, it being most difficult and hard to keep the interests of the King and people from incroaching one upon another, the longer he lived his experience taught him that it was far safer the King should increase in power than that the people should gain advantages on the King: that may turn to the prejudice of some particular sufferers, this draws with it the ruin of the whole. He was naturally exceeding cholerick, an infirmity with which he had great wrestlings: he had sundry friends that often admonished him of it, and he had the great prudence to take in good part their admonitions: nay, I can say that I, one of his most intimate friends, never gained more upon his trust and affection than by this freedom with him in telling him of his weaknesses. But amongst all his qualities none was more eminent than his friendship, wherein he did study, and delighted to excel. He never had any thing in his possession or power which he thought too dear for his friends. He was never weary to take pains for them, or to employ the utmost of his abilities in their service. No fear, trouble, or expence, deterred him from speaking or doing any thing which their occasions required." In the duties and affections of husband and father his conduct was not to be excelled.

The Earl of Strafford was thrice married: first to Margaret Clifford, daughter of Francis, Earl of Cumberland, who died childless; secondly to Arabella, daughter of John Holles, Earl of Clare, by whom he had one son, William, his successor, and two daughters, Anne, wife of Edward Watson, Lord Rockingham, and Arabella, married to Justin Macarty, son to Donogh, Earl of Clancarty in Ireland. His third wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Godfrey Rhodes, by whom he had many children, all of whom died very young, except one daughter, Margaret, who survived him.

Edward, First Lord North.

From the original, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Guilford.

Drawn by W. Hilton, A.R.A.& Engraved (with Permission) by H. Meyer.

London. Published Feb.y 1.1817, by Lackington, Allen & Co.s and Longman Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

EDWARD, FIRST LORD NORTH.

EDWARD North, the founder of a house in which it is difficult to find a single individual undistinguished by wisdom or wit, or stained by any memorable fault or error, was the only son of Roger North, a younger brother of a respectable family, which had seated itself in the reign of Edward the fourth at Walkingham, in Nottinghamshire, by Christian, daughter of Richard Warcup, of Sconington, in Kent, and was born about the year 1496. He lost his father, who was in some mercantile profession, and seems to have been an inhabitant of London, in 1509, and, probably because he was too young to follow the same calling, was placed in a course of studies to qualify him for the practice of the law, which he finished at Peter-house, in the University of Cambridge. He soon acquired a considerable reputation at the bar, and was appointed, while yet a very young man, advocate for the city of London. It is very likely that his interest with that corporation might have been forwarded by an alderman of the name of Wilkinson, who had married one of his sisters; and still more probable that he was first introduced to the ministers of Henry the eighth by Thomas Burnet, Auditor of the Exchequer, who was the husband of another. However this might have been, it is certain that in 1531 he was made one of the two joint Clerks of the Parliament, an office then of such respectability that it was frequently held in that reign by men of the first rank in public employment. Four years afterwards he was called to the station of one of the King's Sergeants at law; in 1541 resigned his clerkship of the Parliament, and was appointed Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations; and in the following year was knighted, and elected a representative for the County of Cambridge.

The Court of Augmentations was a temporary establishment instituted upon the dissolution of religious houses, and was so named from the augmentation of the income of the Crown by the assumption of their property, of all matters concerned in which it had the superintendance. The most consummate integrity, and the most vigilant application, were requisite in those who were to receive suddenly this enormous influx of various wealth, and to methodize and direct a new system of revenue. For the performance of these duties Henry chose Sir Edward North, and in 1545 nominated him to the office of Chancellor of that Court, jointly with Sir Richard Rich, on whose resignation, a few months after, the sole jurisdiction devolved on him. He was now called to the Privy Council, and distinguished by a degree of favour and confidence enjoyed by very few of Henry's servants in those years of caprice and cruelty which closed that Prince's reign. Indeed his character and temper seem to have well qualified him to deal with the extravagances of such a master, for his prudence was perhaps of the sort usually called worldly wisdom, and his compliance approached to servility; but those faults appear to have been the consequences rather of a timid than a selfish disposition, since there is good reason to believe that his public conduct was eminently disinterested, and his honesty was not only unimpeached, but unsuspected. Had his conscience been less nice, or his nature more daring, he might have amassed immense wealth: he contented himself however with the fair emoluments of his office, and with grants, comparatively to no great amount, of abbey lands. Henry left him a final token of esteem by appointing him one of the executors of his will, and a counsellor to the infant Edward.

In the short reign of that Prince he remained a wary and passive observer of the party contests by which it was agitated; and when the King's death produced a crisis in which no man of his degree could stand neuter, he espoused the pretensions to the Crown which had been forced on the unfortunate Jane Grey, and was one of the Privy Counsellors who

signed a letter to Mary, declaring their allegiance to her unwilling rival. For some reason of policy however, long since forgotten, Mary, on her accession to the throne, not only received him into her Privy Council, but on the seventeenth of February, 1553, O. S. the first year of her reign, summoned him to Parliament, by the title of Baron North of Kirtling, now called Catlage, in the County of Cambridge, which till that period he had continued to represent in the House of Commons. In this and the following reigns we find him also rather in the character of a courtier than a statesman. That Elizabeth held him in some degree of favour is proved by her having conferred on him, in her second year, the office of Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Ely, but she employed him in no other public capacity.

He was now verging on old age, and in declining health. On the twentieth of March, 1564, O. S. he made his will, and here, as in all the rest, left abundant proof of the caution which seems to have been the leading feature of his character, by the creation of an entail, equally remarkable, considering the custom of his time in such matters, for its strictness and extent; for the terms in which it is expressed; and for his exhortations to his heir "to beware of pride, and prodigal expences." The same spirit directed him in matrimonial choice. His first wife, whom he married when a young man, was the widow of two husbands, but very wealthy; Alice, daughter of Oliver Squyer, of Southby, in Hampshire, who had been first married to Edward, son of Sir John Myrffin, an Alderman of London, and, secondly, to John Brigadin, of Southampton: His second, who survived him till 1575, was even in her third widowhood; Margaret, daughter of Richard Butler, of London; who, as we are informed by her epitaph in the chancel of St. Laurence Jewry, had been successively wife to Andrew Francis; Robert Chartsey, an Alderman; and Sir David Brooke, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. By her he had no issue; but his first Lady brought him two sons, and two daughters: Roger, his successor, a nobleman of distinguished high spirit and bravery; and Sir Thomas, who was bred a lawyer, but is better remembered as the translator of Plutarch's Lives, Guevara's Horologium Principum, and for other literary labours. The daughters were Christian, married to William Somerset, third Earl of Worcester; and Mary, to Henry, Lord Scroope of Bolton. Lord North died, at his house in the Charter-house, London, on the thirty-first of December, 1564, and was buried in the chancel of the parish Church of Kirtling, or Catlage.

Some account of the life of this nobleman was written, "sensibly, and in a good style," as Lord Orford observes, and published by his great great grandson, Dudley, fourth Lord North. From that small work, which is composed with the pardonable partiality of a descendant, I will give a short extract, which points to the portrait here engraved, and furnishes some circumstances which ought to have a place in this memoir. "By his picture," says Dudley, "whereof there is yet a copy remaining, he appears to have been a person of a moderate stature, somewhat inclined to corpulency, and a reddish hair. As to his character, it can only appear from what has been said of him; and his letters shew he rather affected the delivery of a full and clear sense than any curiosity of style or expression. The bravery of his mind may be best judged of by his delight to live in an equipage rather above than under his condition and degree; and by his magnificence in buildings, which were very noble for materials and workmanship, as may appear by the two houses he set up at Kirtling and Charter-house. His piety, charity, and love of learning, is evident from his bestowing the parsonage of Burwell on the University of Cambridge, as also the vicarage of Burwell; and to Peter-house, the ancientest College of that University, as a token of gratitude for what he gathered there in the way of learning, the parsonage of Ellington. He provided chapels in such houses he built, which shews a desire in him of an assiduity in the service of God by himself and family; which care of providing peculiar places for divine service within families was too much neglected in the following age, as may be witnessed by many great and stately houses then built. He also built a chapel for the interment of his posterity, adjoining to the south part of the chancel in Kirtling Church; for, though the main superstition was expired, yet burials in those days were attended with the performance of much religious duty."

Fulke Greville, First Lord Brooke.

From the original, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble Lord Willoughby de Broke

Drawn by W. Hilton A.R.A.— & Engraved (with Permission) by H. Cooper

London, Published Feb.y 1.st 1829, by Lackington Allen & Co.s and Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown.

FULKE GREVILLE,

FIRST LORD BROOKE.

Sir Fulke Greville, for by that style the subject of this memoir is best known, was one of the chief ornaments of Elizabeth's Court, and stood among the foremost of those who were graced by her smiles. Nature and circumstances seemed to have combined to place him favourably in the view of a Sovereign who was not more distinguished by her keen discernment, and ready approbation of merit, than by her reluctance to encourage it by solid rewards. His character united to most of the talents of a statesman the easy gaiety and refined elegance of a courtier. He was a good scholar; loved polite literature; delighted in composition, in which he employed his pen to a vast extent; and was a liberal patron to men of genius and learning. Not a breath of suspicion seems ever to have fallen either on the honour of his public or private conduct, or on his fidelity to the Crown; and his loyalty to Elizabeth appeared to be tinctured by a mixture even of personal friendship. On the other hand, he was born to the inheritance of a large estate, which he sought not to increase; avoided all intrigues, either in Court or State, and lived in harmony with the great in both; was free from envy, and perhaps just sufficiently jealous of those who were occasionally more favoured than himself to soothe the vanity of his mistress, without annoying her by his endeavours to supplant them.

Few private gentlemen could boast a more illustrious descent. His father, Sir Fulke Greville, of an ancient knightly family, sprung maternally from the great baronial houses of Beauchamp of Powick, and Willoughby de Brooke; and his mother was Anne, daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland. He was born in 1554, their only son, and great pains were bestowed on his education, which commenced in a school, then of considerable fame, in the town of Shrewsbury, where he was placed with his relation, the incomparable Philip Sidney, the darling companion of his youth, and the idol of his more mature friendship. He went from thence, at about the age of sixteen, to Oxford; was admitted, it is not known of what House, a gentleman commoner; and, after a short stay in that University, removed to Trinity College, in Cambridge, and, having there concluded his academical studies, passed on the continent the time usual with youths of his rank, and returned highly accomplished. He was now introduced at Court, and with uncommon advantages, for he was kinsman not only to the highly favoured Sir Henry Sidney, but to the sagacious and useful Walsingham, and those great statesmen had determined to breed him to their own envied and painful profession. The character of his nature, however, frustrated their endeavours. He was at once indolent and active, cautious and enterprising. He longed for distinction, but viewed with disgust the steps that usually lead to ministerial eminence. The earlier part of his life passed therefore without public employment, except in some offices probably of more profit than efficiency, which he held under Sir Henry Sidney, in his Presidency of the Marches of Wales; one of which, indeed, that of Clerk of the Signet to the Council there, to the reversion of which he succeeded in 1581, is said, almost incredibly, to have produced him in fees the great annual income of two thousand pounds.

His inclination however to stand upon his own merits remained unaltered by these advantages. Sir Philip Sidney, whom he seems to have chosen as his model, was perhaps also his adviser; and who could have refused as a guide him whom it was a glory even faintly to imitate? He projected various schemes of foreign excursion, the accomplish-

ment of which was always prevented by the Queen's express commands. "How mild soever," says he, in his life of Sir Philip Sidney, which exhibits too the most important parts of his own, "those mixtures of favours and corrections were in that princely Lady, yet, to shew that they fell heavy in crossing a young man's ends, I will only chuse and alledge a few out of many, some with leave, some without. First, when those two mighty armies of Don John's, and the Duke Casimir's, were to meet in the Low Countries, my horses, with all other preparations, being shipped at Dover, with leave under her bill assigned, even then was I staid by a princely mandate, the messenger Sir Edward Dyer." He goes on to state that having soon after made a visit to Walsingham, who was then Ambassador at Paris, without Elizabeth's permission, she was so highly offended as to forbid him her presence for several months after his return; that she arrested him, together with Sir Philip Sidney, at the moment when they were about to sail with Drake to the West Indies, in 1585; prevented him from attending Leicester, who had given him the command of an hundred horse, to the Low Countries; and, finally, punished him by a second banishment from the Court, for six months, because he had gratified an earnest curiosity to be present for a time with the army of the King of Navarre, during the wars of the League. "By which many warnings," he concludes, "I, finding the specious fires of youth to prove far more scorching than glorious, called my second thoughts to council, and in that map clearly discerning action and honour to fly with more wings than one, and that it was sufficient for the plant to grow where his Sovereign's hand had planted it, I found reason to contract my thoughts from those larger, but wandering, horizons of the world abroad, and bound my prospect within the safe limits of duty, in such home services as were acceptable to my Sovereign."

He returned therefore to the life of a courtier, and contented himself for the time with such fame as might be derived from shining in tournaments, and at banquets, and enlivening Elizabeth's select parties by the graces of his manners and conversation. Thus he passed many years, devoting however his frequent intervals of leisure to almost universal study, and to literary composition of characters little less various. It seems to have been his ambition, or his delight, or both, to confine in the golden fetters of verse the discussion of subjects which the simplicity and amplitude of prose too frequently fail to treat of with competent clearness. Hence, it is in some measure, that he has incurred the blame of a mysterious, confused, and affected writer, when the censure was rather due to a false taste, or an arrogant judgment, than to any remarkable deficiency, either of intellect or style. His prose is sufficiently intelligible; abundantly figurative, according to the fashion of his time; but, contrary to that fashion, frequently insufferably diffuse. It is evident that he neither thought nor wrote with facility, and it is no injustice to his memory to reckon him among the million whom vanity has added to the list of authors. As a lover of letters, and a patron of literary men, his reputation stands on higher ground. He founded an historical lecture in the University of Cambridge, on an annual stipend of one hundred pounds. Camden, who without detracting from the worth of Bacon or Herbert, may be called the father of truth, and purity of style, in the composition of English history, was eminently favoured by him. "This Sir Fulke Greville," says that writer, enumerating in his Britannia the eminent persons of the County of Warwick, "doth so entirely devote himself to the study of real virtue and honour, that the nobleness of his mind far exceeds that of his birth; for whose extraordinary favours, though I must despair of making suitable returns, yet, whether speaking or silent, I must ever preserve a grateful remembrance of them." The respectable Speed, who was rescued by him from that which a customary prejudice has designated the meanest of all mechanical employments, in his topographical work thus owns his obligations. "Sir Fulke Greville's merits to me-wards I do acknowledge, in setting this hand free from the daily employments of a manual trade, and giving it full liberty thus to express the inclination of my mind; himself being the procurer of my present estate." Davenant, the Laureat in the reigns of Charles the first and second, was bred in his house, and lived with him till his death; and a host of poets have mixed with their compliments to his muse their more sincere celebration of his munificence.

To return to the circumstances of his life, it was not till October, 1597, that the honour of knighthood was conferred on him, and we find him a few months after stepping out of his usual course of independence, and soliciting for the office of Treasurer of the Wars, which he did not obtain. In 1599, however, he was appointed for life Treasurer for Marine Causes, and is said to have accepted about the same time a commission as Rear Admiral in the fleet which was then equipped to resist a second invasion threatened by the Spaniards; but Elizabeth, in the concluding year of her reign, did at length bestow on him a lasting mark of her favour, by granting to him the manor, and extensive lands, of Wedgenock, one of the Warwickshire estates which had fallen to the Crown by the attainder of the Dudleys. He represented that County in most of the Parliaments of her reign; was an occasional speaker; and frequently chosen of committees.

James the first, at whose coronation he was made a Knight of the Bath, in 1603 added to his possessions in his native county a grant of the ancient Castle of Warwick, with its demesne. No boon could have been more to his taste. It was then in so ruinous and neglected a state that the only habitable part of it was used for the common gaol of the county; but "he bestowed so much cost, at least twenty thousand pounds," says Dugdale, in his History of Warwickshire, "in the repairs thereof; beautifying it with the most pleasant gardens, plantations, and walks, and adorning it with rich furniture; that, considering its situation, no place in that midland part of England can compare with it for stateliness and delight." Here then was a new occupation for the dignified leisure that he loved, and he added to it about this time a design to write a history of the preceding reign, derived from the only proper sources of history, original state papers, and his own knowledge of facts. This plan, from motives which may readily be conceived, was defeated by the selfish apprehensions of the Secretary Cecil, to whom he applied for the inspection of many documents necessary to his purpose. Greville, who perhaps had foreseen some opposition in that quarter, prefaced his request by observing that he "conceived an historian was bound to tell nothing but the truth; but that to tell all the truth were both justly to wrong and offend not only Princes and States, but to blemish and stir up against himself the frailty and tenderness, not only of particular men, but of many families;" and has been therefore severely censured by Lord Orford. Without stopping to weigh the respective demerits of historical reservation, whether arising from the meanness of fear, or the insolence of faction, suffice it to say that Cecil at first readily acceded to his motion, but, after some musing, asked him "why he would dream out his time in writing a story, being as likely to rise in this time as any man he knew;" and that, finding he could not be moved from his purpose by artifice, told him that "upon second thoughts, he durst not presume to let the council chest lie open to any man living, without his Majesty's knowledge and approbation." And "with this supersedeas," says Sir Fulke, who tells the story at considerable length in his Life of Sidney, "I humbly took my leave; at the first sight assuring myself that this last project of his would necessarily require sheet after sheet to be viewed; and that the many judgments which those embrios of mine must probably have passed through would have brought forth such a world of alterations as, in the end, the work itself would have proved a story of other men's writing, with my name only put to it; and so a worship of time; not a voluntary homage of duty."

He remained, however, unemployed in public affairs till after Cecil's death, but in 1614 was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Under Treasurer, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. As the duties and labours of those offices were moderate in the infant days of the modern giant finance so were their profits. It may be worth observing that the annual emolument of the Chancellor did not amount to forty pounds; nor that of the Under Treasurer to one hundred and eighty. On the ninth of January, 1620, he was created a Baron, by the title of Lord Brooke, of Beauchamp's Court, in Warwickshire, with remainder to his cousin, Robert Greville, whom he had bred, and adopted as his son, and who will presently be spoken of more at large; and in the following year he resigned his ministerial posts, and accepted that of one of the Gentlemen of the King's

Bedchamber. To his natural carelessness of the most usual objects of ambition was now added the indolence of increasing years. The light labours of his closet, and the polished conversation of the Court, employed the remainder of his life, and he had reached his seventy-fourth year, with little decay of health or spirits, when he was murdered, in his residence of Brooke House, in Holborn, by a gentleman domestic, whom he had retained for many years in his service. The assassin, Ralph Heywood, who was alone with him in his bedchamber, stabbed him in the back; rushed instantly into another apartment; and destroyed himself. This horrid act has been commonly, but very improbably, attributed, to the omission of Heywood's name in his Lord's will, a fact which it is scarcely possible could have been known, especially by a person of his degree, till after that nobleman's death. On this report, however, a tedious speculation on the ingratitude of patrons, and the misery of dependents, cruelly injurious to the memory of Lord Brooke, may be found in a great biographical work of modern date, by no means distinguished for its affection to the aristocratic order. The blow was probably the result of sudden frenzy. The noble sufferer survived a few days, and, dying on the thirtieth of September, 1628, was buried, with much solemnity, in the great church of Warwick, under a monument, which he had some years before erected, with the well known inscription, "Fulke Greville, Servant to Queen Elizabeth; Counsellor to King James; and Friend to Sir Philip Sidney. Trophæum Peccati." Lord Brooke was never married.

He wrote in prose, "The Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney"—"A Letter to an honourable Lady, with Advice how to behave herself to a Husband of whom she was jealous"—"A Letter on Travel," written for the use of his cousin Greville Verney, then in France;—but a little book, impudently published under his name in 1643, intituled "The five Years of King James, or the Condition of the State of England," &c. is undoubtedly spurious, although Lord Orford has unwarily admitted it into his list of Lord Brooke's writings. His poetical works, most of which were published about five years after his death, were "Cælica," a collection of one hundred and nine songs and sonnets, several of great length—"A Treatise of Human Learning," in fifteen stanzas—"An Inquisition upon Fame and Honour," in eighty-six stanzas—"A Treatise of Wars," in sixty-eight stanzas. These four pieces were published in one volume in 1633; but in 1670 appeared "The Remains of Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, being Poems of Monarchy and Religion, never before printed;" extending together to the enormous length of nearly eight hundred stanzas of six lines. He wrote also two tragedies; "Alaham," and "Mustapha," after the model of the ancient drama; an ineffectual attempt to vitiate the theatrical taste of his country, more pardonable in him than in others who have since made it with equal ill fortune. A third has also been imputed to him, intituled "Marcus Tullius Cicero," but it is believed to have been written by another hand.

To the very short examples of Lord Brooke's prose composition which have been here incidentally given, I will add a single specimen perhaps of his best poetry, and conclude.

Love, the delight of all well thinking minds;
  Delight, the fruit of virtue dearly lov'd;
Virtue, the highest good that reason finds;
  Reason, the fire wherein men's thoughts be prov'd;
    Are from the world by nature's power bereft,
    And in one creature, for her glory, left.

Beauty her cover is, the eye's true pleasure;
  In honour's fame she lives, the ear's sweet musick;
Excess of wonder grows from her true measure;
  Her worth is passion's wound, and passion's physic;
    From her true heart clear springs of wisdom flow,
    Which, imag'd in her words and deeds, men know

Time fain would stay, that she might never leave her;
  Place doth rejoice, that she must needs contain her;
Death craves of heaven that she may not bereave her;
  The Heavens know their own, and do maintain her.
    Delight, love, reason, virtue, let it be
    To set all women light but only she.

Robert Greville, Lord Brooke.

From the original in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Warwick.

Drawn by W. Hilton A.R.A.t & Engraved (with Permission) by W. T. Fry.

London, Published Feb.y 1817, by Lackington, Allen & Co.s and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

ROBERT GREVILLE,

SECOND LORD BROOKE.

Sir Fulke Greville, whose portrait may be found in this work, together with some account of his life, having been created a Baron when he was at an advanced age, and unmarried, the honour was limited by his patent, in default of heirs male of his own body, to his kinsman, Robert Greville, of whom I am now to speak, and who was the only son of Fulke Greville, of Thorpe Latimer, in Lincolnshire, first cousin to Sir Fulke, by Mary, daughter of Christopher Copley, of Sprotborough, in the county of York. His noble predecessor, however, many years before he obtained, or perhaps even expected, the dignity of peerage, had considered this Robert as his adopted son, and prepared him from the age of four years, by a suitable breeding, to fill worthily that rank in society in which he could not but be placed by the inheritance of a great estate. His education therefore, as a gentleman as well as a scholar, was conducted with the nicest care, in Sir Fulke's house, and afterwards in the University of Cambridge, which he left to travel on the continent, and, returning in 1627, was immediately after elected to serve for the borough of Warwick in the Parliament which was called and dissolved early in that year. In the autumn of the following, when he had barely passed the age of twenty-one, he succeeded to the Barony on the sudden and lamentable death of the first Lord, and was shortly after married to the Lady Catherine Russell, eldest daughter of Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford.

It has been said that his mind became strongly tainted by puritan, and consequently republican, principles during his stay abroad; but it is little likely that his kind and careful kinsman, who was himself a pattern of politeness as well as of loyalty, should have sent him to finish his education among the Calvinists of Germany or Switzerland. It is far more probable, as has been also asserted, that the first bias was given to his political prejudices by his father-in-law, who, partly from natural restlessness, and more from ambition, stood foremost among those who opposed the government of Charles the first in the hope of being appointed to direct its measures. Brooke, however, in whom a hot and energetic temper seems to have been joined to an upright heart, ran far beyond the intention of his teachers, who it may be reasonably supposed had forborn to entrust their real views to his youth and inexperience. He became a sincere republican, and his hatred of the Hierarchy even exceeded his enmity to the Throne. Few among the disaffected were of that character, and they therefore held the more firmly together. He attached himself peculiarly to the Viscount Say, a veteran of that small party, less pure and more malignant than himself; and, the prospect of rebellion at home being then uncertain, or at all events distant, they determined to fly together to some land of promise, where Kings and Courts should be unknown, and systems of government more at the mercy of speculators. They purchased therefore, from Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, an extensive tract of land in New England, which had been granted to him by the Crown, and in 1635 dispatched thither an agent, of the name of Fenwick, with powers and instructions to found a settlement, which succeeded so well that a town was presently built, and called, after their joint names, Saybrooke.

Before, however, it was ready for their reception the ferment of parties had arisen to such a height as to give them a fair hope of sufficient employment in their own country. They delayed their voyage from time to time, as the storm gradually gathered, and at length finally determined to abandon their project on the breaking out of the Scottish

rebellion. On that unhappy occasion it is well known that Charles resolved to lead his army in person to the borders; to summon his nobility to meet him on his way, at York, on an appointed day; and then to require them, as well as those of Scotland who were about the Court, to sign a short declaration of their loyalty and obedience, and of their abhorrence of the proceedings in that country. "Amongst the English nobility," says Lord Clarendon, "the Lord Say, and the Lord Brooke, two popular men, and most undevoted to the Church, and, in truth to the whole government, positively refused, in the King's own presence, to make any such protestation. They said if the King suspected their loyalty he might proceed against them as he thought fit, but that it was against the law to impose any oaths or protestations upon them which were not enjoined by the law; and in that respect, that they might not betray the common liberty, they would not submit to it. This administered matter of new dispute in a very unseasonable time; and, though there did not then appear more of the same mind, and they two were committed, at least restrained of their liberty, yet this discovered too much of the humour and spirit of the Court, in their daily discourses upon that subject; so that the King thought it best to dismiss those two Lords, and require them to return to their houses."

The determined spirit, and the rigid candour, evinced by this refusal, highly recommended Lord Brooke to a party which just at that time stood particularly in need of bold men, with unsuspected motives. He was courted accordingly by the disaffected with unremitting assiduity, and most willingly undertook to become their leader in the House of Lords, for they placed, according to Lord Clarendon, the most entire confidence in him. In the mean time the King endeavoured to persuade him by several civil offices that his late conduct at York had not been interpreted in his disfavour; summoned him again to the great council of Peers which was held in that City in September, 1640; and appointed him one of the Commissioners for the treaty which was soon after held at Ripon with the Scots. His acceptance of that trust, if he meant to exercise it, seems to have been the only circumstance of his life which tended to cast a doubt on his sincerity, for it afforded no alternative to him but to betray the King, or his own party, and if he engaged actively in the negotiations, a fact not ascertained by history, he certainly adopted the former course. Upon the removal of the treaty to London, on the meeting of the Long Parliament, he returned to distinguish himself in that assembly by the most bitter virulence against Laud and Strafford, and the most earnest endeavours to crush the whole fabrick of Church and State; and when the King was at length driven to the fatal necessity of taking up arms, appeared among the first to oppose the royal cause in the field, with the utmost fury of mis-directed zeal and activity.

Warwickshire, and its vicinity, in which he possessed that sort of influence which then necessarily attended the possession of large estates, was the scene of his military operations. In the summer of 1642 he received a commission from the Parliament to array the militia of that county, and of Staffordshire, and having put his fine castle into as good a state of defence as the means of the country could allow, repaired to London for a further supply of military stores, with which he had proceeded as far on his return as Edgehill, when he was met by the Earl of Northampton, who forced him to retreat to Banbury, where he was compelled by the vigilance of that nobleman to abandon his cannon, which the Earl immediately employed to besiege Warwick Castle. Brooke, however, presently procured a reinforcement, and, having gained the advantage in a hot skirmish, raised the siege, which had been with difficulty sustained for the space of a fortnight. He remained there till the autumn, when the Earl of Essex, with the main body of the rebel army, arrived in the town, on their way to attack the royalists, commanded by the King in person, whom they expected to find at Worcester. Brooke joined them, and they marched into that county, where they learned that the royal army had filed off by Shrewsbury to the borders of Oxford and Warwickshire, and he was detached therefore again to Warwick, with directions to meet Essex, with supplies of arms and ammunition. He dispatched them accordingly, and, following the next morning, arrived at the moment when the fortune of the day had suddenly turned in favour of the rebels in the battle of Edgehill, where his own

regiment had eminently distinguished itself. Essex, and his principal officers, retired with Brooke after the action to Warwick Castle, for a short repose; and thither were conducted also the principal royalist prisoners, together with their gallant and lamented general, the Earl of Lindsey, who died of his wounds within the walls, but before he could be conveyed to an apartment.

On the seventh of January, 1643, he was appointed by the Parliament General of the rebel forces in a large tract of country, described in his commission "the associated counties of Warwick and Stafford, and the parts adjacent." Warwickshire being already in a manner devoted to him, what small opposition remained there was presently subdued, and he marched, with twelve hundred men, against Lichfield, which was held by a very slender force, under the command of Lord Chesterfield. Of the events which occurred in that enterprise I will give Lord Clarendon's account in his own words; not only because it supplies some hints of Lord Brooke's character, of which little has been communicated elsewhere, but for the sake of shewing how far the noble historian was justly liable to the censure of superstition which has been so largely cast on him by an admired author of his own rank, not long since deceased, for merely mentioning in that passage some idle prejudices which a singular coincidence of circumstances had excited in the minds of others.

"Some gentlemen of that county," says Lord Clarendon, "rather well affected than experienced, before they were well enough provided to go through their work, seized on the Close in Lichfield for the King; a place naturally strong, and defended with a moat, and a very high and thick wall, which in the infancy of the war was thought a good fortification. To suppress this growing force, within the limits of his association, the Lord Brooke advanced, with a formed body of horse, foot, and cannon, part drawn from the Earl of Essex's army, and the rest out of the garrisons of Coventry and Warwick, and, without any resistance, entered the city of Lichfield, which, being unfortified, was open to all comers. He was so far from apprehending any danger from the besieged that himself lodged in a house within musquet shot of the Close, where, the very day he meant to assault it, sitting in his chamber, and the window open, he was from the wall of the Close by a common soldier shot with a musquet in the eye, of which he instantly died, without speaking a word. There were many discourses and observations upon his death, that it should be upon St. Chad's day, (being the second day of March) by whose name, he being a Bishop shortly after the planting of christianity in this island, that church had been anciently called: and it was reported that in his prayer that very morning, for he used to pray publicly, though his chaplain were in the presence, he wished that if the cause he were in were not right and just he might be presently cut off. They who were acquainted with him believed him to be well natured, and just; and rather seduced, and corrupted in his understanding, than perverse and malicious. Whether his passions or conscience swayed him, he was undoubtedly one of those who could have been with most difficulty reconciled to the government of Church or State; and therefore his death was looked upon as no ill omen to peace, and was exceedingly lamented by his party, which had scarce a more absolute confidence in any man than in him."

Milton, in addressing himself to the Parliament for "the liberty of unlicensed printing," bestows the following eulogium on the memory of this nobleman, whose practice appears to have differed so lamentably from his professions. "I shall only repeat what I have learned from one of your honourable members, who, had he not sacrificed his life and fortune to the Church and Commonwealth, we had not now missed and bewailed a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye knew him I am sure; yet I, for honour's sake, and may it be eternal to him, shall name him—the Lord Brooke. He, writing of Episcopacy, and, by the way, treating of sects and schisms, left you his vote, or rather, now, the last words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honoured regard with you; so full of meekness, and breathing charity, that, next to the last testament of him who bequeathed love and peace to his disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have met with words more mild and peaceful. He there exhorts us to bear with patience and humility those, however they may be miscalled, who desire to live purely in such use of

God's ordinances as the best guidance of their conscience gives them; and to tolerate them, though in some disconformity to ourselves. The book itself will tell us more at large, being published to the world, and dedicated to the Parliament, by him who, both for his life and for his death, deserves that what advice he left should not lie by without perusal."

The book alluded to by Milton was " a Discourse, opening the Nature of that Episcopacy which is exercised in England; wherein, with all humility, are represented some considerations tending to the much desired peace, and long expected reformation, of this our Mother Church; dedicated to the most noble Lords, with the Honourable Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, assembled in Parliament." This treatise, which was published in 1641, was not the only fruit of Lord Brooke's pen. He printed in the same year a metaphysical work, which proves that he could think with precision, and argue with force, intituled " The Nature of Truth: its Union and Unity with the Soul, which is one in its Essence—Faculties—Acts—one with Truth." Four of his speeches also remain in print: two, " spoken in the Guildhall, London, concerning his Majesty's refusal of a treaty of peace;" 1642—" An Answer to the Speech of Philip Earl of Pembroke, concerning accommodation, in the House of Lords, Dec. 19, 1642"—and his " Speech at the Election of his Captains and Commanders at Warwick Castle," 1643.

I have already spoken of Lord Brooke's marriage. He had five sons, of whom the third and fourth, Edward and Algernon, died young, and unmarried. Francis, and Robert, the first and second, successively held the dignity, and died without male issue; and it descended at length to Fulke, the fifth son, a posthumous child, ancestor to the present Earl Brooke, and Earl of Warwick, on whose grandfather, Francis, eighth Lord Brooke, those higher dignities were conferred by his late Majesty.

Thomas Egerton, Viscount Brackley,

Lord High Chancellor.

From the original, in the Collection of

The Most Noble, The Marquis of Stafford.

Drawn by R. W. Satchwell, & Engraved (with Permission) by R. Cooper.

London: Published Oct. 31, 1818, by Lackington, Allen & Co. and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

THOMAS EGERTON,

VISCOUNT BRACKLEY.

This admirable person, whose virtues and whose wisdom have shed on his memory a fame which the utmost splendour of ancestry could not render more bright, was the natural son of Sir Richard Egerton, of Ridley, in Cheshire, by Alice, daughter of ..... Sparke, and was born in that county about the year 1540. At the age of sixteen he was admitted a commoner of Brazen Nose College, in Oxford, and removed from thence in 1559 to Lincoln's Inn, where he studied the law with equal assiduity and success, and acquired, soon after his appearance at the bar, the highest distinction, as well for his eloquence as for his professional learning. Many years elapsed before he became a public officer, for he sought not for patronage, and abhorred intrigue. At length, on the twenty-eighth of June, 1581, Elizabeth appointed him her Solicitor General, and he remained in that office, without further promotion, till the second of June, 1594, when he was placed in that of Attorney. On the tenth of April, 1596, he was raised to the place of Master of the Rolls, and on the sixth of the following month to that of Lord Keeper, on the sudden death of Sir John Puckering.

We have many testimonies that he owed this elevation to the Queen's sole favour, and that it was beheld by the people with the highest approbation. In a letter to the Earl of Essex, printed in Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth, the writer, a Mr. Reynolds, says, "the Master of the Rolls has changed his style, and is made Lord Keeper, only by her Majesty's gracious favour, and by her own choice. I think no man ever came to this dignity with more applause than this worthy gentleman:" and in another, from Anthony Bacon to a friend at Venice, Mr. Bacon, having spoken of the death of the Lord Keeper, adds—"into whose place, with an extraordinary speed, her Majesty hath, ex proprio motu, et speciali gratiâ, advanced Sir Thomas Egerton, with a general applause, both of court, city, and country, for the reputation he hath of integrity, law, knowledge, and courage. It was his good hap to come to the place freely, without competitor or mediator; yea, against the desire and endeavour, as it is thought, of the omnipotent couple;" meaning, no doubt, the Cecils, father and son. Camden too, in his history of that year, says, "Puckering's place was supplied by Thomas Egerton, the Attorney General, of whose fair and equal deportment every one had conceived mighty hopes and expectations."

Nature, which had endowed him with all the grand principles whereon to form a statesman, had given him also dispositions which tended to render him unfit for that character. His perfect integrity, and the frank simplicity of his mind and heart, were ill suited to the practice of those artifices and frauds which exalt the fame of the politician while they ought to degrade that of the man. We hear little of him therefore in diplomatic negotiations, although it was the fashion of his time to entrust them mostly to eminent lawyers. He was a Commissioner in 1598 for treating with the United Provinces, chiefly on the subject of their debts to England; again in 1600, for the arrangement of some affairs with Denmark; and once more, towards the conclusion of his life, for the surrendering the cautionary towns into the hands of the States General. It is probable, however, that he was literally the keeper of the Queen's conscience, and that such of her affairs as could be submitted to the regulation of unmixed wisdom and honour were directed solely by his advice. Strictly of that nature was the mediation which Elizabeth secretly intrusted to him, by which she vainly sought to shield the amiable and frantic Essex against his own rage. The Lord Keeper and Essex lived in the strictest friendship and confidence. Their dispositions, to common observers, seemed to be dissimilar almost to opposition, but the

perfect honesty of their hearts, that sublime principle, compared to which the petty differences of character among men will be found to be little more than habits, had bound them in a firm union. "They love and join very honourably together," says Anthony Bacon, in another of his letters; "out of which correspondency, and noble conjunction, betwixt Mars and Pallas; betwixt justice and valour; I mean betwixt so admirable a nobleman as the Earl, and so worthy a justice as the Lord Keeper; I doubt not but very famous effects will daily spring, to her Majesty's honour, the good of the state, and the comfort of both their lordships' particular true friends." The unhappy circumstances which prevented those results form an interesting feature of our history, and have always been well known; but the kind and wise endeavours of Egerton to cool the fever of his friend's mind; to bring Essex to a just sense of his duty, and the Queen to a dispassionate consideration of his merits and infirmities; have been developed chiefly by the publication in Birch's memoirs of the correspondence which passed between them while Essex was smarting under the blow which he had received from the hand of Elizabeth. His subsequent submission has been ascribed to the arguments, at once mild and firm, of the Lord Keeper. On his hasty and imprudent return in the following year from his unfortunate campaign in Ireland, when it was judged necessary to restrain him from the seditious society into which he had thrown himself, he was committed to the hospitable custody of the same friend, in whose house he remained in an honourable captivity for more than six months. When the charges against him were there examined by a committee of the Privy Council, the Lord Keeper sat as president, and again earnestly endeavoured to save him; and, finally, submitted, with a patience and magnanimity equal to Essex's madness, to the indignity and danger of being locked up by that nobleman in Essex House, which he had visited unprotected, with conciliatory proposals from the Queen, exposed to the fury of an infatuated mob, by which his life was every moment threatened. Their friendship was terminated but by the stroke under which the Earl soon after fell on the scaffold.

The accession of James brought him an increase of favour. On the third of May, 1603, he met the King at Broxborne, in Herts; tendered his resignation of the Great Seal; and was, with the most flattering expressions, commanded to retain it. On the nineteenth of July following, James, not by the customary warrant, but by a notice, as is said, in his own hand writing, bestowed on him the title of Baron Ellesmere, "for his good and faithful services, not only in the administration of justice, but also in council, to the late Queen, and to himself." His patent for that honour was dated on the twenty-first of the same month, and on the twenty-fourth his great office was dignified by the more splendid style of Lord High Chancellor. Towards the end of that year he presided at the trials of the Lords Cobham and Grey, and in the next was one of the Commissioners for the union of Scotland to England, which was then ineffectually attempted. In 1605 he was appointed High Steward of the city, and in 1610 elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in which character he opposed his authority, with an earnest but well-tempered zeal, and with the strictest impartiality, against the popish and puritan parties which in his time had attained to a great, though unequal, ascendancy in that body. The Church of England never had a truer son, nor learning a more earnest friend; those therefore who rose by his means were generally as much distinguished by their orthodoxy as by their erudition. Among the many who shared his favour the most remarkable were Bacon and Williams, the one selected from the law, the other from the church, and each of these filled at length the exalted seat which had been so long and so worthily held by their venerable patron. Bacon, indeed, was his immediate successor—a philosopher but in a narrow sense of the word, he had pressed, it is lamentable to say, with a disgusting and unfeeling eagerness for the Seal long before the death of his benefactor. The fortunes of Williams were not yet sufficiently ripe to enable him to tread on the heels of his illustrious friend. He was the Chancellor's chosen intimate and companion; lived in his house, and was his chaplain, being the first who had served any Chancellor in that capacity since the reformation. He succeeded to Bacon in the custody of the Seal, and became afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, and, finally, Archbishop of York.

The peace of Lord Ellesmere's latter days was somewhat clouded by an attack on the jurisdiction of his Court, which was indirectly encouraged by the great Chief Justice Coke, rather, as it should seem, from a natural turbulence, and busy restlessness of temper, than from any particular impression of malice or envy. The cause, progress, and termination, of this difference are narrated by Arthur Wilson, in his Life of James, with a clearness and conciseness which no alteration could amend. I shall therefore give his account in his own words.

"A little before this time" (in the autumn of 1615) "there was a breach between the Lord Chief Justice Coke and the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, which made a passage to both their declines. Sir Edward Coke had heard and determined a cause at the common law, and some report there was juggling in the business. The witness that knew, and should have related, the truth, was wrought upon to be absent, if any man would undertake to excuse his non-appearance. A pragmatical fellow of the party undertook it; went with the witness to a tavern; called for a gallon pot full of sack; bade him drink; and so, leaving him, went into the Court. This witness is called for, as the prop of the cause. The undertaker answers, upon oath, that he left him 'in such a condition that if he continues in it but a quarter of an hour he is a dead man.' This, evidencing the man's incapability to come, deaded the matter so that it lost the cause. The plaintiffs, that had the injury, bring the business about in chancery. The defendants, having had judgment at common law, refuse to obey the orders of the court; whereupon the Lord Chancellor, for contempt of the court, commits them to prison: They petition against him in the Star Chamber: The Lord Chief Justice joins with them; foments the difference; threatening the Chancellor with a præmunire: the Chancellor makes the King acquainted with the business, who sent to Sir Francis Bacon, his Attorney General; Sir Henry Montague, and Sir Randolph Crewe, his Serjeants at law; and Sir Henry Yelverton, his Solicitor; commanding them to search what precedents there have been of late years wherein such as complained in Chancery were relieved, according to equity and conscience, after judgment at common law. These, being men well versed in their profession, after canvassing the matter thoroughly, returned answer to the King that there hath been a strong current of practice and proceeding in Chancery after judgment at common law, and, many times, after execution, continued since Henry the seventh's time to the Lord Chancellor that now is, both in the reigns, seriatim, of the several Kings, and the times of the several Chancellors, whereof divers were great learned men in the law; it being in cases where there is no remedy for the subject by the strict course of the common law, unto which the judges are sworn. This," continues Wilson, "satisfied the King; justified the Lord Chancellor; and the Chief Justice received the foil, which was a bitter potion to his spirit."

A larger account of this memorable dispute may be found in a very long letter to the King from Sir Francis Bacon, which is printed in the general collection of his works, and elsewhere. The dexterity with which he avoids giving any decided opinion on a question of law on which James had undoubtedly called for his advice, and the flattery which he indirectly lavishes on that Prince's ruling foible, render it a singular curiosity: of the latter the following passage will be a sufficient specimen. "Two things I wish to be done: the one, that your Majesty take this occasion to redouble unto all your judges your ancient and true charge of rule, that you will endure no innovating the point of jurisdiction, but will have every court impaled within their own precedents, and not assume to themselves new powers, upon conceits and inventions of law: the other, that in these high causes that touch upon state and monarchy, your Majesty give them strait charge that, upon any occasions intervenial hereafter, they do not make the vulgar party to their contestations, by publickly handling them before they have consulted with your Majesty, to whom the reglement of those things only appertaineth." The matter terminated in Coke's utter disgrace. On the third of June, 1616, a commission was issued to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others of the Council, to enquire who were the authors of calling the Chancellor into question of præmunire; and, on the third of the following October, he was cited, says Camden, in his Annals of King James, before the Chancellor; dismissed from his office of Chief Justice; banished Westminster Hall; and, further, ordered to answer some matters contained in his

Reports. The truth is that James the more readily sided with the Chancellor in this affair because Coke had of late spoken too freely of the prerogative. He had said publicly in his court, glancing at some recent instance of royal interference, that "the common law of England would be overthrown, and the light of it obscured." The puisne judges also had indulged in the use of similar censures on different occasions, and the King now summoned them to his presence; reprimanded them severely; and required them to crave his pardon on their knees, to which all of them submitted except the Chief Justice, who stedfastly refused. It is but candid to confess that this humiliation was exacted with the Chancellor's concurrence, and was performed in his presence.

Lord Ellesmere, who had attained to the age of seventy-six, lay in a state of extreme illness during the heat of this contest. The flattering prospect however of it's issue seems to have revived him, and, on the twenty-fourth of May he presided as Lord High Steward on the trials of the Earl and Countess of Somerset, for poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury. It has been said that he positively refused to affix the Seal to the pardon so unjustly granted to them by James; but it is scarcely credible that he who could advise, or at least silently witness, so undue an exertion of the royal prerogative as has been just now mentioned, would have resisted, as it were in the same hour, that exercise of it which has been in all ages implicitly allowed. Soon after this period he rapidly declined. In the autumn of 1616 he solicited James, by an affecting letter, to accept his resignation, which being kindly refused, he repeated his request by a second. The King and Prince flattered him by intreaties to retain his office, and, on the seventh of November in that year, he was advanced to the dignity of Viscount Brackley. At length, on the third of the following March, James, in a visit to him on his death-bed, received the Seal from his hand with tears. He survived only till the fifteenth, when, half an hour before his departure, Sir Francis Bacon, the new Lord Keeper, waited on him to notify the King's intention to create him Earl of Bridgwater. He was buried at Dodleston, in Cheshire.

It may not be too much to say that for purity of reputation this great man's character stands distinguished from those of all other public ministers of this country in all ages; while for wisdom in council, profound knowledge of the laws, and general learning, he has seldom been excelled. Hacket, in his life of Archbishop Williams, says that he was a man "qui nihil in vitâ nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit, aut sensit," for his domestic life was as exemplary as his public conduct. His attention to the extrajudicial duties of his high office was not less sedulous and constant than to the causes in his court. In a speech at the conference of divines at Hampton Court in 1603-4, he uttered these expressions, which deserve to be recorded in letters of gold. "Livings rather want learned men than learned men livings, many in the Universities pining for want of places. I wish therefore some may have single coats before others have doublets; and this method I have observed in bestowing the King's benefices." We have three professional tracts from his pen in print—His speech in the Exchequer Chamber in the case of Colvil of Culross, usually called the case of the Postnati, published in 1609: "The Privileges and Prerogatives of the High Court of Chancery," in 1641: and "Certain Observations concerning the Office of Lord Chancellor," in 1651. But his great work, if it yet exists, remains in manuscript—four treatises on the High Court of Parliament; the Court of Chancery; the Starchamber; and the Council board. These, in his last hours, he gave to his chaplain, Williams, who some years after presented them to the King. He was thrice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Ravenscroft, of Bretton, in the county of Flint, by whom he had two sons and one daughter; Sir Thomas Egerton, who served bravely under the Earl of Essex at Cadiz, and afterwards in Ireland, where he died unmarried; John, who succeeded his father, and was, within a few weeks after his death, created Earl of Bridgewater; and Mary, wife of Sir Francis Leigh, of Newnham Regis, in Warwickshire, Knight of the Bath. The Chancellor married secondly Elizabeth, sister to Sir George More, of Loseley, in Surrey, widow of Sir John Wolley, of Pitford, in the same county; and, thirdly, Alice, daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe, in Northamptonshire, and widow of Ferdinando, fifth Earl of Derby; but had no issue by either.

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Spencer Compton, Second Earl of Northampton.

From the original in the Collection of

The Most Noble The Marquis of Northampton.

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London. Published Feb.y 1817 by Lackington Allen & Co. and Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown.

SPENCER COMPTON,

SECOND EARL OF NORTHAMPTON,

Of his family, was the only son of William, second Lord Compton, who was created Earl of Northampton in 1618, by Elizabeth, the daughter and wealthy heir of Sir John Spencer, a merchant, and Alderman of London, and was born at his father's seat of Compton Vinyates, in the County of Warwick, sometime in the month of May, 1601.

Little is known of his early life, but that it was passed without reproach amidst the luxury and gaiety of Courts. His education, or rather that part of it which he received in his own country, was completed in the University of Cambridge. Lloyd, in his Memoirs of the Loyal Sufferers, tells us, with an almost unintelligible extravagance, that "his parts were so great, and his appetite to knowledge so large, that it was as much as four several tutors, at home, at Cambridge, and in France, and Italy, each taking his respective hour for the art and science he professed, could do to keep pace with his great proficiency." Certain it is, however, that he was a most highly accomplished gentleman, and so peculiarly distinguished for his extensive knowledge, to which probably Lloyd meant particularly to allude, of almost all the languages of Europe, that in his youth his services were generally used in the reception and audiences of foreign Ambassadors. The natural claims to royal notice which he derived from his rank, and from the constant fidelity of his family, had been perhaps somewhat forwarded by the marriage of his uncle, Sir Thomas Compton, to the mother of the Duke of Buckingham, by whom he seems to have been brought when very young to the Court, for he was chosen one of the Knights of the Bath at the creation of Charles, Prince of Wales, in 1616, and we find him in the small party selected by the favourite to attend that Prince on his romantic journey to Madrid, where he was employed to deliver the rich presents made by his royal master to the Spanish ministers and courtiers. He was at that time Master of the Robes in the household of Charles, who, after his accession to the Throne, continued him in that honourable but insignificant office, which seems to have been bestowed on the one hand, and accepted on the other, merely because its duties afforded frequent opportunities of familiar intercourse between two persons who had now conceived for each other an intire friendship; and this is the more probable because he never condescended to hold any other.

Thus he passed many years in an honourable and dignified leisure, between the Court, where he enjoyed the unbought favour of his Sovereign, and the country, where, again says Lloyd, "he led and commanded, by the untainted reputation of his name, the moderation and sobriety of his principles, the exemplary regularity of his person and family, the justice and generosity of his dealing with his neighbours and dependants, the hospitality and alms of his house, and the sweetness of his spirit."

Such was the felicity, and such the merits, which were doomed to fall a sacrifice to party rage and popular infatuation; and such the gentle habits and manners of one in whose heart lay reserved for trying occasions the patience and perseverance of a stoic, joined to a lion's courage. From the very dawn of the civil commotions Lord Northampton supported the royal cause with the most active and unvarying zeal. He attended the King in 1639, with a great train of his dependents, against the Scottish rebels, and in the following year uniformly voted (for he was no speaker) in the House of Lords against all the violent measures which were almost daily proposed. In 1642 he was in the great council of the Peers at York, and encouraged to the utmost of his power the declarations

which they there published, in assertion of their own loyalty, of the justice of the King's motives, and of their earnest inclination to compose all differences fairly and legally. At length, the temper of the Parliament leaving no room to doubt of the final result, he hastened to his own country, and proceeded, with the coolness and promptitude of an experienced commander, to levy and arm those who were within the sphere of his influence; and, having established an association of the principal gentry of the Counties of Northampton, Stafford, and Warwick, and concerted with them a judicious scheme for the distribution of a line of garrisons, he joined Charles, immediately before the royal standard was raised at Nottingham on the twenty-fifth of August in that year, with two thousand of the most choice troops which appeared on that aweful occasion.

In the mean time the Parliament, alarmed at his activity, as well as at his power, on the thirtieth of May addressed to him a letter of mixed persuasion and menace, to which on the eighth of June he dispatched a reply so scornful that the Commons immediately proceeded to impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanours, but, as their rage cooled, determined to prosecute that measure no further. The Earl now marched with the King towards the centre of the island, and, having fought bravely at the battle of Edgehill, and reduced presently after the Castle of Banbury, by the aid of the cannon which he had taken on his way from the Lord Brooke, assumed the command there, and made that town his head quarters. From thence he annoyed the out posts of the main body of the rebel army, under the command of the Earl of Essex, by continual excursions, and is said to have been victorious in twelve several well-fought skirmishes during that nobleman's stay at Warwick and Northampton. He followed up these successes by raising the siege of Stafford, which had been for some time closely invested by a body of the rebel troops, under the command of Sir John Gell, a country gentleman of that neighbourhood, who, having been compelled to retreat, with considerable loss, returned soon after, strongly reinforced, and posted himself in view of the town, with a presumption, too well founded, that he should tempt the gallant Earl to an attack.

On Sunday, the nineteenth of March, 1643, N. S. Northampton marched out of Stafford, and found his opponents on a small plain, called Hopton Heath, about two miles from the town. It was not till then that he discovered their great superiority; but the number of his horse fell little short of those of the enemy, and he looked at his brave mounted yeomanry with a confident anticipation of victory. In two furious charges he totally cleared the field of their cavalry, with the loss to the rebels of between four and five hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners; eight pieces of cannon; and nearly all their ammunition: but after the second charge, in urging the pursuit through the main body of their foot, the Earl's horse was killed under him, and, in the confused ardour of the chase, he was left suddenly in the power of the enemy. Of the short interval which consummated and closed his services we have no account but from them into whose hands he had so unhappily fallen. Their report may surely be trusted, and it is sufficiently glorious to his memory. As soon as he had risen on his feet he killed with his own hand a colonel of infantry, who was advancing to seize him. A moment after, his helmet was beaten off by the butt end of a musquet, and his features were recognized. He was told that his life should be spared; but he answered that "he scorned to take quarter from such base rogues and rebels as they were." He was immediately assailed on all sides, and, having received in the same instant a deep wound in his face, and another from a halbert on the back of his head, fell lifeless. Gell, and his second in command, Sir William Brereton, in the vulgar savageness of their triumph, refused to give up the corpse to his son, or even to permit him to send his chirurgeon to embalm it, and they carried it with them to Derby, and buried it in Allhallow's Church, in that town.

Lord Clarendon thus concludes his narration of the events of the dear-bought success of that day. "They who had all the ensigns of victory but their General thought themselves undone; whilst the other side, who had escaped in the night, and made a hard shift to carry off his dead body with them, hardly believed they were losers. The truth is, a greater victory had been an unequal recompence for such a loss. The Earl of Northamp-

ton was a person of great courage, honour, and fidelity, and not well known till his evening; having, in the ease, and plenty, and luxury, of that too happy time indulged to himself with that licence which was then thought necessary to great fortunes; but from the beginning of these distractions, as if he had been awakened out of a lethargy, he never proceeded with a lukewarm temper. Before the standard was set up he appeared in Warwickshire against the Lord Brooke; and, as much upon his own reputation as the justice of the cause, which was not so well then understood, discountenanced, and drove him out of that county. Afterwards he took the ordnance from Banbury Castle, and brought them to the King. As soon as an army was to be raised, he levied, with the first, upon his own charge, a troop of horse, and a regiment of foot; and (not like some other men, who warily distributed their family to both sides; one son to serve the King, whilst his father, or another son, engaged as far for the Parliament) entirely dedicated all his children to the quarrel; having four sons officers under him, whereof three charged that day in the field: and, from the time he submitted himself to the profession of a soldier, no man more punctual upon command, no man more diligent and vigilant in duty. All distresses he bore like a common man, and all wants and hardnesses as if he had never known plenty or ease: most prodigal of his person to danger, and would often say that if he outlived these wars he was certain never to have so noble a death; so that it was not to be wondered if upon such a stroke, the body that felt it thought it had lost more than a limb."

This truly heroic nobleman married Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Beaumont, of the family of Beaumont, of Cole-Orton, in the County of Leicester, and brother to the Countess of Buckingham, who, as has been before observed, took to her second husband the Earl's uncle, Sir Thomas Compton. They left six sons, all uncommonly and equally blessed with every virtue that could adorn private life, or add to the dignity of high birth, and all distinguished by considerable portions of historical fame. The eldest, Sir James, ancestor of the present Earl and Marquis of Northampton, and his four next brothers, Charles, William, Spencer, and Francis, knights, shone repeatedly in the field with as much lustre as their father, and better fortune; and most of them were afterwards deeply engaged, and trusted, in matters of State, and contributed largely by their talents and their firmness to the restoration of royalty. Henry, the youngest son, died Bishop of London, leaving an exalted character, both as a prelate and a man. The Earl had also two daughters; Anne, married to Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, of Whitby, in the County of York; and Penelope, to Sir John Nicholas, Knight of the Bath, one of the Principal Secretaries of State to the Kings Charles the first and second.

QUEEN ANNE BULLEN.

ABSTRACTED from the great events in the origin of which this unhappy fair became accidentally a passive instrument there is little in her story but the facts of her sudden elevation and tragical fall to distinguish it from a common tale of private life, and the faint traces which remain of her conduct leave us little room to suppose that the character of her mind was of a cast less ordinary. Mild, lively, and thoughtless, she seems to have been formed rather to attract than to maintain affection; to inspire gaiety and kindness rather than confidence or respect. The barbarous injustice which she experienced has excited the pity of succeeding ages, and our unwillingness to abandon a tender and amiable sentiment has probably prevented any very strict enquiry into her errors. To add the unfounded imputation of another murder to the long catalogue of Henry's crimes seems a more pardonable mistake than to brand, perhaps unjustly, the memory of a most unfortunate woman, whose punishment, if she were really guilty, had fully expiated her crime.

She was the eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Bullen, afterwards created Viscount Rochford, and Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk of his family. It may be said, if the account of some French writers be correct, that she had been bred in Courts even from her cradle, for at the age of seven years, say they, she was carried to Paris, by Mary, sister to Henry the eighth, when she became Queen of France; remained with her till, upon the demise of the King her husband, the Queen returned to England; was then received into the household of Claude, consort to Francis the first; and, after the death of that Princess, in 1524, lived for some time in the family of Margaret of Valois, Duchess of Alençon and Berry, sister to Francis, and afterwards better known as Queen to Henry the fourth. Lord Herbert, however, evidently considers her as having attended Mary to France in the character of an efficient domestic, and states, in which he could scarcely have been mistaken, that she returned in 1522. These differences are of small importance. It is certain that not long after her arrival in England she was appointed a Maid of Honour to Catherine of Arragon, and that the King became violently enamoured of her.

A mutual affection at that time subsisted between her and the Lord Percy, eldest son to the Earl of Northumberland, and they had privately plighted their troth to each other. Henry, who had observed their attachment, and dreaded the result, employed Wolsey, to whose grandeur even the heir of the house of Percy administered as a menial attendant, to break their connexion, and the Cardinal called the young Lord into his presence; chid him with extreme bitterness; and, having wrung from him the secret of the proposed match, commanded him, with more than the authority of a master, to abandon it. Cavendish, in his life of Wolsey, gives a curious and lengthened detail of their conversation. Percy, having resisted as far as he dared, burst into tears, and promised obedience, which the Earl, his father, was summoned from the North to enforce; and Anne, to disguise the King's motive for this interference, which was then wholly unsuspected, even by herself, was banished from the Court. She was however speedily recalled, and in September, 1532, created Marchioness of Pembroke; Lord Percy was compelled to marry a daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Anne to become the reluctant partaker in a Throne: She was privately married to Henry, on the twenty-fifth of the succeeding January, by Rowland Lee, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, none being present at the ceremony but her father, mother, and brother; her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk; and Cranmer, who had lately been advanced to the Primacy.

Amidst the extravagance of passion which led to this match political considerations were not entirely overlooked. Some months before it was solemnized Henry imparted his resolution, we can scarcely believe in the spirit of mere friendly confidence, to Francis the first, whom he afterwards consulted as to the most proper time and method of publishing it to his subjects. Francis, in his hatred to the family of the ill-fated Catherine, encouraged it with the utmost earnestness, and in the October preceding the marriage received Anne, who then accompanied Henry in one of his magnificent visits to the French coast, with the distinctions due to a Queen. In the mean time Wolsey's utter disgrace had been accomplished. He had incurred the utmost resentment of which Anne was capable, not only by preventing her union to the man whom she loved, but by endeavouring to destroy the preference bestowed on her by another, whom she held at least in indifference. The Cardinal, on the other hand, hated her for her affection to the Protestant persuasion, which she is said to have imbibed from the lessons of Margaret of Valois, a Princess of extraordinary talents, and for the influence over the King which he naturally expected her to exert in favour of the reformation. Doubtless she contributed largely to his fall, and it is the only instance that we find in her conduct of departure from the most inactive feminine softness.

Such had been Henry's impatience that his divorce from Catherine was not fully completed when he married Anne. The definitive sentence was uttered on the twenty-third of May, 1533, when the new Queen was in the fifth month of her pregnancy. She was crowned on the first of June, and in the beginning of September, (for there are disputes, which is singular enough, as to the precise day) produced a daughter, afterwards Queen Elizabeth; immediately after which event the Parliament passed an act, ratifying the divorce; declaring the legality of the King's second marriage; and accordingly settling the Crown, in default of male issue from Anne, or any future wife, on the newly born Princess. It was ordained by the same act that all persons above the age of twenty-one should swear to accept and maintain its provisions; and that such as should refuse that oath were to be deemed guilty of misprision of high treason; and whosoever should speak or write against the marriage or succession so established, adjudged traitors. The first sacrifices to this terrific law were those excellent persons, Sir Thomas More, and Bishop Fisher.

One year after the birth of Elizabeth, Anne was delivered of a Prince, who must have died soon after his birth. It may not be improper to observe somewhat particularly on this event. Some writers have informed us that she had a still-born son in January, 1535, and, in their eagerness to add unnecessarily to the measure of Henry's brutality, ascribe to that misfortune his vengeance against her, which, as will be presently seen, burst forth very soon after that period. If they intended to speak of the child whom I have mentioned, they have misrepresented two facts; for it was born in September, 1534, and undoubtedly came into the world alive: if they alluded to another, it will appear that Henry had a son by Anne Bullen who has hitherto never been noticed. In the Harleian collection is one of those letters which it was formerly usual to address, in the name of the Queen Consort, to Peers, Lords Lieutenants, and Sheriffs of Counties, on the birth of an heir to the Crown; and as the subject, historically considered, may not be deemed unworthy of the fullest proof, I will insert the document at length.

"By the Quene."

"Right trustie and welbiloved, we grete you well; and, whereas it hath pleased Almightie God, of his infinite marcie and grace, to sende unto us at this tyme good spede in the delyverance and bringing furthe of a Prince, to the great joye, rejoyce, and inward comfort of my Lorde, us, and all his good and loving subjects of this his realme; for the inestymable benevolence soo shewed unto us we have noo litle cause to give high thanks, laude, and praising, unto our said maker, like as we doo, mooste lowly, humblie, and wth all the inward desire of oure harte. And, inasmuche as we undoubtedly truste that this oure good spede is to yor great pleasure, comforte, and consolac'on, we therefore by thies oure lres advertise you thereof, desiring and hartely praying you to give wth us

unto Almightie God high thankes, glorie, laude, and praising, and to praye for the good helth, prospitie, and contynuell preservacon of the said Prince accordingly.

Geven under our Signet, at my Lord's Manor of Grenewiche, the vii day of Septemb. in the xxvth yere of my said Lord'is reigne.

To our right trustie and
welbeloved the Lord Cobham."

Anne's short-lived grandeur subsisted but for three years. Henry had seen Jane Seymour, and determined to possess her. In concerting his measures for the removal of the sole obstacle to his desires, if such a phrase may be applied to steps so summary that they scarcely seem to have been the result of reflection, he disdained even to invent a reasonable tale, or to mask his inhumanity with artifice. On the first of May, 1536, say our historians, he was present with the Queen at a tournament at Greenwich, in which her brother, the Viscount Rochford, led the challengers, and Henry Norreys, Esquire of the Body to the King, and Usher of the Black Rod, the defendants. In the midst of the entertainment the King rose, and departed in sullen silence to Westminster, where he gave instant orders for the apprehension of the Queen, Rochford, and Norreys. To account for this extravagance, it has been idly reported that Anne had suddenly awakened his jealousy by dropping her handkerchief into the lists, which one of the combatants had taken up, and wiped his face with it. So eager was Henry for the execution of his command, that the Queen was arrested on the river by some of the Privy Council, as she returned to London, and her first examination actually took place in her barge. She was suddenly charged with adultery, and Norreys, together with Mark Smeton, William Brereton, and Sir Francis Weston, all of the King's Privy Chamber, were denounced as her paramours; to whom was added, monstrous to tell, her own brother, Rochford, on the accusation of a profligate wife who detested him. She fell into violent hysterics; at intervals vehemently asserted her innocence; earnestly begged to be permitted to see the King, which was refused; and appears to have been conveyed to the Tower in a state of insensibility. There she was questioned by Sir William Kingston, the Constable, who was instructed to sift her in familiar conversation. She talked wildly and incoherently, for her fits returned, as is evident from Lord Herbert's account, who says that "as her language was broken and distracted, betwixt tears and laughter, for she used both, little can be inferred thence." That nobleman has inserted in his history a long letter of expostulation, said to have been addressed by her to the King, and dated five days after her arrest, which has been frequently reprinted by subsequent writers, but he expresses a just doubt of its authenticity. It was indeed certainly the work of a wiser head, and of a later period.

On the fifteenth of May she was arraigned and tried by the House of Peers, on which occasion, to give a stronger colour to the justice of her accusation, her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, was barbarously appointed to preside as Lord High Steward, and her father, surely not willingly, sat among her judges. Not a tittle of legal evidence was adduced on her trial, except some loose and uncertain words which had fallen from her during her imprisonment, but the obedient Peers pronounced her guilty, and sentenced her to die. Spite, however, of the abject character which marked that time, some apprehension was formed that the people might resist the execution of this enormous decree; for on the nineteenth, very early, Kingston wrote thus to Secretary Cromwell.

"Sir,

If we have not an hour certain, as it may be known in London, I think here will be but few; and I think a reasonable number were best; for I suppose she will declare herself to be a good woman for all men but for the King at the hour of her death: for this morning she sent for me, and protested her innocency: and now again; and said to me, 'Mr. Kingston, I heard say I shall not die afore noon; and I am sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by that time, and past my pain.' I told her it should be no pain, it was so sotell. And then she said she heard the executioner was very good; 'and I have

a little neck' (and put her hand about it) laughing heartily. 'I have seen many men and women executed, and they have been in great sorrow; and, to my knowledge, this lady hath much joy and pleasure in death."

Her expressions, as recited in this letter, for we have never heard that Anne possessed greatness of mind, savour of a frenzy, by which it may be hoped that she was accompanied to her last moment. She was beheaded on Tower Hill a few hours after it was written, and Henry the next day married Jane Seymour.

Little doubt has been at any time entertained of her innocence. Camden, in his cursory remarks on Henry's several marriages, prefixed to his history of the reign of Elizabeth, says, that the King "falling into new loves, jealousies, rage, and meditating blood and slaughter, that he might make way for the new fancy he had for Jane Seymour he called Queen Anne to her trial, accusing her, upon a slight suspicion, of adultery, after she had miscarried of a male child she went withal. Queen Anne cleared herself so far that the multitude that stood by judged her to be innocent, and merely circumvented; nevertheless, her Peers condemned her," &c. Lord Herbert, with a more cautious expression, which, however, little disguises his opinion, tells us that "she was thought both moderate in her desires, and of discretion enough to be trusted with her own perfections, as having lived, in the French Court first, and afterwards in this, with the reputation of a virtuous lady; insomuch that the whisperings of her enemies could not divert the King's good opinion of her, though yet he was in his own nature more jealous than to be satisfied easily. 'I do reject all those, therefore,' says Herbert, 'that would speak against her honour in those times they staid in France. But I shall as little accuse her in this particular of her affairs at this time. It is enough that the law hath condemned her; and that whether she, or any one else, were in fault is not now to be discussed. This is certain: that the King had cast his affection already on Jane Seymour, then attending on the Queen. But whether this alone were enough to procure that tragedy which followed may be doubted in this Prince; for I do not find him bloody but where law, or at least pretext drawn from thence, did countenance his actions.'"

Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.

From the original of Hilliard, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Verulam.

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London Published June 1, 1817, by Lackington Hughes, Harding Mavor & Jones and Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown.

ROBERT DEVEREUX,

EARL OF ESSEX;

THAT incomparable Essex, who was the second Earl of his family; the great favourite of Elizabeth, and of England; the admiration and the regret of Europe. In an age certainly inquisitive; at least pretending to exquisite taste and judgment; and peculiarly distinguished by its incessant and various employment of the press; it is astonishing that no regular and detailed celebration should have been dedicated to the memory of this very extraordinary man. We have been gorged, even to disgust, with tedious pieces of unmerited biography, and the actions and motives of plodding statesmen, insignificant courtiers, and rebels who resembled Essex in nothing but in their rank and their punishment, have been sifted and analysed with the most insufferable minuteness; while a thousand inestimable memorials of a character the exquisite perfections and errors of which were almost peculiar to itself, have been suffered to remain scattered and unconnected on the pages of history, or buried in undisturbed manuscript. How can we account for this omission? Have fear and modesty deterred modern biographers from venturing on a task to perform which worthily the pen must sometimes be dipped in the softest milk of human kindness, and sometimes into the burning fermentation of furious passions; or must we ascribe it to a submission, less excuseable, to the depraved taste of a time in which history is chiefly devoted to the discovery of political analogies, and to the suggestion of party arguments? The narrow compass to which these essays are limited prohibits the author from an attempt in which he could have but little chance of success. He must confine himself here to a mere recital of circumstances. But it were earnestly to be wished that some one in whom delicate feeling is united to acute judgement; who could form a fair estimate of admirable merits and of venial imprudences; who may be qualified by an extensive knowledge of the history of the human heart as well as of his country, would write a life of the Earl of Essex.

He was the son of Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford, &c. who had been created Earl of Essex by Elizabeth, in 1572, and whose portrait, with a sketch of his life and character, may be found elsewhere in this work. His mother was Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, K. G. a relation, at no great distance, to Anne Bullen, the Queen's mother: and Robert, the elder of their two sons, was born at the Earl's seat of Netherwood, in Herefordshire, on the tenth of November, 1567. His childhood was undistinguished by any promise of more than ordinary parts. We are told indeed by Sir Henry Wotton, who may be said to have studied the history of the family, that his father had formed a very mean judgment of his understanding, and directed his attention therefore chiefly to the improvement of Walter, his younger son. Robert had not attained his tenth year when he succeeded to the honours and estates of his family. His father had committed him to the care of persons of uncommon wisdom and worth. Burghley was his guardian, and the severely virtuous Sussex, in discharge of a promise to the Earl on his death-bed, his firm friend. Sir Edward Waterhouse, a man perhaps equal to them in talents, as he certainly was in honour and integrity, personally superintended his affairs, and watched over his conduct with a vigilance which was sweetened, as well as strengthened, by the most earnest affection, for Waterhouse had been entirely beloved and trusted by the deceased Earl, and entered on his charge with a heart overflowing with kindness and gratitude. Towards the end of the year 1578, the young Essex, by the direction of

Lord Burghley, became a student of Trinity College, in Cambridge. Whitgift, afterwards Primate, who was then master of that house, undertook the direction of his education, and here the character and powers of his mind were presently unfolded: his obedient application to the severer orders of learning was not less remarked than his attachment to more polite studies, and he was distinguished for an elegance and fluency of composition of which his time afforded few instances. His manners were peculiarly engaging; his temper mild, compliant, and marked by a graceful seriousness which approached to melancholy; his moral conduct stained by no vice, and becomingly tinctured with dignity. He remained in the University till 1582, when he took the degree of Master of Arts, and soon after went into South Wales, where he resided in one of his family mansions, and became, says Wotton, so enamoured of a rural life, that it required much persuasion to withdraw him from his retirement.

In 1584 he came at length to the Court, introduced and patronised by his father-in-law, Leicester, who was then in the zenith of his power. It had been strongly rumoured that Leicester caused the late Earl's death by poison. He had married the widowed Countess with indecent haste, and perhaps now sought to lessen the suspicion under which he laboured by thus publicly professing his affection for the son. It has been said that Essex was inclined to reject his proffered friendship: we find, however, that in the succeeding year he accompanied Leicester, then appointed Captain-general in the Low Countries, to Holland, where, though little more than eighteen years old, he received the commission of General of the Horse. He was distinguished in that campaign by his personal bravery, especially in the battle of Zutphen, and on the twenty-seventh of December, 1587, shortly after his return, was suddenly elevated to the dignified post of Master of the Horse. In the following year, when Elizabeth assembled an army to await at the mouth of the Thames the aweful attack threatened by Spain; when superior military skill, to direct the bravery of her troops, was perhaps even more important than the wisdom of her ministers to the support of a crown which was then thought by many to totter on her head; she chose this youth to command her horse, and decorated him with that splendid order of knighthood which she had frequently denied to the best and the noblest of her old servants. Thus far he seemed to common observers to have been borne forward on the wing of Leicester's power, or rather till this period had Elizabeth been able to conceal that extravagant partiality which presently after astonished all Europe, and still remains perhaps the most remarkable paradox in English history.

Leicester died in the autumn of that year, and Essex instantly rose to a measure of favour which that extraordinary man, whose influence over the Queen had been so long envied, never enjoyed. It was unsought by himself. It pursued him. It seemed even to molest him, by interrupting the course of his inclinations, and confining his ardent and independent spirit to spheres of action which, though the amplest that a monarch could offer, were too narrow for its rapid and eccentric range. Even so early as the spring of 1589 he fled, unpermitted, from the Court, and sailed to Portugal with Norris and Drake, a volunteer in the expedition then undertaken for the restoration of Don Antonio to the throne of that kingdom. The degree of anger to which Elizabeth was provoked by this extravagant step, and by his disobedience to a previous summons, may be best inferred from the letter by which she commanded his instant return.

"Essex,

"Your sudden and undutiful departure from our presence, and your place of attendance, you may easily conceive how offensive it is, and ought to be, unto us. Our great favours bestowed upon you, without deserts, hath drawn you thus to neglect and forget your duty, for other construction we cannot make of these your strange actions. Not meaning therefore to tolerate this your disordered part, we gave directions to some of our Privy Council, to let you know our express pleasure for your immediate repair hither, which you have not performed, as your duty doth bind you, increasing thereby greatly your former offence, and undutiful behaviour, in departing in such sort without our privity,

having so special offices of attendance and charge near our person. We do therefore charge and command you forthwith upon the receipt of these our letters, all excuses and delay set apart, to make your present and immediate repair unto us, to understand our farther pleasure; whereof see you fail not, as you will be loth to incur our indignation, and will answer for the contrary at your uttermost peril."

The 15th of April, 1589.

Essex at length presented himself, and these threats were revoked. He returned not to enquiry and punishment, but to renewed grace. The gallantry with which he had fought in every action during his absence, was thrown by Elizabeth into the scale of his merits, and the counterpoise forgotten. Elizabeth admired brave men; and yet it has been observed that when, about this time, Essex, in a sudden fit of jealousy of her favour, had affronted Sir Charles Blount, afterwards Lord Montjoy, because he had decorated his person with a jewel which the Queen had given to him, and had been therefore challenged, and wounded in a duel, by that gentleman, she swore, with great seeming wrath, that " unless some one or other should take him down, there would be no ruling him." There can be little doubt that this speech was meant to disguise her real sentiments. Such a favourite as Essex could not have offended a woman of her character by contending for her good graces. His marriage however, which shortly followed these events, did indeed provoke her resentment to the utmost, but here too the same feelings led her to dissemble: She ascribed her anger to the alledged inequality of the match, by which she alledged that the honour of the Earl's house was degraded—degraded by his having married the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and relict of Sir Philip Sidney!

In 1591 he was appointed to the command of a force of four thousand troops, sent by Elizabeth to assist Henry the fourth of France in the siege of Rouen. The object of this expedition was wholly disconcerted by the tardy co-operation of the French. Essex however distinguished himself by a chivalrous gallantry in many skirmishes, and, after an absence of some months, returned, highly disgusted because the greatest captain of the age had declined his advice on a military question. He was received with unabated kindness by the Queen, who now admitted him into her Privy Council, but it is at this period, as perhaps might naturally be expected, that historians have dated the commencement of his discontents. His captivating talents, his unbounded liberality, his courtesy, and his courage, had rendered him the idol of all warm and generous hearts; while the selfish and the needy crowded round him, and loaded him with adulation, in the hope of sharing the fruits of his unbounded influence over Elizabeth. The younger nobility, and the military, looked up to him with mixed motives of affection and interest, and considered him at once their example and their patron; the puritans, now becoming a formidable body, arrogantly claimed his protection as a duty which had devolved on him from his father-in-law, Leicester, who had openly favoured their doctrines and their pretensions; and the disaffected of other classes courted him with unceasing assiduity, in the view of some time availing themselves of that discord with the Queen or her servants, into which the simplicity of his heart, and the eagerness of his temper, were so likely to betray him. This enormous popularity at length excited in secret the fears of Elizabeth, and increased the jealousy already raised in the breasts of her ministers by the favours that she had bestowed on him. She sought to avert her danger by furnishing incessant employment to his activity and love of glory, and they laboured to drive him to desperation by schemes to render his services abortive.

These passions were beginning to operate when, in June 1596, he undertook, jointly with the High Admiral Howard, the command of the expedition to Cadiz. The particulars of this, and of his excursions in the succeeding year, are so largely given by our historians that it would be impertinent to repeat them here. It is worthy however of observation that in the former his opinion was always uniformly rejected, save only as to the proper moment for attacking the Spanish Fleet in the harbour, the Admiral's concession to which was so joyfully received by him, that, in an extacy, he threw his hat into the sea. The Island

voyage, as it was called, of 1597, in which he acted as commander in chief both of the army and fleet, was unhappily distinguished by his differences with Raleigh, who served as Rear Admiral, the origin and circumstances of which have been variously and even contradictorily represented by different writers; and yet, amidst this confusion, strong grounds appear to suspect Raleigh of a premeditated design to prevent the success of the enterprise. Essex, on his arrival from Cadiz, had been better received by the Queen than by her ministers, whom he found inclined to censure every part of his conduct in the expedition. He published therefore a narrative of it, more remarkable for sincerity than prudence, in which, as has been well observed, " he set down whatever was omitted in the prosecution of it, and then, by way of answer to those objections, imputed all miscarriages to other men; by which he raised to himself many implacable enemies, and did not gain one friend." In the mean time his attempts to use his influence for the service of his friends, which indeed seems to have been the end to which he wished always to apply it, were constantly thwarted. He was now deeply mortified, and Elizabeth, who seems to have shared in his chagrin, endeavoured to console him by a gift for life of the post of Master of the Ordnance, to which he was appointed on the nineteenth of March, 1597. New causes, however, of dissatisfaction arose. During his absence on the Island voyage the Admiral, Howard, had been created Earl of Nottingham, and in his patent the reduction of Cadiz was ascribed to his good service. This affront, as Essex, and perhaps rightly, conceived it, together with his vexation at the moderate success of that expedition, produced in him a disgust which became publicly visible. On his return, he retired to the country, and, according to the fashion of that time, pleaded illness to excuse his attendance in Parliament, which was then sitting. Elizabeth again interfered to appease him, and on the twenty-eighth of December, 1597, raised him to the splendid office of Earl Marshal of England.

His services, or rather his endeavours to serve, were now transferred to the Council, and he appeared in the character of a statesman, for which he possessed every qualification but patience. Here he opposed with equal vehemence and good argument the proposals offered in May, 1598, for a treaty of amity with Spain. On this great topic he engaged in disputes with the Treasurer, Burghley, which rose to such warmth that Burghley, at the council table, drew a prayer book from his bosom, and prophetically pointed out to the Earl this passage—" Men of blood shall not live out half their days." Peace was determined on; and Essex, in his dread of being misrepresented, to the abatement of that popularity his affection to which was his greatest fault and misfortune, immediately composed his " Apology against those which falsely and maliciously take him to be the only hindrance of the peace and quiet of their country, addressed to his friend Anthony Bacon." This exquisite example of his talents and integrity, as well as of the purity and elegance of his style, infinitely valuable too as it exhibits a sketch by his own hand of the circumstances of his public conduct to that period, was soon after printed, doubtless at least with his concurrence, to the great offence of the Queen. Burghley, his ancient guardian, whose power had in some measure warded off the attacks of his enemies, and to the wisdom and kindness of whose advice his impetuosity had frequently submitted, died while Essex was preparing his Apology, and he fell into new errors and excesses. Among these the most remarkable occurred in his memorable and well-known quarrel with Elizabeth on the choice of a Governor for Ireland, which terminated on his part with the grossest personal insult ever offered by a subject to a sovereign, and on hers by manual chastisement. He fled to hide his rage in the most obscure retirement, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he could be prevailed on to acknowledge his fault. The wise and worthy Lord Keeper Egerton, in addressing to him a long letter of gentle remonstance, uses these persuasions—" If you still hold this course, which hitherto you find to be worse and worse, (and the longer you go the further you go out of the way) there is little hope or likelyhood the end will be better. You are not yet gone so far but that you may well return. The return is safe, but the progress is dangerous and desperate in this course you hold. If you have any enemies, you do that for them which they could never do for themselves: your friends you

leave to scorn and contempt. You forsake yourself, and overthrow your fortunes, and ruinate your honour and reputation. You give that comfort and courage to the foreign enemies as greater they cannot have; for what can be more welcome and pleasing news than to hear that her Majesty and the realm are maimed of so worthy a member who hath so often and so valiantly quailed and daunted them? You forsake your country when it hath most need of your counsel and aid: and, lastly, you fail in your indissoluble duty which you owe unto your most gracious Sovereign; a duty imposed on you, not by nature and policy only, but by the religious and sacred bond wherein the Divine Majesty of Almighty God hath by the rule of Christianity obliged you."

Essex's reply presents perhaps the truest picture extant not only of his natural but of his political character; of the grandeur of his mind, and of the tyranny of his passions; of his habitual loyalty, and his republican inclinations. In this admirable letter we find the following vivacious expressions of defiance.—"When the vilest of all indignities are done unto me, doth religion inforce me to sue? Doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? Why? Cannot Princes err? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my Lord; I can never subscribe to these principles. Let Solomon's fool laugh when he is stricken. Let those that mean to make their profit of Princes shew to have no sense of Princes' injuries. Let them acknowledge an infinite absoluteness on earth that do not believe an infinite absoluteness in heaven. As for me, I have received wrong; I feel it: My cause is good; I know it: and, whatsoever comes, all the powers on earth can never shew more strength or constancy in oppressing than I can shew in suffering whatsoever can or shall be imposed on me." He was at length persuaded to make a proud submission, and was again received into Elizabeth's favour, which seemed even yet to have been but little impaired.

The affairs of Ireland appear indeed to have been at that time Essex's favourite political study. He had frequently, in the debates of the council, complained of an unreasonable parsimony with which he charged the Ministers in the government of that country, and of restrictions by which they had long fettered the faculties of the Queen's Deputies. His enemies determined to avail themselves of this disposition, and to tempt him by an offer of that important and honourable post, with unusually enlarged authority, and the command of a more numerous army than had ever been sent thither. To conquer rebellious factions; to civilize a people at once barbarous and generous; to administer strict justice through the means of absolute power; were noble objects in the view of one whose character united with a haughty and courageous spirit the mildest humanity, and the most exalted moral principles. Prudence too, if he ever used it, now perhaps reminded him that anger is best cooled by absence, and that past errors are frequently forgotten in the grateful sense of new services. He accepted the office however with reluctance and disgust, unless we are to consider the following exquisite little epistle to Elizabeth, which is said, I know not on what ground, to have been written between the dates of his appointment and his departure, merely as a general appeal to her feelings, and a strong effort to regain the fulness of her favour, for which he made his commission to Ireland the pretext.

"From a mind delighting in sorrow; from spirits wasted with passion; from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief, and travel; from a man that hateth himself, and all things else that keep him alive; what service can your Majesty expect, since any service past deserves no more than banishment and proscription to the cursedest of all islands? It is your rebels' pride and success must give me leave to ransom myself out of this hateful prison; out of my loathed body; which, if it happen so, your Majesty shall have no cause to mislike the fashion of my death, since the course of my life could never please you."

"Happy he could finish forth his fate
In some unhaunted desart, most obscure
From all society, from love and hate
Of worldly folk; then should he sleep secure;

Then wake again, and yield God ever praise;
Content with hips, and haws, and brambleberry,
In contemplation passing out his days,
And change of holy thoughts, to make him merry;
Who when he dies his tomb may be a bush,
Where harmless Robin dwells with gentle Thrush."

Your Majesty's exiled servant,

ROBERT ESSEX."

On the twenty-seventh of March, 1599, he left London, on his way towards Ireland, to the great joy of those who had thus freed themselves of his unwelcome presence to place him amidst perils which they well knew how to increase. Their efforts however were needless. The short term of his government was a tissue of imprudence, confusion, and misfortune. He passed the first two months in making journeys of observation, and plans for action, and laid the fruits of those labours before the Queen at large in a letter of consummate ability. Elizabeth slighted his opinions, and blamed his conduct in the very first military enterprise which he undertook. During the irritation produced by these crosses, a large body of his troops was worsted by the Irish, and he punished the remainder of the detachment, contrary to his nature, with a frightful severity. He undertook an unsuccessful expedition contrary to the Queen's express order to march his army into another province, and afterwards, in obeying that order, was yet more unfortunate. He demanded reinforcements, and obtained them; marched in person, at the head of his main army, to attack the rebels, under the command of Tir-oen; and, without striking a blow, concluded a disgraceful treaty with that chieftain. His incessant reflection at that period on the designs of his enemies in England seems to have been either the cause or the consequence of a degree of actual insanity which never after left him. He formed a serious resolution to return with his army, and to employ it in subduing them, and it was with much difficulty that some of his dearest friends succeeded in dissuading him from that monstrous attempt. Shortly after, on receiving a reproachful letter from the Queen, he suddenly quitted Ireland, almost alone, and, travelling with the utmost speed, appeared most unexpectedly in her presence at Nonesuch on the twenty-eighth of September, 1599, and implored her to listen to his apology.

Elizabeth was touched by the singular character of this appeal, which once more excited in some degree her tenderness, while it flattered her pride. Essex, once so beloved; whose disobedience she had threatened with condign punishment; whose rebellious resistance she had been taught to anticipate; instead of persisting in his contumacy; or standing aloof to treat for pardon; or employing friends to intercede on his behalf; had fled from an army which adored him, and crossed the sea, to throw himself singly on her mercy and her wisdom. She received him with complacency, and admitted him to a long conference, in the conclusion of which she commanded him not to quit his apartment in the Court, and soon after committed him to an honourable, though close, confinement in the house of the Lord Keeper. It is more than probable that, had matters been left wholly to her undisturbed decision, he might even now have escaped with very light penalties, but another powerful passion had been awakened in her breast, and, terrified at the representations which were every hour laid before her of the dangers to be apprehended from his popularity and his violence, she consented at length to leave his case to the Privy Council, before which it had been somewhat agitated immediately after his arrival. He had remained long a prisoner, still occasionally encouraged, and with Elizabeth's connivance, to hope that no more was intended than to humble his spirit, and that he might be again restored to her grace; till, on the fifth of June, 1600, he was brought publicly before the Council, and, after an examination of eleven hours, for the most part of which he was kept kneeling, it was determined that he should be deprived of his seat in that body, and of all his offices, except that of Master of the Horse, and should remain in custody during the Queen's pleasure. He was finally enlarged on the twenty-seventh of the following August, and retired to one of his seats in the country.

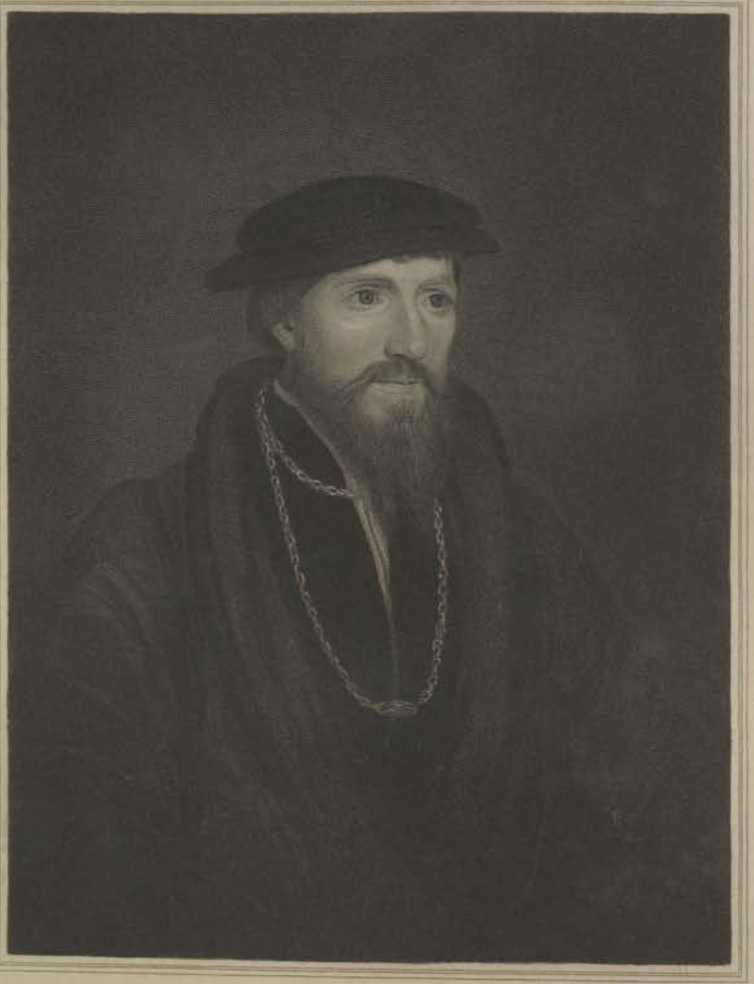
The die was now cast. Essex considered his situation to be desperate, and that conceit effectually rendered it so. In the beginning of the winter he returned to London, and his house became not only the resort but the residence of the idle, the profligate, and the disaffected, of all ranks. Cuffe, who had been his secretary in Ireland, a man of considerable talents, rendered useless, or worse, like his own, by an impetuous temper, undertook to execute his plans, if they deserved to be so called. Few circumstances of our history are better known than those which compose the sad sequel of Essex's story. He seems to have conceived the extravagant, and indeed utterly impracticable, design of working simultaneously on the affection and the fears of Elizabeth. Declaring his profound loyalty, and the most earnest personal regard, he armed his little band professedly to force her to hear his grievances, and to dismiss her servants. Terrified perhaps, but still interested in his favour, instead of employing the ample means to reduce him which were in her power, she ordered that he should be summoned before her Council, and he disobeyed. The next morning she sent the Lord Keeper, the Lord Chief Justice, and others of the Council, to his house, to receive his complaints, and he imprisoned them. He then sallied forth, at the head of his adherents, and sought ineffectually for volunteers in the city; returned by the river, and fortified his house; and, when no means remained to save him from the perdition to which he seemed to have devoted himself, was at length proclaimed a traitor, besieged, and taken prisoner. These strange circumstances occurred on the seventh and eighth of February, 1601, N. S. and on the nineteenth he was brought to his trial before the Peers, and condemned to die. Of his treason there could be no doubt, for it had been committed in the sight of thousands; but for his motives, saving the simple impulses of a most fiery and imprudent spirit, we can look only to his own declaration, that his first object was to gain access to the Queen's person, and his final view, to the establishment of the succession in the King of Scots, for the charge preferred against him of a secret design to set up a claim to the Crown on his own part, in right of a remote maternal descent from the House of York, is utterly incredible. The Queen was anxious to the last to spare his life. Of the well known, but weakly authenticated, tale of the Countess of Nottingham, and the ring, with which many writers have been fond of amplifying the last scene of this tragedy, I will say nothing: we have otherwise sufficient proof that Elizabeth at length gave way to the importunities of her ministers with the utmost reluctance, and signed the warrant for his execution amidst a dreadful conflict of tenderness, resentment, and terror. He suffered death on the sixth day after his trial with a piety not less modest than fervid, and a magnanimity at once calm and heroic.

Of all eminent historical characters that of Essex has generally been deemed the most difficult to be justly estimated. Rare and singular indeed was its construction, but surely not mysterious. The faults of those who deserve to be called good and great usually spring from an exuberance of fine qualities. All the errors of this extraordinary person may be traced to the warmth of his heart, or the noble simplicity of his mind; to his courage, to his friendships, to his exact sense of honour, or his exalted love of truth. With these virtues, joined to admirable talents, he was perhaps the most unfit man living to be trusted with the direction of important affairs, either civil or military, for his candour disqualified him for the cabinet, and his rashness for the field. He weighed the purity of his intentions against the motives of other public servants with accuracy and justice, and the disdain with which he proclaimed the result rendered them his mortal enemies; but he rated his services, and perhaps his powers, too highly; and hence his frequent quarrels with Elizabeth, the enormous extent of whose favour and bounty he seems never to have considered as commensurate to his deserts: His occasional insolence to that Princess was therefore the issue of pride, and not of ingratitude. His resentments were marked by a petulance somewhat inconsistent with genuine dignity, and his friendships were not always worthily placed; but he was not capricious, for his affections and his aversions were unalterable, and he was incapable of disguising either sentiment: in following the dictates of the one, his liberality knew no bounds: in the gratification of the other, his generosity was never sullied by a single instance of private revenge. His domestic conduct seems to have been

unexceptionable: In his hours of retirement his impetuosity was soothed by the consolations of sincere piety, and conscious innocence; by the love of his family, and his dependants, who idolized him; by the temperate charms of refined conversation and reflection. In the humble sincerity of his dying confession he had no moral offences to avow but certain amorous frailties of his youth.

His understanding was of the sort which usually accompanies acute feelings; quick, penetrating, and versatile; admirable in its conceptions, but of uncertain execution; sometimes approaching, sometimes out-reaching, but seldom resting at, that sober and wary point of judgment which in worldly affairs is dignified by the title of wisdom. His acquirements were infinitely varied and extended. It will appear on an examination of those of his writings which have been fortunately left to us that his studies, or rather his perceptions, had embraced every usual object of human science. His powers of expression were equal to the measure of his knowledge: indeed he was incomparably the first English prose writer of his time, and it has been lately discovered that in Latin composition he fell nothing short of the best classical models. The present age too, busy in such researches, has brought to light several poems, of various characters, which reflect a new and unexpected lustre on his genius. Such was the man, and so designed by nature to inform, to improve, and to delight, society, whom his own ambition, and Elizabeth's folly, misplaced in the characters of a statesman, a general, and a courtier.

On the extravagance of the Queen's attachment to this nobleman, and the motives by which it was dictated, it is unnecessary here to dilate. Lord Orford, in his "Royal and noble Authors," has treated at large of those matters, with such acuteness of reasoning, and such extent of historical knowledge, that any further endeavour to elucidate that singular subject would be vain and presumptuous. I shall therefore only add that the Earl of Essex married, as has been before stated, Frances, daughter and heir of Sir Francis Walsingham, and widow of Sir Philip Sidney, by whom he had an only son, Robert, who was the last Earl of the family of Devereux; and two daughters; Frances, married to William Seymour, Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset; and Dorothy, wife, first, to Sir Henry Shirley, of Stanton Harold, in Leicestershire, Bart., secondly, to William Stafford, of Blatherwick, in the county of Northampton.



Sir Anthony Denny.

From the original of Holbein, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Radnor.

Drawn by H. Crease, & Engraved (with Permission) by C. Picart.

London. Published June 1. 1807 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones. and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown.

SIR ANTHONY DENNY.

Amidst the horrible extravagances of ferocity and caprice which stain the annals of Henry the eighth, we discover that he was not incapable of firm, and even tender, friendship. His attachments in this kind were few, but lasting, and their most remarkable objects were Brandon, and Denny, the servants and companions of his younger days, from whom his affection seems never to have swerved. Denny appears to have had one of those unostentatious characters which seldom long survive their owners; to have avoided intirely the envied labours of the State; and, after his youth had passed away, even the splendor and the festivities of the Court. His merits, however, have not been left wholly unrecorded; but the best presumption of his general worth may be founded perhaps on the total silence of detraction in a time equally factious, unprincipled, and uncharitable.

Some writers have insisted on the antiquity of his family, but the truth is that he was very ordinarily descended. Dugdale expressly says that he could discover none of his ancestors beyond his father, respecting whom also gross mistakes have been made in all printed authorities, in which he is uniformly stated to have been Thomas Denny, and to have married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Mannock. The Thomas who did so marry, was in fact one of the elder brothers of Anthony, who was the fourth, but at length second surviving son of Edmund Denny, first a Clerk, afterwards Remembrancer, and at length a Baron of the Exchequer, and their mother was Mary, daughter and heir of a gentleman of the name of Troutbeck. Anthony was born on the eighteenth of January, in the year 1500; commenced his education at St. Paul's school; and completed it in St. John's College, in Cambridge, from whence he carried with him an eminent reputation for universal learning. By what good fortune he obtained his introduction to the Court we are wholly ignorant, but it must have been at a very early time of life, and he seems to have acquired almost immediately not only Henry's favour but his confidence. He was made a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, then an office immediately about the royal person, to which he was soon after brought yet nearer by the appointment of Groom of the Stole. He became the King's constant and familiar attendant in all his progresses, and in his magnificent excursions to the continent; combated with him in the justs, and relieved the conversation of his private table by mingling with its gaieties the sober charms of science.

He had probably been an early convert to the new system of faith, for which, at all events, he shewed an extraordinary zeal in the very commencement of the reformation in England; but he is no where stigmatised as a persecutor, and indeed seems to have shunned all concern in the active measures by which that great event was accomplished. Few men, however, partook more largely in the spoil of the ancient Church. Henry granted to him in 1537 the dissolved Priory of Hertford, the manor of Butterwick, in the parish of St. Peter, in St. Alban's, and the manors of the Rectory, and of the Nunnery, in Cheshunt, and of Great Amwell, all in the county of Hertford; and in 1540, several valuable lands, part of the possessions of Waltham Abbey, in Essex, to which about the same time was added a lease for thirty-one years of all the remaining estates of that rich house, the whole of which were afterwards gradually obtained in fee from Edward the sixth by himself, and his widow. On the sixteenth of January, 1541, nearly all the demesnes of the yet more wealthy Abbey of St. Alban's were settled by Act of Parliament on him and his heirs, including the manors, advowsons, and most of the lands, of eleven parishes, together with many extensive farms in others. To these enormous gifts, amounting, at the least, to twenty thousand acres, in that part of the kingdom which was then in the highest state of

cultivation, and all within thirty miles of the metropolis, the King added in 1544 the great wardship of Margaret, only daughter and heir of Thomas Lord Audley, the intermixture of whose estates with his own contributed to raise his influence in Essex and Hertfordshire into a sort of dominion. He represented the latter county in the first Parliament of Edward the sixth, as it is scarcely to be doubted he had also in the preceding reign; a fact of no great importance, which a large chasm in our public records leaves in uncertainty.

He had not the distinction of knighthood till after 1541, about which time he was sworn of the Privy Council; and on the thirty-first of August, 1546, he was joined in a commission with two other trusty servants of the Crown to sign all public instruments in the King's name. Henry had fallen into such weakness as to be incapable of performing that office with his own hand, and a stamp was prepared for his use about that time, in imitation of his signature. It is probable therefore that this high trust was exercised by Denny and his colleagues merely for the short interval between the commencement of the King's inability and the completion of the stamp, which it has been pretty well ascertained that Henry used to apply with his own hand. In the succeeding January he attended his master's death-bed, and in the performance of his last duty, gave a signal proof of his fortitude, as well as of his piety and fidelity. "The King continued in decay," says Burnet, in his history of the reformation, "till the twenty-seventh of the month, and then, many signs of his approaching end appearing, few would adventure on so unwelcome a thing as to put him in mind of his end, then imminent; but Sir Anthony Denny had the honesty and courage to do it, and desired him to prepare for death, and remember his former life, and to call on God for mercy, through Jesus Christ. Upon which the King expressed his grief for the sins of his past life, yet he said he trusted in the mercies of Christ, which were greater than they were. Then Denny moved him to call in the aid of a pious minister, and the King desired him to send for Archbishop Cranmer," &c. Henry appointed him of the Council to Edward the sixth, and one of the executors of his will, in which he bequeathed him a legacy of three hundred pounds.

Sir Anthony Denny did not long survive his royal friend. He died, little past the prime of life, at Cheshunt, on the tenth of September, 1549. Among the poems of Henry, Earl of Surrey, we find some lines, of no great interest, which seem to have been designed for his epitaph, and were therefore probably the work of some other pen, as Surrey died three years before him.

"Death, and the King, did, as it were, contend
Which of them two bare Denny greatest love:
The King, to shew his love can far extend,
Did him advance his betters far above:
Near place, much wealth, great honour, eke him gave,
To make it known what power great Princes have.

But when death came, with his triumphant gift,
From worldly carke he quit his wearied ghost,
Free from the corpse, and strait to heaven it lift.
Now deem that can who did for Denny most:
The King gave wealth, but fading and unsure:
Death brought him bliss that ever shall endure."

An epistle, however, addressed to him by Roger Ascham, affords us some view of his character, particularly in the following remarkable passage—"Religio, doctrina, respublica, omnes curas tuas sic occupant ut extra has tres res nullum tempus consumas." But the largest tribute extant to his memory is to be found in an heroic poem, by Sir John Cheke, published in Strype's life of that eminent person, from which I will beg leave to insert rather a long extract.

"Deneius venit ad superos, mortalia linquens,
Britannos inter clarus—
Quis dignam illius factis vocem, quis promere verba

SIR ANTHONY DENNY.

Possit et excelsas laudes æquare canendo?
Quæ pietas, et quanta viri? Quis fervor in illo
Religionis erat? Quam purus cultus in illo
Cælestis patris? Quanta in Christum fidei vis
Extitit illius sacrata morte redempti?
Munera quæ rursum? Quos & libavit honores
Justitiæque speique Deo? Quæ victima laudis
Cæsa fuit? Grati cordisque orisque diurna
Hostia, quam sæpe est hominum divumque parenti
Oblata in Christo. Christinam haud immemor unquam
Ille fuit, propter divinam sanguine fuso,
Mortem mortales quæ primum conciliavit,
Peccati, scelerisque, ruina, et pendere pressos.
Quid memorem Henricum claro de stemmate Regem,
Henricum octavum terræ, marisque potentem?
O quibus hic studiis, quo illum est amplexus amore,
Quem sibi subjectumque bonum, servumque fidelem
Scribat, et officia hæc haud parvo munere pensans,
Ostendit se herumque bonum, Regemque benignum.
Consiliumque lepos quantum superadditus auget,
Et juvat optatas ad res beue conficiendas,
Ille alios tantum superat, qui flectere mentem
Henrici potuit, miscens nunc utile dulci,
Seria nunc levibus texens, nunc grandia parvis.
Quam facilem cursum hic aliis ad vota sequenda
Fecerat, atque aditum multis facilem patefecit?
Quam bona multa aliis, et quam mala nulla cuiquam
Intulit? Et laudem summam virtutis habebat
Hujus, qui nullos nec apertos læserat hostes," &c.

Sir Anthony Denny married Joan, daughter of Sir Philip Champernoun, of Modbury, in Devonshire, a lady of remarkable beauty and talents, and a zealous supporter of the reformed religion, which she openly avowed, to her great hazard. Fox has recorded that she sent money by her servants, to the amiable and courageous Anne Ayscue, who afterward suffered death at the stake, when a prisoner in the Compter. She brought him two sons, and three daughters. Henry, the eldest son, married, first, Honora, daughter of William, Lord Grey of Wilton; and, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord Grey of Pyrgo, and had by the former an only son, Edward, who was by James the first created Baron Denny, of Waltham, in Essex, and by Charles the first, Earl of Norwich, which dignities became extinct at his death, as he left an only daughter, his sole heir, wife to James Hay, Earl of Carlisle. Sir Edward Denny, second son of Sir Anthony, married Margaret, daughter of Peter Edgecumbe, of Mount Edgecumbe, in Devonshire, by whom he was the ancestor of a family of his name now remaining in Ireland. The daughters were Douglas, wife of Richard Dyve; Mary, married to Thomas Astley, a Groom of the Privy Chamber; and Honora, to Thomas Wingfield.

HENEAGE FINCH,

EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

HENEAGE FINCH, a most eminent lawyer, a celebrated orator, and an earnest, though honest, supporter of what were called the measures of the court in the reign of Charles the second, was born on the twenty-third of December, 1621. He sprung from a family already ennobled and powerful, his grandmother, Elizabeth, only child and heir of Sir Thomas Heneage, a Privy Counsellor to Queen Elizabeth, who had amassed great wealth by the long possession of many lucrative offices, having been raised to the peerage by James the first, and in the following reign advanced to the title of Countess of Winchelsea. Sir Heneage Finch, also a celebrated lawyer, and Speaker of the House of Commons in the first Parliament of Charles the first, the fourth son of that lady, by her husband, Sir Moyle Finch, married Frances, daughter of Sir Edmund Bell, of Beaupré Hall, in Norfolk, and the subject of this memoir was their first born son.

His education was suited to his rank, first in Westminster school, and afterwards at Christ Church in Oxford. He became a gentleman commoner of that college in 1635, and removed from thence to study the laws in the Inner Temple, where he was so much distinguished by his acuteness and assiduity that he carried with him to the bar no small degree of reputation. He contented himself there during the usurpation with an extensive private practice: indeed no man was less likely to be employed, or even tolerated, by the rebel government, for the whole of his family had been eminently loyal: his kinsman, Sir John Finch, Lord Keeper in the beginning of the troubles, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the popular party, and had fled to the continent to avoid the vengeance of its leaders; and his first cousin, Heneage, second Earl of Winchelsea, was well known to be in the confidence of the exiled King. These circumstances, as might naturally be expected, joined to the high professional character that he had acquired, recommended him powerfully to the favour of Charles the second, who, immediately after the restoration, named him for the post of Solicitor General, to which he was appointed on the sixth of June, 1660, and on the following day was created a Baronet. In the succeeding April he was elected to serve in Parliament for the University of Oxford. These promotions did not withdraw him from his services to the learned society in which he had received his legal education. He had already filled in succession most of the offices in the municipal establishment of the Inner Temple, and, in the autumn of 1661, distinguished himself in that of reader, by a lecture of uncommon excellence on the statute of the thirty-ninth of Elizabeth, for the recovery of the debts of the Crown, a subject which had never before been so discussed. Anthony Wood mentions the ceremonies by which this reading was attended, inferring, doubtless, that the splendor of the feasts, and of the guests, was to be considered as a mark of respect to the reader. "The first day's entertainment," says Wood, "was of divers Peers of the realm, and Privy Counsellors, with many other of his noble friends: the second, of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and chief citizens of London; the third, of the whole College of Physicians, who all came in their caps and gowns: the fourth was of another long robe; for all the Judges and Advocates, Doctors of the civil law, and all the society of Doctor's Commons: the fifth was of the Archbishops, Bishops, and chief of the clergy; and the last, which was on the fifteenth of August, was of the King, Duke of York, Lord Chancellor, most of the Peers, and great officers of Court, the

Lords Commissioners of Scotland and Ireland," &c. A larger detail of these matters may be found in Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales.

The life of a lawyer who travels little out of the duties of his profession seldom possesses much historical interest. For many years we hear nothing of Finch but that he gave some umbrage to the learned body which he represented in the House of Commons, by disappointing the hopes, probably founded on somewhat like a promise, of his aid in procuring the abolition of the unpopular impost called hearth-money; and that he supported with great zeal in the Parliament which sat at Oxford in 1665 the bill which afterwards obtained the name of the five mile act, by which all silenced ministers were required to take an oath, " declaring that it was not lawful, on any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against the King, or any commissioned from him; that they would not at any time endeavour an alteration in the government of Church or State;" and forbidding such as should refuse that oath to come within five miles of any city, or parliament borough, &c. At length on the tenth of May, 1670, he was appointed Attorney General, and on the ninth of November, 1673, was placed in the office of Keeper of the Great Seal, upon the dismissal of the acute and profligate Shaftesbury. On the tenth of the succeeding January the title of Baron Finch, of Daventry, in the County of Northampton, was conferred on him; and on the nineteenth of December, 1675, he resigned the Seal to the King for the purpose of again immediately receiving it, with the title of Lord High Chancellor. In the course of the same year he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the County of Somerset.

In 1677 he sat as Lord High Steward of England on the trial of Philip Earl of Pembroke, as he did in 1680 on that of William Howard, Viscount Stafford, on which latter occasion the speech in which he pronounced judgement on that unfortunate nobleman was esteemed a model of eloquence. We have in the history of that year a remarkable instance of his prudence, and presence of mind, in the management of an affair of peculiar delicacy. Charles had granted a pardon to the impeached Earl of Danby, and the Commons, in a flame, deputed a Committee to demand of the Chancellor an account of the circumstances under which it had passed. He answered, with much simplicity, that the King had commanded him to bring the Seal to Whitehall, and that having arrived there, he laid it on a table, whereupon his Majesty, having written his name at the top of the parchment, ordered that the Seal should be taken out of the purse, and applied to the instrument, which was accordingly done, by the officer who usually carried the purse; " and this," said the Chancellor, " I was obliged to submit to because it was not in my power to hinder it." Thus he shifted to the King his responsibility, and connived at a measure directly opposite to the inclination of the Commons, without materially offending either. Charles indeed gave him at this precise time a clear proof of favour and confidence by committing chiefly to him the nomination of a Privy Council, formed on new principles; a measure which he so highly approved that he declared " it looked like a thing fallen from heaven into his Majesty's breast." His health was then declining, and we do not after that period find his name peculiarly connected with any public affair which has claimed the notice of history. On the twelfth of May, 1681, his services were finally rewarded by a grant of the dignity of Earl of Nottingham; and on the eighteenth of December, in the following year, he died at his house in Queen Street, Covent Garden, and was buried at Raunston, near Olney, in Buckinghamshire.

This nobleman's public life might have exhibited more events had his character involved fewer perfections. Honest, prudent, loyal, calm, and decorous, he stood in security amidst the political agitations which unhappily distinguished his time; firm, without obstinacy; yielding, without meanness; and decently ambitious, without provoking jealousy. His memory has had the rare good fortune to be cherished by writers of all parties. Wood, whose pen was seldom employed in adulation, tells us that, " in the most boisterous and ticklish times, when the swoln waves beat highest, occasioned by the Popish plot, he behaved himself with so regular, exactly poised, and with such even steadiness, whilst others, whose actions not being so exactly balanced, either were discharged from their offices, or else they themselves by an ungenerous cowardice voluntarily resigned them up,

as unwilling manfully to encpunter approaching difficulties of which they pretended to have prospects, that he still stood firm in the good opinion of his Prince; and, which is more to be admired, at that time, when many worthy ministers of state were by the malice of designing men branded with the old infamous character of evil counsellors, in order to have them to be run down and worried by the violent outrages of the unthinking, giddy, and headstrong multitude, he was neither bandied against, or censured in the more private seditious cabals, nor was his master publicly addressed to for his removal." Burnet, the only author who has breathed an adverse censure on him, says, " he was a man of probity, and well versed in the laws. He was long much admired for his eloquence, but it was laboured and affected, and he saw it as much despised before he died. He had no sort of knowledge in foreign affairs, and yet he loved to talk of them perpetually, by which he exposed himself to those who understood them. He thought he was bound to justify the Court in all debates in the House of Lords, which he did with the vehemence of a pleader, rather than with the solemnity of a senator. He was an incorrupt judge, and in his Court he could resist the strongest applications, even from the King himself, though he did it nowhere else. He was too eloquent on the bench, in the House of Lords, and in common conversation." Yet Burnet, with an inconsistency not unfrequent with him, says in another place, " His great parts, and greater virtues, are so conspicuous, that it would be a high presumption in me to say any thing in his commendation." Tate, in his second part of the poem of Absalom and Achitophel, devoted to him this grand and beautiful eulogium—

" Our list of nobles next let Amri grace,
Whose merits claim'd the Abethdin's high place;
Who, with a loyalty that did excel,
Brought all th' endowments of Achitophel.
Sincere was Amri, and not only knew,
But Israel's sanctions into practice drew:
Our laws, that did a boundless ocean seem,
Were coasted all, and fathom'd all, by him.
No Rabbin speaks like him their mystic sense;
So just, and with such terms of eloquence;
To whom the double blessing does belong—
With Moses' inspiration Aaron's tongue."

Lord Orford, in his devotion to whiggism, observes, and with what degree of justice let the reader determine, that Wood, in the passages quoted above, " represents him as a great temporizer." But his Lordship could not help adding that, " though he certainly offended neither the Court or the patriots, if he had shewn great partiality to the latter, there is no doubt but the King would have dismissed him, being by no means so dangerous a man as his predecessor, Shaftesbury. That his complaisance for the prerogative was not unbounded was manifest by the King being obliged to set the Seal himself to the Earl of Danby's pardon. The truth is," adds the noble biographer, " that the Earl of Nottingham was neither violent nor timid: when he pronounced sentence on the Lord Viscount Stafford, he did not scruple to say ' Who can doubt now that London was burned by the Papists?' Burnet calls this declaration indecent: if it was so to the unhappy convict, it was certainly no flattery to the predominant faction at Court," &c.

Many of his professional remains may be found scattered in various books. His speeches and discourses on the trials of the regicides, when he was Solicitor General, are in more than one edition of those proceedings; his speech on passing judgement on Lord Stafford is in the State Trials: several uttered by him in Parliament, between the years 1672 and 1680, and several answers to addresses presented to the King, at Hampton Court, in 1681, are also in print. The arguments on which he founded his decree in a great cause between the Hon. Charles Howard and Henry, Duke of Norfolk, and others, forming a folio volume of some size, were published three years after his death; and he left a large collection of Chancery Reports, in manuscript, which it may be presumed yet remain with his noble descendants.

HENEAGE FINCH, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

The Earl of Nottingham married Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel Harvey, a merchant of London, by whom he had fourteen children, of whom Daniel, the eldest, was the ancestor of the Earls of Winchelsea and Nottingham; and Heneage, the second, of the Earls of Aylesford. The younger sons were William, bred to the law; Charles, Edward, and Henry, clergymen; Robert, Edward, John, and Thomas, who died unmarried; the three latter in their father's life-time. His daughters were Elizabeth, married to Samuel, son and heir to Sir Harbottle Grimston, Master of the Rolls; Mary, and Anne, who died, probably infants, before their father; and another Mary, who died unmarried, having survived till 1735.

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY,

EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON.

Of the life of this nobleman, who was the third Earl of Southampton of his name, some pains have been of late years taken to collect the scattered circumstances. History could scarcely have avoided mentioning a man who had been deeply and actively engaged in Essex's singular conspiracy, and had suffered therefore a severe punishment, but it has gone little further. He was however not only the friend of Essex, but the patron of Shakespeare; more than one of whose numerous commentators, unwilling wholly to lose their labour, have furnished us with many miscellaneous notices of Southampton which occurred in their almost fruitless researches on the peculiar subject of that patronage. He was a man of no very unusual character, in whom several fine qualities were shadowed by some important defects. His understanding seems to have been lively and acute; and his acquired talents united to a competent erudition, an extensive and correct taste for polite letters, and the most highly finished manners. His friendships were ardent and lasting; his personal courage almost proverbial; and his honour wholly unsuspected: but his mind was fickle and unsteady; a violent temper engaged him in frequent quarrels, and in enmities injurious to his best interests; and he was wholly a stranger to that wary circumspection which is commonly dignified by the name of prudence.

He was the second of the two sons of Henry, second Earl, by Mary, daughter of Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, and was born on the sixth of October, 1573. His father and his elder brother died before he had reached the age of twelve years, for on the eleventh of December, 1585, he was admitted, as appears by the books of that house, a student of St. John's College, in Cambridge, with the denomination of "Henry, Earl of Southampton." He took there, in 1589, the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and seems to have left the University in that year, to proceed on his travels. "He spent his time," says one of his eulogists, in a tract so scarce that I have never been able to meet with a copy, "at Cambridge, in the study of good letters, and afterwards confirmed that study with travel and foreign observation." The little volume in question is intituled "Honour in his perfection, or a Treatise in commendation of the virtues and renowned virtuous undertakings of the illustrious and heroic Princes, Henry Earl of Oxenford, Henry Earl of Southampton, and Robert Earl of Essex, by G. M." which Mr. Malone, whose abstract of some passages in the book I shall use in the next paragraph, supposes, on authority which he does not state, to have meant Gervase Markham.

He went with the Earl of Essex as a volunteer in the expedition to Cadiz in 1596; and in the following year was appointed to command the Garland, one of Elizabeth's best ships, and acted as Vice Admiral of the first squadron in the fleet that sailed against the Azores. In that expedition happening, with only three of the Queen's ships, and a few merchant-men, to fall in with thirty-five sail of Spanish galleons, laden with the treasures of South America, he sunk one of them, dispersed several others that were afterwards taken, and drove the rest into a bay of the island of Tercera, which was then unassailable. After the English had taken and spoiled the town of Villa Franca, the enemy, finding that most of them were gone aboard their ships, and that only the Earls of Essex and Southampton, with a few others, remained on shore, came down upon them with all their force, but were received with such spirit that many of the Spaniards were put to the sword, and the rest obliged to retreat. On this occasion he behaved with such gallantry that he

was knighted in the field by Essex, " ere," says the author, " he could dry the sweat from his brows, or put his sword up in the scabbard." In these warlike services, the proper cradle for the friendship of such spirits as theirs, was nursed to maturity the earnest affection which these accomplished men ever after bore to each other.

In 1598 Essex was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. Southampton accompanied him thither, and on their arrival was made General of the Horse, " clean contrary," says Camden, " to the Deputy's instructions;" for it seems that Southampton had not long before offended Elizabeth by marrying without that permission which, even so lately as in her reign, it was expected that the nobility should ask of the Crown, and had therefore been expressly excepted by her from promotion. She condescended to admonish the Deputy to displace him, and was silently disobeyed. The succeeding disgusts and intemperances of Essex are well known. Early in their progress he formed the project of returning at the head of a select party, with the view of reducing his adversaries in England by force of arms, and Southampton is said to have dissuaded him for the time from that wild attempt. They came home soon after however, privately and submissively: Essex was committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper; and Southampton retired from Court unquestioned; and thus matters remained for several months, till at length they appeared together in open insurrection in the beginning of the year 1601, were arraigned of high treason, and found guilty by their Peers. Southampton's daring spirit was appalled by this aweful process, and his defence was neither dignified nor candid. " He asked pardon," to use the words of Camden, " for his crime, which was purely owing, he said, to his affection for the Earl of Essex; and, after a declaration of his stedfast loyalty to the Queen, added that some proposals for seizing the Palace, and the Tower, were made indeed, but nothing resolved upon, the whole matter being referred to Essex: that what was acted was a thing quite different from the matter of debate, viz. their going into the city, which was with no other design than to facilitate Essex's access to the Queen, there to make a personal complaint of the wrongs that were done him: that his sword had not been drawn all that day: that he heard nothing of the proclamation wherein they were declared rebels: that he hindered, as much as in him lay, the firing of any shot from Essex's house. He then desired that the cause might be decided by rules of equity; not the nicety and quirks of the law. He humbly implored the Queen's mercy, and desired the Peers to intercede for him; and this he did," concludes Camden, " in so modest and becoming a way as excited a compassion in all who were there present." Essex, who disdained to offer any request for himself, urged the Lords, with a noble earnestness, to interpose with the Queen to spare his friend. Southampton was condemned to die, and left for many weeks to expect the execution of his sentence, which Elizabeth at length remitted, but he remained a close prisoner in the Tower till her death.

Few men ever experienced through the peaceable transmission of a sceptre from one hand to another a reverse of fortune so complete as befel Southampton on the accession of James. " That Prince," as Mr. Chalmers well observes, " recollecting the intrigues of Essex, and the conspiracy of Gowry, acted on his arrival as if he had thought that rebellion against Elizabeth was a rising for him." On the first of April, 1603, six days only after her decease, the King despatched from Scotland an order, directed, singularly enough, " to the nobility of England, and the Council of State sitting at Whitehall," for Southampton's release, whom he complimented at the same time by a special invitation to meet him on his road to his new dominions. On the tenth he was set at liberty, and immediately restored to the estates that he had forfeited by his attainder. He was installed a Knight of the Garter on the second of the following July, and appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight, and on the twenty-first of the same month was legally repossessed of his titles by a new patent. An annual pension of six hundred pounds was settled on his Countess; in the beginning of the succeeding year he was named Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire; and the first bill which was read in James's first Parliament was for his restitution in blood.

Amidst this tide of favour some cause of umbrage occurred which is no where clearly explained, and towards the end of June, 1604, he was suddenly arrested, and, after a few

days, as suddenly set at liberty. Mr. Malone, probably on the authority of the tract before spoken of, informs us, that the cause alledged for his apprehension was disaffection to the Crown, but that it arose in fact from the machinations of Salisbury, the great adversary of the Essex party, who had persuaded James that an improper intimacy subsisted between Southampton and the Queen. He was presently restored, however, to his wonted station, but the engagements of the Court were insufficient to employ his busy, and indeed turbulent mind, and, having vainly endeavoured to obtain employment in the State, in which he could not even so far succeed as to gain a seat in the Privy Council, he plunged deeply into speculations of traffic and colonization; became a member of the Virginia company, and was chosen Treasurer of that corporation, which had not long been established; and took an active part in the project of sending ships to the American coast on voyages of trade and discovery. Meanwhile he engaged in the coarse diversions of the town, and fell into the disgraceful broils which then generally attended them. Mr. John Chamberlain, one of the many agreeable newsmongers of that day, writes to Sir Ralph Winwood, on the second of May, 1610, "indeed it were fitter that our Court gallants had some place abroad to vent their superfluous valour than to brabble so much as they do here at home, for in one week we had three or four great quarrels; the first 'twixt the Earls of Southampton and Montgomery, that fell out at tennis, where the rackets flew about their ears, but the matter was taken up and compounded by the King, without further bloodshed." The taste for military affairs did in fact soon after recur on him; he made more than one visit to the Low Countries, and in 1614 accompanied the romantic Lord Herbert of Cherbury at the siege of Rees, in the Duchy of Cleve.

In 1617, he attended the King in his journey into Scotland, and so far ingratiated himself with that Prince during his long visit to his native land that the distinction which he had for some years solicited in vain was conferred on him soon after his return: on the nineteenth of April, 1619, he was sworn of the Privy Council. This gratification probably led to new requests, and consequent disappointments, now forgotten. Certain however it is that soon after he had received it he joined the party in opposition to the Court, and exerted his talents and his vivacity to the utmost in thwarting the desires of the King, and the measures of his ministers, in Parliament. He now fell again into disgrace. In the spring of 1621 he had a sharp altercation with the favourite Buckingham in the House of Peers, which Camden has thought important enough to mention thus particularly in his brief Annals of King James. "March 14, there was some quarrelling between the M. of Buckingham, and Southampton and Sheffield, who had interrupted him for repeating the same thing over and over again, and that contrary to the received approved order in Parliament; but the Prince reconciled them." This affront however was not forgotten by the haughty Buckingham. On the sixteenth of the following June, twelve days after the adjournment of Parliament, Southampton was confined in the house of the Dean of Westminster, on the charge of mischievous intrigues with some members of the Commons, and afterwards to his own seat of Titchfield, in the custody of a Sir William Parkhurst. The following letter of proud submission, the original of which may be found in the Harleian collection, was addressed by him on that occasion to the Lord Keeper Williams.

My Lo.

I have found your Lo. alredy so favorable & affectionate unto mee that I shall be still herafter desierus to aquaint you wth what concernes mee, & bould to aske your advice & counsell, wch makes mee now send this bearer to geve your Lo. an account of my answer from Court, wch I cannot better doe then by sendinge unto you the answer itself, wch you shall receave heereinclosed, wherein you may see what is expected from mee—that I must not onely magnifie his Ma$^{tie's}$ gratious dealinge wth mee, but cause all my frendes to doe the lyke, & restrayne them from makinge any extenuation of my errors, wch if they bee disposed to doe, or not to doe, is unpossible for mee to alter, that am not lykely for a good time to see any other then my owne famely. For myself, I shall ever bee ready, as is fitt, to acknowlege his Ma$^{tie's}$ favor to mee, but can hardly perswade

myself that any error by mee committed deserved more punishment then I have had, & hope his Matie will not expect that I should confess myselfe to have been subject to a Starre-chamber sentence, wch God forbidd I should ever doe. I have, & shall doe accordinge to that part of my Lo. of Buckingham's advice, to speake as little of it as I can; and so shall I doe in other thinges, to meddle as little as I can. I purpose, God willinge, to goe to-morrow to Tichfield, the place of my confinement, there to stay as long as the King shall please. Sir William Parkhurst must goe wth me, who hoped to been discharged at the returne of my messenger from Court, & seames much trobled that hee is not, pretendinge that it is extreeme inconvenient for him, in regard of his owne occations. Hee is fearfull lest hee should be forgotten. If therefore when your Lo. writes to the Court if you would putt my Lo. of Buckingham in remembrance of it you shall, I thinke, doe him a favor. For my part, it is so little troble to mee, and of so small moment, as I meane to move no more for it. When this bearer returnes I beseech you returne by him the inclosed L^re, & beleeve that, whatsoever I am, I will ever bee

your Lo. most assured frend, to do you servis,

H. SOUTHAMPTON.

To the right honorable my very good Lo. the Lo.
Keeper of the Great Seale of England.

On the first of September he was set at liberty. That the offence offered by him to Buckingham had been his only fault is evident from certain passages in two remarkable letters from Williams, both written on the first of August, 1621, which are printed in the Cabala; the first in answer to that of Southampton here given, which concludes thus—"For mine own part, assure yourself I am your true and faithful servant, and shall never cease so to continue as long as you make good your professions to this noble Lord; of whose extraordinary goodness your Lordship and myself are remarkable reflections; the one, of his sweetness in forgetting wrongs; the other of his forwardness in conferring of courtesies." The second is to the Marquis himself, who, as we may infer from the following expressions, still continued somewhat vindictive. "There is no readier way," says the Lord Keeper, "to stop the mouths of idle men than to draw their eyes from this remainder of an object of justice, to behold nothing but goodness and mercy"—and again—"Remember your noble self, and forget the aggravations of malice and envy; and then forget, if you can, the Earl of Southampton."

For many months after his enlargement he lived in retirement and privacy, but on the meeting of the next Parliament appeared as the leader of the men of parliamentary business in the House of Peers; was a member of all committees on important affairs; and immersed himself in the study of the forms and privileges of that assembly. From those grave occupations he suddenly withdrew himself to engage once more in active military service. James, compelled by the general feeling of the country to abandon his pacific system, in the summer of 1624 signed a treaty of defensive alliance with the United States, by an article of which they were permitted to raise in England a body of six thousand men. Southampton accepted the command of one of the four regiments into which that force was divided, and led it to its destination, where he had not long remained, when himself, and his eldest son, the Lord Wriothesley, who had attended him on the expedition, were attacked by a violent fever, to which the latter presently fell a victim. The Earl recovered, and, when he had regained sufficient strength for the mournful journey, travelling homewards, with the young man's corpse, was seized with a lethargy at Bergen-op-zoom, where he died on the tenth of November, 1624, and was buried at Titchfield, in Hampshire, on the twenty-eighth of the succeeding month.

Of Lord Southampton's literature, and connection with literary men, little is known but from the doubtful testimony of poets of all degrees of merit, by whom he was loaded with adulation. Shakespeare's two short dedications, however, of the poems of Venus and Adonis, and the Rape of Lucrece, addressed to him when a very young man, are exceptions, and are so strongly marked, particularly the second, with the simple features of

private regard and gratitude, that there seems to be little room to doubt that such sentiments actually existed between them. Of this all other evidence is lost, save the assertion of Sir William Davenant that Southampton gave to Shakespeare at one time the sum of a thousand pounds, to enable him to complete a favourite purchase. We are informed also in the preface to the first edition of Minshew's "Guide to Tongues" that he had liberally relieved the necessities of that learned man. Of the eulogies lavished on him a mere catalogue would be too prolix. I will content myself therefore with inserting two only; the one, because it flowed from the pen of the serious and veracious Camden, who, in his Britannia, referring briefly to those who had borne the title of Earl of Southampton, thus concludes his treatise on that county—"Edwardus VI. eundem honorem, anno sui regno primo, Thomæ Wriotheosley, Angliæ Cancellario detulit; cujus e filio Henrico nepos Henricus eodem hodie lætatur; qui in primo ætatis flore præsidio bonarum literarum, et rei militaris scientia, nobilitatem communit, ut uberiores fructus maturiore ætate patriæ et principi profundat:" The other, because it has been hitherto to be found only in a book of such extreme rarity that it may be confidently presumed that it now for the first time offers itself to the notice of modern readers. The nature, and method of the little work in question, a copy of which, thought to be unique, is in my hands, will be sufficiently explained by the title—"The Mirrour of Majestie, or the Badges of Honour conceitedly emblazoned; with Emblems annexed, poetically unfolded; by H. G. 1618." In this collection, under the arms of the Earl of Southampton, which consist of a cross between four sea-gulls, are these lines—

No storme of troubles, or cold frost of friends,
Which on free greatnes too too oft attends,
Can by presumption threaten your free state;
For these presaging sea-birds do amate
Presumptuous greatnes, moving the best mindes
By their approach to feare the future windes
Of all calamitie, no lesse then they
Portend to seamen a tempestuous day;
Which you foreseeing may beforehand crosse,
As they do them, and so prevent the losse.

On the opposite page, to a biform figure of Mars and Mercury, encircled with the motto "In utraque perfectus," is subjoined the following compliment—

What coward stoicke or blunt captaine will
Dislike this union, or not labour still
To reconcile the arts and victory?
Since in themselves arts have this quality,
To vanquish errour's traine; what other then
Should love the arts, if not a valiant man?
Or how can he resolve to execute
That hath not first learn'd to be resolute?
If any shall oppose this, or dispute,
Your great example shall their spite confute.

This nobleman married Elizabeth, daughter of John Vernon, of Hodnet, in Shropshire, who long survived him. He had by her two sons, James, who has been already mentioned; and Thomas, his successor, that eminently loyal servant to Charles the first, and virtuous Lord Treasurer to Charles the second, in whom the title became extinct. He left also three daughters; Penelope, wife of William Lord Spencer of Wormleighton; Anne, married to Robert Wallop, of Farley, in Hants; and Elizabeth, to Sir Thomas Estcourt, a Master in Chancery.

George Carew. Earl of Totnes.

From the original of Zucchero, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Verulam.

Drawn by R. W. Satchwell, & Engraved (with Permission) by H. Meyer.

London, Published July 1.1827 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones; and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

GEORGE CAREW,

EARL OF TOTNES.

VARIOUS circumstances have combined to obscure the fame of this great and good man, and to exclude his character from that station amidst British worthies to which it is so justly entitled. He was a wise and honest statesman, a most eminent military commander, and an historian not less estimable for the extent and correctness of his views than for a purity and perspicuity of expression of which few other instances are to be found among the authors of his day: but his counsels, and the labours of his pen, as well as of his sword, were chiefly devoted to the affairs of a nation at that time not only wholly unable to appreciate his deserts, but which was regarded by England with a degree of contempt extending its influence, in some sort, even to all who concerned themselves in any way with that unfortunate and uncivilized people. To this fortuitous impediment were added others which arose out of his nature: a dignified pride that scorned the arts by which men too frequently acquire distinction, and a simplicity of mind which, had he been inclined to use them, would perhaps have disqualified him. He was too modest to blazon his fame with his own hand, and he left no successor to his dignities to cherish and maintain the memory of his worth.

More than one error has occurred regarding his descent. It is stated in the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors that he was a younger son; but he was either born his father's heir, or became so by the death of his only brother in 1580, when a very young man. The ingenious continuator too of that work has founded a doubt as to the peculiar line of the ancient family from which he sprung on the credit of a long inscription on the back of a portrait, remaining in that of his lady, which derives him from the Carews of Antony, a branch widely distant from his own. There are perhaps few authorities of less value than such inscriptions, the writers and the dates of which are almost always unknown. The fact is that he was the son and heir of a clergyman, George Carew, a cadet of the elder and baronial branch of that once mighty Devonshire family, who was successively Archdeacon of Totnes, Dean of Bristol, of the King's Chapel, of Christchurch Oxon, of Exeter, and of Windsor, by Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Harvey. He was born in 1557, and at the age of fifteen was admitted a gentleman commoner of Pembroke College, then called Broadgate Hall, in Oxford, where he was distinguished by the variety, the rapidity, and the success, of his studies, particularly of historical and legal antiquities, his zeal in the discovery and illustration of which increased with his years, and employed all his hours of leisure.

It is singular that a young man thus disposed should have suddenly adopted the military profession, but there can be little doubt that he was induced to that step by his uncle, James Wingfield, who was then in the office of Lieutenant General of the Ordnance in Ireland: certain it is however that he quitted the University without taking a degree, and that we find him soon after serving against the insurgents in the province of Munster. Even so early as 1579, as Camden informs us, he was intrusted with the command, jointly with another, of a garrison town, and sustained, with signal perseverance, a siege which the enemy were at length compelled to relinquish. In the beginning of the following year he was appointed, together with his only brother, Peter Carew, who had accompanied him in this expedition, to the government of a fortress which Camden calls "Asketten Castle," and, on the death of Peter, who fell very shortly after, in a skirmish not far from Dublin, remained alone in that trust. Such was the commencement of a career of military service,

pursued, with few interruptions, for more than twenty years, and distinguished equally by prudence and bravery. He rose, through various promotions, to the office of Lieutenant General of the Ordnance in Ireland, to which he probably succeeded on the death of his uncle, having previously received the honour of Knighthood, and was recalled from that country in 1596, to serve in the same capacity in the two excursions against the Spaniards. In the following year he was sent Ambassador to Poland, and in 1599 returned to Ireland, where he was now appointed President of Munster, Treasurer of the Army, and one of the Lords Justices, which latter office was soon after dissolved by the arrival of Charles Blount, Lord Montjoy, in the character of Lord Lieutenant. This was the most critical period of the tedious Irish rebellion, the succeeding termination of which may be ascribed almost wholly to his admirable conduct. "Thus far," says Camden, having recited the simultaneous good services of Montjoy, "did the Lord Deputy proceed the very first year, and Sir George Carew made a progress in Munster equally successful, for he was lately made President of that southern province of Ireland, which was desperately harassed by a rebellion which the titular Earl of Desmond had promoted through every part of it; for, in the first place, he so ordered the matter with the commanders of the hired troops from Connaught, that when the rebels had sent for them, he got Dermot O'Connor out of the country by a wile; sent away Redmond O'Burgh, by giving him hopes of retrieving his ancient estate; and dispatched Tirrell by alarming him with the apprehension of being murthered unawares. He moreover so dexterously fomented a suspicion he had before raised among the rebels by sham and counterfeit letters, that they grew jealous, and ran away from one another. After this, he, and the Earl of Thomond, his constant and inseparable friend and assistant, marched against them; took the titular Earl, who was rescued afterwards by the rebels; and either seized on, or took by capitulation, the castles of Loughguire, Crome, Glan," &c. &c. After recounting a long series of gallant and successful exploits performed by officers whom Carew had charged with particular duties, Camden concludes—"to be brief, the President, who had found that province so miserably out of order upon his entrance in April," (1600) "managed things with that conduct that by December all things were in a quiet posture, and not one single fort stood out against the Queen."

Satisfied with the measure of glory which he had justly acquired, and conceiving his task of duty now fully accomplished, he languished to return to England, and to pass the remainder of his life in study and retirement. To crown his successes, Fitz Thomas, the titular Earl of Desmond mentioned in the extract from Camden, who was the most powerful leader in that part of the island, had lately fallen again into his hands, and had been, by his advice, brought to a trial for high treason, in order to the forfeiture of his great estates. This done, and it appears to have been done with all due regard to law and justice, Carew spared his life, and sent him prisoner to London, together with Florence Maccarty, another eminent chief. At that precise period he addressed the following letter to Elizabeth; curious in many respects, and particularly as a finished specimen of the courtly composition then in vogue. It is printed in his "Pacata Hibernia," a work of which more will presently be said.

Sacred and most dread Sovereign,

To my unspeakable joy I have received your Majestie's letter, signed with your royall hand, and blessed with an extraordinarie addition to the same, which, although it cannot increase my faith and zeale in your Majestie's service, whiche from my cradle, I thanke God for it, was ingraffed in my heart, yet it infinitely multiplies my comforts in the same; and wherein my endeavours and poore merites shall appear to bee shorte of such inestimable favours, my never dying prayers for your Majestie's eternall prosperitie shall never faile to the last day of life. But when I compare the felicities which other men enjoy with my unfortunate destinie, to bee deprived from the sight of your royall person, which my heart with all loyall affection, injurious to none, ever more attends, I live like one lost to himself and wither out my days in torment of minde until it shall please your sacred Majestie to redeem me from this exile, which, unless it be for my sinnes, upon the

knees of my heart I doe humbly beseech your Majestie to commiserate, and to shorten the same as speedily as may be. Since my time of banishment in this rebellious kingdome, for better than a banishment I cannot esteeme my fortune that deprives mee from beholding your Majestie's person, although I have not done as much as I desire in the charge I undergo, yet, to make it appear that I have not been idle, I thanke God for it, I have now at length, by the meanes of the White Knight, gotten into my hands the bodie of James Fitz Thomas, that archtraytour, and usurping Earle, whom, for a present, with the best conveniencie and safetie which I may find, I will by some trustie gentleman send unto your Majestie, whereby I hope this province is made sure from any present defection. And, now that my taske is ended, I doe in all humilitie beseech that, in your princelie consideration, my exile may ende, protesting the same to be a greater affliction to me then I can well endure; for, as my faith is undivided, and onely professed, as by divine and humane lawes the same is bound, in vassalage to your Majestie, so doth my heart covet nothing so much as to be evermore in attendance on your sacred person, accounting it a happinesse unto me to dye at your feet; not doubting but that your Majestie, out of your princelie bountie, will enable me by some meanes or other to sustaine the rest of my dayes in your service, and that my fortune shall not be the worse in that I am not any importunate craver, or yet in not using other arguments to moove your Majestie thereunto then this—"Assai demanda qui ben serve e face." So, most humblie beseeching your Majestie's pardon in troubling you with these lines, unworthie your divine eyes, doe kisse the shadowes of your royall feet.

From your Majestie's citie of Corke, this third of June, 1601.

Impending circumstances however, unknown to himself, were about to claim his strictest personal attention, and to recal him to the most arduous service. In the spring of that year a secret engagement had been made to the Pope by the King of Spain, to send a powerful force to the succour of the Irish in Munster, and, almost immediately after the date of his letter to the Queen, the rebels, encouraged by the expectation of that aid, again appeared in arms in that province. In the middle of September he suddenly received certain intelligence that the Spanish fleet was then under sail. The Lord Deputy was at that time at Kilkenny, with few attendants, and even without his usual military guard, and it was warmly debated in council whether he should wait there for the assembling of the forces, or return to Dublin. "Some," (to use again the words of Camden, who reports Carew's judgement on that question with an air of peculiar information and accuracy) "thought it best for him to return; and that it was not consistent with the grandeur of a Lord Deputy to go forward with so small a train. The President was very positive in the contrary opinion, viz.—'that he could neither stay there, nor return, without being taxed as timerous and faint-hearted, as well as hazarding the defection of the whole province; and that niceties and punctilios are to be dispensed with where the safety of a kingdom is at stake. It was requisite therefore he should advance forward, and use his authority as Lord Deputy against such as were inclinable to revolt, who would not only in all probability remain more fixed to their duty when overawed by the Lord Deputy's presence, who had been so famous for his happy successes, but would most certainly revolt should he turn back.' The President offering him a guard of two hundred horse, and assuring him that Cork was plentifully furnished with all necessaries, he advanced on with a great deal of chearfulness."

On the twenty-third of September the Spanish fleet, which had been prevented by the failing of wind from reaching Cork, entered the harbour of Kinsale, and landed their troops, who were received by the people of the town and neighbourhood with open arms. Carew now displayed all the faculties of a great General. With a vigour and coolness by which the warlike operations of that time were little distinguished he desolated the surrounding country, after having made himself master of all the provisions that it afforded; enlisted, and distributed among the most faithful of his bands, those of the better sort of the neighbouring Irish whose attachment he most doubted; and, having seized a castle garrisoned by the Spaniards, and not less conveniently situated for the defence of the English ships

on the coast than for the annoyance of the town, and made the most judicious disposition of his army, commenced the siege of Kinsale with the utmost judgement and resolution. It was obstinately defended till the arrival of Montjoy, with a reinforcement, which, though large, was very inferior to the united army of the Spaniards and Irish, whose main body, however, he attacked with great fury. Carew, who in the beginning of the action had been occupied in preventing with signal dexterity any sally by the garrison, joined the Lord Deputy at the moment when the enemy had fallen into some confusion, and the most complete rout ensued; Kinsale was surrendered under articles of capitulation, by which the whole of the Spanish army, consisting of the remains of six thousand men, also put itself into the hands of the conquerors; and this signal victory may be considered as the death-blow to the Irish rebellion.

The disorders necessarily incident to a country which had so lately been the seat of war yet required his presence for a time, and it was not till the spring of the succeeding year that he obtained permission to return to England, where he arrived on the twenty-first of March, three days only before the Queen expired. James received him with the grace and gratitude which he had so largely merited; appointed him Governor of Guernsey; and, on the fourth of June, 1605, advanced him to a Barony, by the title of Lord Carew, of Clopton, in the County of Warwick. He was in the same year placed in the offices of Vice-Chamberlain and Treasurer to the Queen, sworn of the Privy Council, and named Ambassador to Paris, in which station he remained with the greatest credit for four years; and immediately after his return was appointed Master of the Ordnance for life. After this period he withdrew himself as much as he could from public affairs, and doubtless employed the years which were afterwards spared to him chiefly in amassing, arranging, and illustrating, that great body of now neglected documents which will presently be briefly mentioned. Charles the first, by whom he was highly esteemed, raised him to the dignity of Earl of Totnes, on the first of February, 1625, O. S. the first year of that Prince's reign. He died at the Savoy, in the Strand, on the twenty-seventh of March, 1629, and is buried, under a superb monument, at Stratford upon Avon.

The accounts which have been transmitted to us of the extent of his compositions and collections are nearly incredible. Bishop Nicolson says that he wrote forty-two volumes, relating to the affairs of Ireland, which are preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, and four more of extracts from the Cotton manuscripts. Harris, in his Irish history, tells us that four large volumes, containing "chronologies, letters, muniments, and other materials belonging to Ireland," are in the Bodleian library; and Dugdale states that several others were sold by his executors to Sir Robert Shirley. His printed works are less numerous. He prepared large materials for a history of the reign of Henry the fifth, which are incorporated into Speed's history of Great Britain; and wrote "a Relation of the State of France, with the characters of Henry the fourth, and the principal persons of his court," published by Dr. Birch. He also translated from the old French an historical poem, written in the reign of Richard the second, a specimen of which may be found in Harris's Hibernica. But his principal publication is a History of the wars in Ireland, especially within the province of Munster, from 1599 to 1602, inclusive, better known by the title of "Pacata Hibernia," which was printed in 1633, by his natural son, Thomas Stafford. A question has ridiculously arisen from a single equivocal expression in the preface to that work whether it was composed by himself, or by another from the materials left by him? while a passage in the same document, the meaning of which can admit of no doubt, clearly points him out as the author, in the fullest sense of the word. Granger truly observes that "it is written with the unaffected openness and sincerity of a soldier." He might have added that it is not less distinguished by the pure simplicity of its style, and by the most admirable modesty.

The Earl of Totnes married Anne, daughter and sole heir of William Clopton, of Clopton, in the County of Warwick, by whom he acquired great estates, which, on the death of his only son without issue, he, with a noble generosity, impowered her to return to her family. He had by her that son, Peter Carew, mentioned above; and one daughter, Anne, married first to a Mr. Wilsford, or Wilford, of Kent, and, secondly, to Sir Allen Apsley.

DOROTHY PERCY,

COUNTESS OF LEICESTER.

This lady was the eldest daughter of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland of his family, by Dorothy, daughter of Walter, first Earl of Essex of the house of Devereux. The scattered notices which remain of her are few, and mostly of a private and domestic sort, but they afford ample proof of the integrity of her heart, and the benignity of her temper; of excellent understanding, and the most refined politeness. Mild, timid, and cautious, the misfortunes of her family, on the sides both of her father and mother, probably inspired her with a distaste to the objects usually so eagerly sought by persons of her rank, and taught her to seek security and peace in the bosom of her family; while the same cause, operating on an opposite character, made her haughty and eccentric sister, the famous Lucy, Countess of Carlisle, an intriguing courtier, and a busy politician.

She was married in 1618 to Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, a nobleman of great worth and accomplishments, with whom she lived for nearly half a century in the most perfect connubial felicity. I have now before me one of her letters to him, then ambassador at Paris, written eighteen years after their marriage, which, after having treated in it at great length, and with much acuteness and judgment, of some matters of state at home in which his interests were concerned, she thus concludes:—"Mr. Seladine comes in with your letter, whom I am engaged to intertaine a litle: besyeds, it is super time, or els I should bestow one sied of this paper in making love to you; and, since I maie with modestie expres it, I will saie that if it be love to thinke on you, sleeping and waking; to discourse of nothing with pleasur but what conserns you; to wische myself everie hower with you; and to praie for you with as much devotion as for my owne sowle; then sertainlie it maie be saied that I am in love."

With her own family less harmony seems to have prevailed. Some cause of disagreement, now unknown, appears to have long subsisted between her brother, Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, and her lord; and Northumberland, whose character united to great strictness of honour and morality their too frequent concomitant, an imperious and severe temper, suffered his resentment to extend to his amiable sister. Allusions to this misfortune appear in a letter addressed to him by Leicester, on the eighth of October, 1632, from Rensburgh, in Holstein, in which, among other conciliatory efforts, expressed with equal warmth, is the following passage: "I love you so much that I think I shall not profane the word of God, the fountaine of truth, if I take this saying out of it, and apply it to myself; that 'my love is beyond the love of women;' and, in confidence that you will believe this, or at least accept as much as you do believe, I present a request unto your Lordship that you will make a visit to your sister, my dear wife, if she be at Penshurst. That poore place hath not offended, that it should be forbidden the honor to receive you. She hath not offended, that she should be deprived of the consolation and delight that your Lordship's company ever brings her. Let me, that am the criminal, be punished with the trouble of minde for not enjoying the pleasure of your conversation, nor the glory of seeing you againe under my roofe. That which I desyre is only in consideration of your sister, whose disposition I know apt enough to be melancholick, especially in that solitary place, where, though it be the best I have, I must confess it was her ill fortune that placed her there; in recompence whereof my greatest study is to procure comforts for her, which she shall never want if my life can serve her with any," &c.

Northumberland, however, remained long unappeased. Even four years after, on the tenth of November, 1636, the Countess closes a letter from Penshurst to her lord, at Paris, on a variety of his private affairs, of which she appears to have been a most careful and judicious superintendant, with complaints of her brother's unkindness. "I have not yet seene him," says she, "being full of the King's busines, as he pretends; neither have I perceived any inclination to drawe me from the solitarines I sufer in this place; for, though I expresed a willingnes to goe to him, were I acomodated for a journey, yet have I receaved no maner of invitation, wich I take a little unkindlye; but it shall not much afflicte me, for, I thanke God, and you, my dearest harte, that the obligations wich I have receaved from frends has beene very small; and I hope my nesesities of their favors will not be increased. But of this coldnes in my brother I will take no notice, or verie litle; and content myself the best I can with this lonelie life, without envieng their greatnes, their plentie, or their jolitie. The principall trouble I sufer, next to the want of your companie, is the apprehentions I have of your being crost in what you desire to accomplishe; but my best and most earnest praiers shall be ofne presented for you; and, with your owne, which I beleeve are better then mine, I hope those blessings shall be obtained wich will make us hapie."

In 1639, and in 1641, she visited her husband in Paris, and in the latter of those years the Queen of France presented her with a diamond valued at six hundred pounds. The war between the King and the Parliament now commenced, and Leicester, whose loyalty was well known, became an object first of suspicion, and then of vengeance, to the party which unhappily gained the ascendancy. His estates were sequestrated; in 1643 the Countess sued for the restoration of them by a bold and dignified memorial, and the sequestration was presently after removed. It can scarcely be supposed that this concession was procured merely by her persuasion. Her brother, Northumberland, whose attachment to the royal cause was, at best, but lukewarm, and who was now in some measure reconciled to Leicester and his family; and her eldest son, the Viscount Lisle, a young man already distinguished by republican prejudices, stood foremost among those Nobles whose affections the House of Commons was then most anxious to secure, and there can be little doubt that it was through their influence that Leicester was replaced in the possession of his patrimony, and permitted to live in tranquillity at home during the whole of the rebellion and usurpation.

These favours were some years after succeeded by a mark of confidence from the Parliament, which may be certainly traced to the same source. In June, 1649, the two youngest children of the unfortunate Charles were placed under her care, and are said to have been treated by her, till August, in the following year, when they were removed to other custody in the Isle of Wight, with great tenderness and respect. A single word, indeed, in Lord Clarendon's account of the circumstances at that time of those royal sufferers, tends to convey a different impression. "The Princess Elizabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester," says he, "were committed to the Countess of Leicester, to whom such an allowance was paid out of the treasury as might well defray their expenses with that respect that was due to their birth, which was performed towards them as long as the King their father lived; but, as soon as the King was murdered, it was ordered that the children should be removed into the country, that they might not be the objects of respect, to draw the eyes and application of the people towards them: the allowance was retrenched, that their attendants and servants might be lessened, and order was given that 'they should be treated without any addition of titles, and that they should sit at their meat as the children of the family did, and all at one table;' whereupon they were removed to Penshurst, a house of the Earl of Leicester's, in Kent, where they lived under the tuition of the Countess, who observed the order of the Parliament with obedience enough; yet they were carefully looked to, and treated with as much respect as the Lady pretended she durst pay to them." Lord Clarendon, however, as may be inferred from more than one passage in his history, entertained unfavourable prejudices against Leicester and his family; but the Princess, who died soon after her removal from Penshurst, recorded her gratitude

and kindness to the Countess by bequeathing to her a jewel of considerable value. It is worthy of observation, that the Parliament, in its eagerness for popularity, condescended to question the validity of this legacy. The Countess had obtained letters of administration, and had gained possession of the jewel, when the Attorney General was ordered to institute a suit against the Earl, her husband, to claim it as the property of the State. The question remained in litigation till the beginning of the year 1659, when, as might be expected, it was decided in favour of the Parliament: the jewel was wrested from the Countess, and deposited in the Exchequer.

She died on the ninth of August, in the same year. A letter on that occasion, written by her Lord to the Earl of Northumberland, and savouring perhaps more of the finesse of a courtier than the grief of a widower, has been preserved, and claims a place in this memoir.

" My Lord,

" In the greatest sorrow that I have ever sufferd your Lordship hath given me the greatest consolation that I could receive from any body in this world; for having lost that which I loved best your Lordship secureth me from that which I loved next, that is your favour, to which having no right nor claime by any worthynes in myself, but only by that alliance of which my most deare wife was the mediation, I might justly feare the loss of that also if your Lordship's charity towards me did not prevent it. And now I will presume to tell your Lordship, that though you have lost an excellent sister, who by her affection and reverence towards you highly deserved of you, yet such was her death that your Lordship hath reason to rejoyce at her departure: and, if I were Christian good enough to concive the happynes of the other life, and that I could have loved her enough, it might have bin to me a pleasure to see her dye as she dyed; but, being unable to repare my own loss with the consideration of her advantage, I must ever greeve for the one untill I may be partaker of the other; and, as I shall ever whilst I live pay to her memory all affection and respects, so, for her sake that loved you so dearly, and was so beloved of your Lordship, and for the high estimation which I have allways had of your Lordship, I beseech you to let me remaine in your favour, and to be assured of my being

Your Lordship's faithfullest humble servant,

LEYCESTER."

Penshurst, 31 Aug. 1659.

The issue of her marriage was four sons, and eight daughters. Philip, her first born child, succeeded to his father's titles and estates; Robert, the second son, died unmarried; Algernon, the third, suffered death for high treason in 1683; and the fourth, Henry, was created Earl of Romney. Her daughters were Elizabeth, who died young, and unmarried; Lucy, wife of Sir John Pelham, of Loughton, in Sussex, Bart.; Anne, wife of Joseph Cart, a clergyman; Mary, and Diana, who died in childhood; Elizabeth, married to Thomas Smith, Viscount Strangford, in Ireland; Frances, and Isabel, unmarried.

Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester.

From the original of Zuchero, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Verulam

Drawn by R.M. Satchwell. Engraved with Permission by R. Cooper

London Published Sept.r 1815 by Lackington Hughes Harding Mavor & Jones and Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown

EDWARD SOMERSET,

EARL OF WORCESTER,

Was the representative, through a double illegitimacy too splendid to reflect disgrace, of the great House of Beaufort, descended from John of Gaunt. So little has been said of him by our historians and biographers that, were it not for the intelligence communicated by his own original letters, many of which I published some years since, we should be at a loss to form any just judgement of his character. We learn from those faithful records that he possessed not only a powerful and richly cultivated understanding, decorated by infinite politeness, but a familiar and easy nature, and a vivacity of temper, at once too frank and too delicate for the imperfect taste of the Court in which he flourished. With this sanguine disposition however, and in the possession of those almost unlimited powers of self gratification which exalted rank and great wealth at that time conferred, his moral conduct was without reproach; and we need no better evidence of the innocence of one who stood so fair a mark for envy than the silence of detraction.

He was the only son of William, third Earl of Worcester of the Somersets, by Christian, daughter to Edward first Lord North. The date of his birth has been variously reported. The inquisition taken on his father's death, in 1589, declares him to have been at that time of the age of thirty-six, and upwards, meaning, as it may be presumed, that he was then in his thirty-seventh year: but this is contradicted by the statement on his tomb of his age at the time of his death. If we are to rely on the first of those authorities, he was born in 1553: if on the latter, in 1544. He came into public life later than common, owing probably to the unusually protracted term of his father's existence, who reached the age of ninety-seven; but he entered it perfectly accomplished. "In his youth," says Sir Robert Naunton, "part whereof he spent before he came to reside at Court, he was a very fine gentleman, and the best horseman and tilter of the times." Elizabeth, who never undervalued such qualifications, had however been prepossessed in his favour by one of her strongest affections—he was of her consanguinity; for his ancestor Edmund Beaufort, second Duke of Somerset, was brother to the maternal grandfather of Henry the seventh. On the other hand, his religious faith exposed him to contrary prejudices, for he was a steady Roman Catholic. "Although," again says Naunton, "there might appear something in his House which might avert her grace (though not to speak of my Lord himself but with due reverence and honour) I mean contrariety, or suspicion, in religion, yet the Queen ever respected this House, and principally this noble Lord:" and Lloyd, with an agreeable quaintness, tells us that "his mistress excused his faith, which was Popish, and honoured his faithfulness, which was Roman;" and adds that "it was her usual speech that my Lord of Worcester had reconciled what she thought inconsistent, a stiff Papist to a good subject." She called him to her Privy Council; sent him in 1591 Ambassador to Scotland, to congratulate the King on his marriage with Anne of Denmark; and in 1601 appointed him Master of the Horse.

James continued him in that dignified office, and it is highly probable that he would have appeared publicly in the envied and unstable character of favourite but for his own prudent forbearance. To a judgement in public affairs not less sober than acute he joined the strictest integrity, and the closest application; but, above all, he alone, in the whole circle of that Prince's servants, either in the Cabinet or the Court, seems to have possessed equally the means and the inclination of administering to the comforts of his master. He

not only led the chase with vigour, graced and animated the ball by his elegance and activity, and enlivened the King's more private parties by the good sense and good humour of his conversation, but he appears to have managed during James's long and frequent intervals of absence from his capital the most part of that Prince's confidential correspondence with his ministers. To support and illustrate the view which I have here ventured to take of many features of his character, I will insert two of his letters; the first, to the Privy Council, in the grave spirit of ministerial communication; the second, to Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, written with the unreserved familiarity of private friendship, and the lively and careless jocoseness of an accomplished courtier.

"It may please youer LL. to be advertesed, youer letters to mee directed, signifying the great comfort youe have taken in that wch I wrote of his Ma'. gratious acceptation of youer payns in his service during the tyme of his absence, I thought best to present to his Ma. owne vewe; the rather bycawse I cowld not by my speeche take uppon mee to express so lyvely as youer own style dothe represent the hartines and zeale wherewth youe signifie youer inward contentment: and if I thought myself not able to expresse youer conceyts to him, much lesse am I to retorne his to youe wth ayny language that may sufficiently represent a true image of his noble and princely hert towards youe in the gratious construction he maks of all youer proceedings. May yt therefore suffice youer LL. the rather that yt pleasethe his Ma. to affirm that he accownts a great part of his hapyness to consist in youer loyaltees, wysdoms, and paynfull service, wherin he would willingly beare his part, and by his presence amongst youe make his own and your comfort the greater, yf his healthe did not necessarily requier thes recreations; w^{ch}, notwithstanding, he wyll redyly leave, whensoever any advertesment from youer LL. shall signify that there is cawse. In the mean tyme, as he easethe himselfe in youer travayles, so dothe hee wyshe youe to take an assured comfort in his gratious acceptance of them.

And now, my honorable LL. geve me leave not onely wth comfort to take notice of your honorable acceptance of my poor endevors, but wth humble thanks to acknowledge the increase of my bond of duty and affection towards youe. Notwithstanding I knowe the have been accompaned wth many errors, and more imperfections, yet suche are youer honorable dispositions as not onely to conceale and shaddow them, but to make a favorable interpretation of that wch many wayes deserved reprehension; but my zeal to his Ma'. service, and dutiful endevors to gyve youer LL. satisfaction, shall plead for a qualification of the veniall faults of,

Youer LL.' humbly to comniand,

E. WORCESTER."

Thetforde, the 1 of Marche, 1604.

"I have lately receyved 2 letters from youer good Lo. wherein youe have not onely requited my former wth kind thankfulness, but satisfied in number of lynes to the full, so y^{t} there is lytell expectation that youe will bee in my dett. Truly whensoever I wrote youe a short letter yt was eyther for want of matter, or hastye opportunitye of the messenger, which being lothe to lett pass, chose rather to wryght a littell then nothing at all. Agayn, mayny times wee may have newes of some accydent or other, and before I shall understand of a convenyent messenger my newes wylbee stale, and then I omytt it. Lastly, urgent busynes of my own (being subject to howerly attendance, as youe knowe) cawsethe me often, thowgh unwyllingly, to neglect oportunitee; and so de hac re satis dictu' est.

Nowe, my good Lord, to awnswer youer last desier; yt is verye certeyn that his Ma. hath resolved that the Parlament shall begyn the 19 of Marche, and that he will shortly remove to Whithall, but goethe to Royston to hunt, while in the meane space the Queen may remove, and the howsowld, and himself to retorn thether: from thence to the Tower the 12 of March; the 15 to pass thorowgh London to Whithall, wthowt ayny feast at all; and this is more then certenly cold bee told you, for this day yt was decreed. It is lyke-

wyse resolved that every man shall weare what apparell himself listeth, and we here resolve to ryde uppon footclothes, som of one color, som of another, as they lyke; but the most that I heare of are of purple velvet imbroidered, as fayr as theyr purse wyll afford meanes. The great Ladys are appoynted to ryde in chariots; the Baronesses on horsebake, and they that have no sadells from the King must provide of theyr own: the number provided are 20, wch were provided against the coronation, of crimson velvet; and this is all I can advertes youe for that matter.

Whereas youer Lo. sayethe youe wear never perticulerly advertesed of the maske, I have been at 6^{d} charge wth youe to send youe the booke, wch wyll enform youe better then I can, having noted the names of the ladyes applyed to eche goddess; and, for the other, I would lykewyse have sent youe the ballet, yf I cowld have got yt for money; but these bookes, as I heare, are all cawled in, and in truthe I wyll not take uppon me to set that downe wch wyser then my self doe not understand. This day the King dined abrode wth the Florentine Imbassadore, who takethe now his leave very shortly: he was wth the King at the play at nyght, and sooped wth my Lady Ritche in her chamber. The Frenche Queen, as yt is reported, hathe sent to owr Queen a very fyne present, but not yet delyvered, in regard she was not well thes 2 dayes, and cam not abrode, therfor I cannot advertess the perticulers; but, as I heare, one part is a cabanet, very cunningly wrowght, and inlayed all over wth muske and amber grease, wch makethe a sweet savor; and in every box a severall present of flowers for head tyring, and juells. She hath lykewyse sent to dyverse cowncellors fayr presents of juells, & to mayny ladyes: some to those abowt the King, as Sr Thomas Earskin, Sr James Hey, and others. What the meaning is I cannot conceyve as yet, but tyme wyll discover that wch rarenes maketh a wonder.

Now, having doon wth matters of state, I must a littell towche the feminine comon welthe, that agaynst youer coming youe bee not altogether like an ignorant countrey fellow. First, youe must knowe we have ladyes of divers degrees of favor; some for the privat chamber, some for the drawing chamber, some for bedchamber, and some for neither certeyn, and of this number is onely my La. Arbella, and my wife. My Lady of Bedford howldethe fast to the bedchamber; my Lady Harford would fayn, but her husband hathe cawled her home: My Lady of Derbee the yonger, the Lady Suffolke, Ritche, Nottingham, Susan, Walsingham, and, of late, the Lady Sothewell, for the drawing chamber: all the rest for the private chamber, when they are not shutt owt, for mayny times the dores are lokt: but the plotting and mallice amongst them is sutche that I thinke envy hathe teyed an invisibl snake abowt most of ther neks to sting one another to deathe. For the presence there are nowe 5 maids; Cary, Myddellmore, Woodhouse, Gargrave, Roper; the sixt is determyned, but not come: God send them good fortune, for as yet they have no mother. It is confidently reported that my Lady Sothwell shall mary the Master of Orkney, and yt is more then reported that Sr Thomas Erskins hathe married Sr Edward Noris his rytche wyddow. And so, presenting my service to my honorable Lady, wyshe youe bothe a happye arryvall at London shortly: in the mean tyme I wyll rest

Youer Lo.' most affectionate true freend,

E. WORCESTER."

Court, 2 of Fe. 1603.

In 1604 he was constituted one of the commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshal, and was soon after invested with the order of the Garter. He held his post of Master of the Horse till 1615, and on his resignation of it in that year was appointed Lord Privy Seal, of which office he had soon after a new grant, with the enormous salary, considering the high value of money at that time, of fifteen hundred pounds annually. He was now growing old. "When years," writes Sir Robert Naunton, in the conclusion of his short character of this nobleman, "had abated his exercises of honour, he grew then to be a faithful and profound counsellor, and as I have placed him last, so he was the last liver of all the servants of Queen Elizabeth's favour; and had the honour to see his renowned mistress, and all of them, laid in the places of their rest; and, for himself, after a life of

very noble and remarkable reputation, he died rich, and in a peaceable old age; a fate, that I make the last, and none of the slightest observations, which befel not many of the rest, for they expired like unto lights blown out with the snuff stinking, not commendably extinguished, and with offence to the standers by." He departed at his house in the Strand, Westminster, on the third of March, 1627, and was buried in St. Mary's Chapel, in Windsor Castle.

The Earl of Worcester married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, by whom he had eight sons and seven daughters, William, Lord Herbert, who died unmarried in his father's life-time; Henry, who succeeded to the honours, whom Charles the first, in reward of his unshaken fidelity, created Marquis of Worcester, and from whom the Duke of Beaufort is lineally descended; Thomas, a Knight of the Bath, created in 1626 Viscount Somerset, of Cashel, in Ireland, and died without male issue; Charles, Francis, and Christopher, who died infants; another Charles, likewise a Knight of the Bath, who married, and left three daughters, his coheirs; and Edward, a third Knight of the Bath, who also married, but died childless. The daughters were Elizabeth, married to Sir Henry Guildford, of Hemsted, in Kent; Catherine, to William Lord Petre; Anne, to Sir Edward Winter, of Lidney, in Gloucestershire; Frances, to William, son and heir to William Morgan, of Llanternam in the County of Montgomery; Mary, who died an infant; Blanch, wife of Thomas, eldest son of Thomas Lord Arundel of Wardour; and a second Catherine, married to Thomas, Lord Windsor.

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Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey.

From the original of Rubens, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Warwick.

Drawn by W. Hilton, A.R.A. & Engraved (with Permission) by E. Scriven.

London Published Sept. 1817 by Rachinston Hughes, Harding Mayor & Jones and Longman Hurst, Rees Orme, & Brown.

THOMAS HOWARD,

EARL OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY.

THIS celebrated nobleman was the only son of Philip, first Earl of Arundel of his family, by Anne, sister and coheir of Thomas, the last Lord Dacre of Gillesland. It has been stated that he was born on the seventh of July, 1592: an unaccountable error, in which most who have written of him concur, while they at the same time tell us that he was tilting in 1606; married, and had children, in 1609; and was in that year sworn a Privy Counsellor. The precise date of his birth is not known; but Sir Edward Walker, who could not possibly have been mistaken, expressly tells us, in his "Historical Discourses," that the Earl was seventeen years old when Queen Elizabeth died, which fixes it to 1586. He received his education at home, under the eye of his discreet and virtuous mother, with whom he lived during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, in a privacy better suited to the adverse circumstances of his family than to his rank, or, more properly, to his hopes, for he inherited no dignity: of four succeeding descents of his immediate predecessors two had suffered death on the scaffold; one was strongly suspected to have been poisoned in the mysterious recess of his prison; and all were attainted. He had however in that time, by courtesy, the title of Lord Maltravers, a Barony derived from his great ancestors the Fitzalans.

In 1603, soon after James's accession, he was restored in blood by act of Parliament, and to such honours as he had lost by his father's attainder, as well as to the Earldom of Surrey, and to most of the Baronies which had been forfeited by the attainder of his grandfather, Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk. It was matter of surprise that the dukedom was with-held from him, especially considering the favour in which his uncle, and great uncle, the Earls of Suffolk and Northampton, the former Lord Treasurer, and the latter Privy Seal, were held by the King: It is probable, however, that Suffolk himself might have prevented that grace with the hope of obtaining a revival of it in his own line in the event of the young Earl's death without issue. Soon after he came of age, he married Alathea, third daughter and coheir of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury; a match of great advantage, for her two elder sisters, the Countesses of Pembroke and Kent, dying childless, the most part of her father's noble revenues in the end devolved on her.

He was sworn of the Privy Council in 1607, and on the seventeenth of June in that year the King was godfather, in person, to his first-born son. He soon after travelled into France and Italy, a journey which his untoward family circumstances had hitherto prevented, and during his stay in those countries imbibed that enthusiastic affection for the fine arts by which he was afterwards so eminently distinguished. He remained abroad till 1611, and on his return was chosen a Knight of the Garter. The marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine happened soon after, and he was appointed to escort them to their dominions. Finding himself once more on the continent, he could not resist the temptation of re-visiting the favourite objects of his taste: he went again into Italy, and at that time began to form his celebrated collection. When he returned to his own country, in 1614, he embraced the communion of the Church of England, for he had been bred a Roman Catholic, in the strictest austerities of that persuasion.

He experienced little favour in this reign. The familiar coarseness of James's manners; the immoralities of that Prince's favourites; and the general corruption of the Court; were equally abhorrent to his nature and his habits. We find him therefore for several years no otherwise publicly employed than in the reception of Ambassadors, and other

dignified ceremonies which suited his disposition, as well as his rank, for no man better understood the exactness of propriety in such matters. Two circumstances relative to him in the performance of duties of this sort are recorded: the one, that he had nearly lost his life by the falling of a temporary wooden platform, in conducting Gondomar, the Spanish Minister, to his first public audience, in 1619; the other, that being appointed in the following year to visit the Marquis de Cadenet, the French Ambassador, at Gravesend, the Frenchman, on the Earl's arrival and departure, advanced no further than the head of the staircase: the Earl therefore, who was to conduct him the next morning to London, would then meet him only in the street; and, on their arrival at Somerset House, would go no further than the foot of the stairs, telling the Ambassador that his gentlemen would shew him to his lodgings. The King, who, though without dignity, was not wanting in pride, approved of the Earl's conduct, and the Ambassador apologized.

James, though he could not love the Earl, respected him. It was remarked that he was the only enemy of the Duke of Buckingham who ever had any degree of countenance from the King. That favourite had for a time courted him, but, finding him too high-spirited to be bought by any practicable means of temptation, and too honest and cool-headed to become a regular partizan, had neglected him. The mode of the Duke's endeavours to gain his political friendship, rather than the slights which were subsequently put on him, provoked his lasting resentment towards Buckingham; yet the King, on the removal of Bacon, in 1621, nominated him a Commissioner for holding the Great Seal, and, on the twenty-ninth of August, in the same year, appointed, or rather restored, him to the place of Earl Marshal of England. His endeavours in that exalted office to maintain the just and wholesome weight of the aristocracy were generally wise and moderate: "had all men in power," says Sir Edward Walker, "had but the same inclinations, the great and fatal period these times have brought on all of them possibly had not been." Walker, however, was Garter King of Arms, and perhaps somewhat prejudiced by his official habits; and it must be confessed that the Earl's foible was a too vehement affection to the ancient nobility. The amiable and high-spirited Lord Spencer, a new Peer, but the heir of a long line of wealthy and irreproachable progenitors, who had lived quietly on their great estates, happening in a debate in the House of Lords to use some allusions to the conduct of noblemen in former times, the Earl of Arundel said "my Lord, when those things were doing your ancestors were keeping sheep." Spencer, with a happy quickness of reply, but very unjustly, answered "when my ancestors, as you say, were keeping sheep, your's were plotting treason." This matter was taken up by the Peers with great warmth, and the Earl was committed to the Tower, from whence he was soon after released, on James's personal intercession with the House.

No concessions however could induce him to any cordiality with the Court while Buckingham remained at its head. We find him therefore the steady, but dignified and moderate opponent to it at the commencement of the succeeding reign. Charles continued him in his office of Earl Marshal, and appointed him one of the supporters to himself at the funeral of the deceased King; a Commissioner for determining claims at his coronation, and for making such Knights of the Bath as were chosen for that occasion; and immediately after, by one of those intemperate acts which too frequently occurred in that unfortunate reign, disgusted him perhaps irreparably. The Earl's eldest surviving son, Henry Frederic, Lord Maltravers, had wedded the Lady Elizabeth Stuart, sister of the Duke of Lenox, and related to Charles, who had designed to marry her to the Lord Lorne, heir to the Earl of Argyll, and so to reconcile the ancient feuds between those two powerful Scottish Houses. The match had been made by the Duchess of Lenox and the Countess of Arundel, and the Earl, on being angrily taxed with it by the King, utterly denied any previous knowledge of it: he was however, together with his Lady, confined to his house of Horsely, in Surrey, and soon after committed to the Tower, solely by the authority of a royal warrant, in which the nature of his offence was not stated. This happened while the Parliament was sitting, and the Peers presently complained of it in repeated petitions, as a serious invasion of their privileges, to which they received for answer that

" the Earl of Arundel was restrained for a misdemeanor personal to the King, which lay in his proper knowledge, and had no relation to matters of Parliament." The Lords however continued firm, and re-iterated their claims in a bold remonstrance, and Charles, after a contest which lasted nearly three months, set the Earl at liberty on the eighth of June, 1626.

After the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham he came again to the Court, and soon acquired a considerable share of favour and confidence. In 1631 he was appointed a Commissioner to examine into the extravagant fees exacted in courts of justice, and public offices, and in 1633 attended the King at his coronation in Scotland: in the same year he was deputed Ambassador extraordinary to the States General, and was made Chief Justice of the forests north of Trent. But his most important public service about that period was in an embassy in 1636 to the Emperor Ferdinand the second, and the Imperial Diet, on the subject of the restoration of the Palatinate to the Elector, Charles's nephew, a measure which the King had so entirely at heart that he could not have given a stronger proof of his confidence in the Earl's wisdom, as well as in his fidelity, than by entrusting it to his management. The mission however proved unsuccessful; and the Earl, having passed nine months in Germany, during which he expended not less than forty thousand pounds from his own private fortune in augmenting his already splendid library and cabinet, returned to London, and was received by the King with peculiar marks of grace and approbation. A journal of the occurrences which took place in this voyage was published in the succeeding year by William Crowne, gent. a book now of extreme rarity.

In 1637 the memorable opposition to the liturgy and the hierarchy broke out in Scotland, and Charles, after many fruitless endeavours to negotiate, determined to have recourse to arms. He appointed the Earl of Arundel Commander in Chief of the forces raised for that purpose, but his military services were superseded by a new treaty, in which he was the first Commissioner. He was soon after placed in the office of Steward of the Royal Household; and in 1640, during Charles's absence at York, was nominated General in Chief of the country south of Trent, where it was the King's intention to have raised a powerful army. The violence, however, which marked the meeting of the Long Parliament gave a sudden turn to all public affairs, and prevented the effect both of his civil and military commissions. One of its first measures was the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford, at whose trial Arundel presided as Lord High Steward, with a judgement and impartiality which was admired by all parties. It fell also to his lot to be deputed to give the royal assent to those two fatal bills which cost Charles his crown, and his life, and deluged the country in blood; the bill of attainder against Strafford, and that by which it was enacted that the Parliament should not be dissolved but by its own consent.

Soon after, that is to say in June, 1641, he presented a petition, supported by another from several Peers of great worth and power, beseeching the King to restore him to the dukedom; but Charles, for some unknown reasons, would favour him no further than by the grant of a patent creating him Earl of Norfolk. Disgusted by this half measure, and foreseeing the dreadful storm which was then gathering, he determined to quit his country, and the King favoured his design by appointing him to escort the Queen's mother, Mary de Medicis, Queen Dowager of France, to end there her sorrowful days in security. His family accompanied him, and he returned alone early in the following winter, and remained in England till February, when the King gave him another opportunity of leaving it, by deputing him to attend to Holland Henrietta Maria, and her daughter, the Princess Mary, who had been married in the preceding summer to William Prince of Orange. He returned no more. After a short stay in the United Provinces, he went to Antwerp: and from thence, leaving there his Countess, whom he never met again, to Spa. He wandered slowly over most parts of France and Italy, and at last settled at Padua. He was attended in this long and various journeying by two of his grandsons, who, from having been his prime comforts, became now the causes of his greatest misery: Thomas, the elder, by being suddenly seized by an incurable insanity; and Philip, the third, by an obstinate determination not only to embrace the Roman Catholic communion, but to become a mem-

ber of its priesthood. The Earl died at Padua, on the fourth of October, 1646, and was buried at Arundel.

The character of this magnificent nobleman has been in some respects very differently represented: on the higher parts of it, however, little doubt can be entertained. The main spring of his whole conduct appears to have been, in the strictest meaning of the phrase, a true sense of honour, which manifested itself in every instance of his demeanor towards all sorts of persons, in all sorts of dealings. His loyalty was pure, though without personal regard to the Sovereign; his religious faith (and here his memory has been most unjustly traduced) sincere and steady, but without ostentation; his friendships, though not warm, were unalterable; and his enmities, though violent, were never disgraced by the common intemperate illiberalities of resentment. His affection to his own offspring, which was remarkably constant, is said to have been without the usual signs of fondness and endearment. He seems to have been left at leisure, uninterrupted by the extravagance of any passion, sentiment, or appetite, to mark out and pursue an undeviating line of irreproachable conduct, and such a character will always be misunderstood. He had many enemies, for he was the proudest man in the world among his equals, though the most affable towards his inferiors. He has been largely described by a writer of each of those classes; the great Earl of Clarendon, and Sir Edward Walker. The former, though evidently anxious to censure, has been at a loss to discover vulnerable parts in his character: the latter, though bound by many motives to praise him, honestly allows him some faults. Let them speak for themselves.

"The Earl of Arundel," says Lord Clarendon, "was generally thought to be a proud man, who lived always within himself, and to himself, conversing little with any who were in common conversation; so that he seemed to live as it were in another nation, his house being a place to which all people resorted who resorted to no other place; strangers, or such who affected to look like strangers, and dressed themselves accordingly. He resorted sometimes to the Court, because there only was a greater man than himself; and went thither the seldomer, because there was a greater man than himself. He lived towards all favourites and great officers without any kind of condescension, and rather suffered himself to be ill treated by their power and authority (for he was often in disgrace and once or twice prisoner in the Tower) than to descend in making any application to them. And upon these occasions he spent a great interval of his time in several journeys into foreign parts, and, with his wife and family, had lived some years in Italy, the humour and manners of which nation he seemed most to like and approve, and affected to imitate. He had a good fortune by descent, and a much greater from his wife, who was the sole daughter, upon the matter, for neither of the two sisters left any issue, of the great house of Shrewsbury, but his expences were without any measure, and always exceeded very much his revenue. He was willing to be thought a scholar, and to understand the most mysterious parts of antiquity, because he made a wonderful and costly purchase of excellent statues whilst he was in Italy and in Rome (some whereof he could never obtain permission to remove from Rome though he had paid for them) and had a rare collection of the most curious medals. As to all parts of learning he was most illiterate, and thought no other part of history so considerable as what related to his own family, in which no doubt there had been some very memorable persons. It cannot be denied that he had in his person, in his aspect, and countenance, the appearance of a great man, which he preserved in his gait and motion. He wore and affected a habit very different from that of the time, such as men had only beheld in the pictures of the most considerable men, all which drew the eyes of most, and the reverence of many, towards him, as the image and representative of the primitive nobility, and native gravity of the nobles, when they had been most venerable; but this was only his outside, his nature and true humour being much disposed to levity, and delights which indeed were very despicable and childish. He was rather thought not to be much concerned for religion than to incline to this or that party of any, and had little other affection for the nation, or the kingdom, than as he had a great share in it, in which, like the great leviathan, he might sport himself, from which he withdrew as

soon as he discerned the repose thereof was like to be disturbed, and died in Italy, under the same doubtful character of religion in which he lived."

Sir Edward Walker speaks of him thus—" He was tall of stature and of shape and proportion rather goodly than neat. His countenance was majestical and grave; his visage long; his eyes large, black, and piercing: he had a hooked nose, and some warts or moles on his cheeks: his countenance was brown; his hair thin, both on his head and beard: he was of a stately presence and gait, so that any man that saw him, though in never so ordinary habit, could not but conclude him to be a great person, his garb and fashion drawing more observation than did the rich apparel of others; so that it was a common saying of the late Earl of Carlisle, 'Here comes the Earl of Arundel, in his plain stuff, and trunk hose, and his beard in his teeth, that looks more like a nobleman than any of us'— He was more learned in men and manners than in books, yet understood the Latin tongue very well, and was master of the Italian; besides, he was a great favourer of learned men, such as Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Henry Spelman, Mr. Camden, Mr. Selden, and the like. He was a great master of order and ceremony, and knew, and kept, greater distance towards his Sovereign than any person I ever observed, and expected no less from his inferiors, often complaining that the too great affability of the King, and the French garb of the Court, would bring Majesty into contempt. In council he was grave and succinct, rather discharging his conscience and honour than complying with particular interests, and so was never at the head of business, or principal in favour, contenting himself to be, as it were, the supporter of ancient nobility and gentry, and to interpose in their behalfs; witness the care he had in the education of the now Earl of Oxford, and the young Lord Stafford, in his own house, together with his grandchildren: yet wanted he not a share of the royal favours, as may appear by the many employments he had under King James, and the late King, the first of which I believe loved him more, and the last had him in greater veneration and regard, though not in intimacy of favour, he being a person by years, quality, and parts, of an austere disposition, and not so complaisant as other persons that had more of ends. He was the greatest favourer of arts, especially painting, sculpture, designs, carving, building, and the like, that this age hath produced; his collections of designs being more than of any person living, and his statues equal in number, value, and antiquity, to those in the houses of most Princes; to gain which he had persons many years employed, both in Italy, Greece, and so generally in any part of Europe where rarities were to be had. His paintings likewise were numerous, and of the most excellent masters, having more of that exquisite painter Hans Holbein than are in the world besides; and he had the honour to be the first person of quality that set a value on them in our nation; and so the first person that brought in uniformity in building, and was chief commissioner to see it performed in London, which since that time has added exceedingly to the beauty of that city. He was likewise sumptuous in his plate, and household stuff, and full of state and magnificence in his entertainments, especially of strangers, and at his table very free and pleasant. He was a person of great and universal civility, but yet with that restriction as that it forbad any to be bold or saucy with him, though with those whom he affected, which were lovers of state, nobility, and curious arts, he was very free and conversible, but they being but few, the stream of the times being otherwise, he had not many confidents or dependants, neither did he much affect to have them, they being unto great persons both burthensome and dangerous. He was not popular at all, nor cared for it, as loving better by a just hand than flattery to let the common people to know their distance, and due observance: neither was he of any faction in Court or Council, especially not of the French or puritan. He was free from covetousness, and so much above a bribe or gratuity for favours done, as no person ever durst tempt him with one. He was in religion no bigot or puritan, and professed more to affect moral virtues than nice questions and controversies. He was most faithful and affectionate to his lady, indulgent to his children, and more to his grand-children. His recreations were conversation with them, and care of their education; overlooking his rare collections, and, when not diverted by business, pleasing himself in retirement to the country. If he were defective in any thing it was

that he could not bring his mind to his fortune, which, though great, was far too little for the vastness of his noble designs; but it is pardonable, they being only for the glory and ornament of his country. To conclude, he would have appeared far more eminent had the times he lived in been more consonant to his disposition: however, as they were, he must by all wise and noble persons be looked upon as the greatest assertor of the splendour and greatness of the Crown, and the ancient honour of the nobility and gentry, that lived in his time, and as the last great and excellent person that our age of peace hath bred."

As a cultivator of the fine arts, a patron of their professors, and a collector of their finest monuments, the Earl of Arundel stands beyond all praise. His unwearied pains, and unbounded expence, in amassing the largest and choicest treasure of Greek and Roman antiquities that was ever possessed by an English subject have perhaps procured him credit for more learning than he really had. Indeed it is little probable that such a man, in such an age, should have been a minute scholar; but, whatever were the degree of his literature, his sagacity and his taste directed it to the noblest means of national improvement. He had almost the sole merit of first diverting the occupation of learned men from the wretched and unprofitable cavils of the schools to the classical elegancies of antiquity. He encouraged them by his example; supported them with his purse; placed full in their view the most splendid memorials of that ancient perfection which he wished them to emulate; and founded a new æra in the studies of his countrymen. It is somewhat strange that he should not have taken all possible precautions to fix his unparalleled collection always in the possession of his male heirs; and indeed his apparent carelessness on that head might lead us to suppose that he rather wished it to be dispersed, as in fact it was within a few years after his decease. He divided his personal estate between his eldest and second surviving sons, Henry Frederic Lord Maltravers, and William, afterwards Viscount Stafford. Henry, second son of the former, and sixth Duke of Norfolk, about the year 1668, gave a part of his moiety, the celebrated Parian Chronicles, as they are called, to the University of Oxford, and the remainder descended to his son, Henry, the seventh Duke, and were afterwards mostly possessed, we know not by what means, by his divorced lady. She sold the statues to the Earl of Pomfret (whose widow gave them also to that University) and left the gems to her second husband, Sir John Germaine, whose second wife, Lady Elizabeth (Berkeley) owned them, in her widowhood, not many years since. Lord Stafford's portion remained with his heirs till 1720, and was in that year sold by auction, at his house, called Tart Hall, just without Buckingham Gate, which was then pulled down. Some curious relics of the collection fell into the hands of the Hon. Charles Howard, ancestor to the present Duke of Norfolk, as residuary legatee to his grandmother, the Dowager Countess Alathea, and were by him carried to his mansion of Greystock Castle, where they still remain.

Thomas Earl of Arundel married, as has been before said, Alathea, one of the coheirs of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. He had issue by that lady six sons: James, Lord Mowbray and Maltravers, who died a minor, and unmarried, at Ghent, in Flanders, while abroad with his mother; Henry Frederic, who succeeded to the Earldom, and was progenitor of all the noble persons who have since his time enjoyed the Dukedom of Norfolk; William, from whom descended the extinct Earls of Stafford; Thomas, Gilbert, and Charles, who died unmarried in the life-time of their father.

Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland.

From the original of Carlo Maratta, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl Spencer.

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London Published June 1 1817 by Lackington Hughes Harding Mayor & Jones and Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown.

ROBERT SPENCER,

SECOND EARL OF SUNDERLAND.

When Addison, at the instance of Queen Anne's whig ministry, called on Edmund Smith to engage him to write a history of the revolution of 1688, "What," said Smith, "shall I do with the character of Lord Sunderland?" The question was unanswerable. It would have been necessary to the decorum, as well as to the objects, of such a work to ascribe that revolution, according to the custom in all such cases, entirely to the wisdom and virtue of the few by whom it was wrought; to the purity of their patriotism, and the fervour of their zeal for the Church of England; but the author was too honest to tell the story in that way, and the Whigs too discreet to permit that it should be told in any other, and the design was therefore laid aside. Of the two great parties which then divided the nation, thus left to misjudge for itself, one was unwilling to damp its triumph, and interrupt the tide of its gratitude for real or fancied benefits, by examining into the motives of its leaders, and the other careless of making enquiries the fruits of which it durst not have promulgated. The truth therefore long remained unknown: but time has removed those impediments, and an unrestrained historical diligence has gradually detected in the conduct of those leaders as much selfishness, treachery, and ingratitude, as are to be found in the story of any other great national change on record. At the head of the persons to whom all those censures were eminently due certainly stood the Earl of Sunderland.

He was the only son of that model of true nobility, Henry third Lord Spencer, who was advanced to the Earldom by King Charles the first, and fell, about three months after, at the battle of Newbury, by Dorothy, daughter of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, the lady so highly celebrated by Waller, under the name of Sacharissa. The precise date of his birth is not known, but it was in 1640, or the following year: neither have we any intelligence of the place or method of his education, except a slight notice by Lloyd, in his Memoirs of the Loyalists, which informs us that his tutor, a Dr. Pearce, used to say of him that he had at once such an aptness and willingness to learn that the teaching him seemed rather a recreation and reward than an employment. He set out on his travels later, and remained abroad longer, than was usual with young men of his rank; and thus, with the advantages of a more mature judgement to direct, and a better leisure to digest, the observations of a most acute and inquisitive mind, returned universally informed and accomplished. The State however alone could furnish occupation for a man of his rank, and his genius peculiarly qualified him for the management of that new sort of government which presently succeeded the restoration, the chief art of which consisted in the adroit concealment, at home and abroad, of its unworthy and uncertain principles. The commencement of his public employment furnished him with abundant means for the exercise of this mysterious disposition in several foreign missions. In 1671 he was appointed Ambassador extraordinary to the Court of Madrid, and in the autumn of the following year to that of Paris: in 1673 he was one of the Plenipotentiaries for the treaty of Cologne; and, soon after his return from that service, on the twenty-seventh of May, 1674, was sworn of the Privy Council.

He remained in England for four years, without any specific appointment, courting the friendship and confidence of the Treasurer Danby, which he seems to have gained; watching carefully the state of parties; and forming plans for his own future aggrandizement. In July, 1678, he was again sent Ambassador extraordinary to Louis the

fourteenth, and was probably now intrusted to arrange and settle those secret pecuniary relations between that Monarch and Charles by which the Crown of England was so deeply disgraced. At all events, he rose suddenly at this period to the highest degree in his master's favour, and, on the ninth of February, in the succeeding year, upon the removal of Sir Joseph Williamson, was recalled, and appointed a principal Secretary of State, and soon became virtually chief minister. He found the Duke of Monmouth, and the Duchess of Portsmouth, labouring to accomplish the ruin of Danby, and readily joined them in that endeavour, which was soon after accomplished; assisted in placing the Earl of Essex at the head of the Treasury, and Shaftesbury in the great office of President of the then newly modelled Privy Council. Thus, in the moment of his reception into the ministry, he seemed to attach himself to the popular party, which gave him credit for having forced its leaders on the King, who was himself in fact the secret mover for their admission.

He united himself for a time to the Lords Essex, Halifax, and Shaftesbury, and those four noblemen, with the occasional aid of Sir William Temple, composed the King's especial cabinet. Shaftesbury, however, whose soul abhorred tranquillity and order, soon flew off, and raised a storm in Parliament against the Duke of York, and his religion, which could only be terminated, as it was, by the dissolution of that assembly. A new Parliament met in October, 1680, in which Sunderland, who had previously prevailed on Charles to compel the Duke to retire into Scotland, voted for the famous bill of exclusion, not only, as Sir William Temple informs us in his *memoirs*, "against his master's mind, but his express command;" and the King, in a sudden burst of resentment, dismissed him from the office of Secretary of State, and even ordered that his name should be erased from the list of the Council. Unemployed for two years in the direction of the State, he applied himself with unceasing assiduity to the means of restoring himself to power; courted all parties; obtained at once the pardon of the Duke of York, who had now returned, and the confidence of the Duchess of Portsmouth; and on the thirty-first of January, 1682, was restored to the post of Secretary of State, having been some months before again admitted into the Privy Council. His apparent obsequiousness to James now excited the wonder of the Court, while in secret he thwarted that Prince's earnest desire for the appointment of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and strove to persuade the King to send him once more into banishment. It would be incredible, were it not supported by undoubted historical evidence, that at this precise period he stood pledged to the Court of France to urge, in the event of James's exclusion, the succession of the Duke of Richmond, Charles's natural son, to the Throne; flattered the Duke of Monmouth with similar hopes, and engaged in a serious negotiation with the Prince of Orange to the same effect; nor is it improbable that Charles himself was privy to these almost unparalleled intrigues.

The Duke was not ignorant of Sunderland's tergiversations, yet, when he succeeded to the throne, that nobleman, whose disgrace had been considered as inevitable, rose in favour. The extent of his talents; the peculiar ingenuity with which he applied them; and a fascinating good humour and politeness; might, it is true, have induced a master, even with a weaker judgement and a colder heart than James, to overlook many errors and offences; but the affection of that unhappy Prince was bound to him by a stronger tie: He had the reputation of a concealed attachment to the Popish persuasion. Even so early as the date of his embassy to Madrid, on his way to which city he was charged with business which delayed him some time at Paris, Colbert thus described and recommended him in a letter to Louis the fourteenth—"The Earl of Sunderland will without fail depart to-morrow to wait on your Majesty. He is a young gentleman of high family; has a great deal of frankness, courage, parts, and learning; is also extremely well intentioned, and strongly disposed to become a Roman Catholic." If however his character has not been cruelly mis-represented, he was totally careless about all religion. James is said to have entertained some suspicion to that effect, and Sunderland took the shortest method to remove it by a formal abjuration of the Protestant faith. His regard to the temporal interests of the Romish Church seemed less doubtful, and his affected eagerness for their re-establishment in some instances outstript the efforts even of the King himself. He assiduously sought the con-

fidence of Father Petre, and other Catholic leaders, and deceived them into a belief that he wished to share with them the government of the State; accepted a seat in the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, and was among the forwardest of the sticklers for its jurisdiction.

James valued such compliances too highly to part with the minister who could condescend to them, yet he was fully conscious of Sunderland's true character. In that Prince's notices of his own life and affairs, so important to the history of that period, which were published by Macpherson, he says, under the year 1686, "Sunderland, besides having a pension from the Prince of Orange, had one also from the King of France. He was the most mercenary man in the world: veered with all winds," &c.: and in another place charges him with the most detestable and complex treachery to the Duke of Monmouth, in that unhappy man's last hours. "When Monmouth was taken," says James, "he wrote, on the road, to desire admission into the King's presence, having somewhat to say that would give him a happy reign. Ralph Sheldon was sent to meet him, and, being asked who had the chief confidence with the King, he said, 'Sunderland.' Monmouth then, knocking his breast in a surprise, said, 'Why then, as I hope for salvation, he promised to meet me.' He desired Sheldon to acquaint the King with it, and that he would inform him of all his accomplices, seeing some of them had the King's confidence. Sheldon, on his return, was giving the King an account, when Sunderland, pretending business, came into the closet, and Sheldon stopt, desiring to speak with the King in private; but the King told him he might say anything before that Lord, which put Sheldon to great perplexity, yet he told what Monmouth had said. Sunderland seemed at first struck; but, after a short time, said, with a laugh, 'if that be all he can discover to save his life, it will do him little good.' James, as is well known, did admit the captive Monmouth once more into his presence. "He was willing," to use his own words, "to hear more of the matter related by Mr. Sheldon;" and he remarked that "it was strange my Lord Sunderland did not oppose it, unless, as was said afterwards, he underhand assured the Duke of Monmouth of his pardon if he confessed nothing; and then, when he (the Duke) had destroyed his own credit by contradicting himself, he took care to have him dispatched as soon as possible afterwards." Of the truth of that report there is now no doubt, and it is also well known that Sunderland intercepted and destroyed a letter which Monmouth subsequently wrote to the King from the Tower; but enough on this odious subject.

In spite however of many detections, and more suspicions, Sunderland's power gradually increased. Protected by the influence of France; by the partiality of the Queen, who venerated his pretended zeal for her Church, and to whose opinions James paid great deference; and by the weight of his own talents, which perhaps gained more credit than they merited from a comparison with those of the ministers to whom he was joined; he exercised an unbounded sway over the measures of his unhappy master, and became graced by new distinctions. On the fourth of February, 1685, he succeeded the Marquis of Halifax in the office of President of the Council, still holding that of Secretary of State; and on the twenty-sixth of April, 1687, was elected a Knight of the Garter. At length, in the summer of the following year, the Roman Catholics at Court too late discovered the error that they had committed in accepting his patronage and agency, and beset the King with importunities to dismiss him, at the very moment when he was endeavouring to amuse them with a pretended scheme to form an administration in which they were to have a complete ascendancy. Even at last James was awakened from his delirium rather by the Dutch invasion than by their intreaties; and Sunderland was not discharged from his great offices till the twenty-seventh of October, the Prince of Orange having sailed from his own coast the very day before, to take possession of a kingdom which he owed in a great measure to the treachery of that minister.

From the hour of James's accession to the throne Sunderland had been the constant agent for the Prince in all that related to his designs on England, and to enhance the turpitude of the intercourse, it was carried on through the medium of his uncle, Henry Sidney, James's accredited minister at the Hague. To prevent a disclosure of the conspiracy, and

to furnish means for intercepting any accidental rumour of it which might arrive from other quarters, he had procured a positive order from the King to all the foreign ministers to correspond with him alone; and thus enveloped in a profound secresy, he betrayed to William the interests of his master, which he was bound by the most sacred ties to maintain, and the designs of France, which, with sufficient baseness, he had accepted enormous bribes to forward and to conceal. While the Prince gradually shaped his plans, and formed his resolutions, on the chain of intelligence thus furnished, Sunderland seconded him, step by step, in his endeavours to produce the crisis here at the due season, fomenting the worst passions, and flattering the most mischievous foibles, of the devoted James; and preparing, with the coldest indifference, the means, not only of dethroning a Sovereign who had loaded him with beneficence, but of producing a revolution which, but for the native humanity and good sense of his countrymen, might have deluged the nation in blood. And what were the motives to this frightful dereliction of all that was honest, and honourable, and just? to this utter abandonment of public duty, and of private feeling? to this sacrifice which so few have been bold and wicked enough to make even to the loftiest objects of human ambition? Alas! merely a disposition to unbounded profusion in private expences; to the love of luxury, and the vanity of magnificence.

It is strange that a Prince of William's reputation for rigid virtue and sound prudence should have bestowed his future friendship, and even his confidence, on such a man, but the robber seemed no less welcome than the spoil. To keep up decent appearances however for a while, Sunderland crossed the sea, with the affectation of flying from justice, immediately after the Prince had landed, and William in 1690, and 1692, specially excepted him in two several acts of indemnity and free pardon: but this grave farce was rendered somewhat ridiculous by Sunderland's preferring Holland as his safest place of refuge. There, at the commencement of the former of those years, he issued from the press a short apology for his public conduct, under the title of "A Letter, Discovering the Papist's Designs, to a Friend in the Country," which was industriously circulated in England, abounding with assertions which, though believed by none, were of a nature to defy formal disproval, and composed with an air of careless frankness, amounting to vulgarity of expression. This was meant to prepare England for his reception once more to royal favour, and in the winter of 1692, wonderful to tell, he returned the champion of the Whig interest, from which, by his advice, William now selected a new administration. "The person," says Burnet, speaking of this precise period, "that had the King's confidence in the highest degree was the Earl of Sunderland, who, by his long experience, and his knowledge of men and things, had gained an ascendant over him, and had more credit with him, than any Englishman ever had. He had brought the King to this change of councils by the prospect he gave him of the ill condition his affairs were in if he did not entirely both trust and satisfy those who in the present conjuncture were the only party that both could and would support him," &c.

Thus he became once more, without the title, chief minister: indeed it was not thought fit in this reign to bring him forward in any specific office in the State; nor was it till the spring of 1697 that he was admitted even to the Privy Council. On the nineteenth of April in that year he was appointed Lord Chamberlain. The nation, however, with a generous resentment, spurned at the approach of such a man to the royal ear. "The Tories," says Burnet, "pressed hard on him, and the Whigs were so jealous of him, that he apprehended that while the former would attack him the others would defend him faintly." William, with a warmth of regard which he seldom manifested to any, clung to him to the last, and so increased the general dissatisfaction. At length he prudently resolved to retire, and, on the twenty-sixth of December, in the same year, the King most reluctantly accepted his resignation, and he retreated to utter privacy at his seat at Althorpe, in Northamptonshire, where he died on the twenty-eighth of September, 1702, and was buried with his ancestors at Brington, in that County.

As Bishop Burnet is the only writer who has endeavoured to find excuses for the frightful faults of this nobleman's conduct, it is due to Sunderland's memory, as well as prudent

in one who now publishes, for the first time, the collected circumstances of his life, to insert here the character given of him by his sole apologist. " Lord Sunderland," says Burnet, " was a man of a clear and ready apprehension, and a quick decision in business. He had too much heat, both of imagination and passion, and was apt to speak very freely both of persons and things. His own notions were always good, but he was a man of great expence, and, in order to the supporting himself, he went into the prevailing counsels at Court, and he changed sides often, with little regard either to religion or the interests of his country. He raised many enemies to himself by the contempt with which he treated those who differed from him. He had indeed the superior genius to all the men of business that I have yet known; and he had the dexterity of insinuating himself so intirely into the greatest degree of confidence with three succeeding Princes, who set up on very different interests, that he came by this to lose himself so much that even those who esteemed his parts depended little on his firmness."

The Earl of Sunderland married Anne, second and youngest daughter, and at length heir, to George Digby, second Earl of Bristol, and had by her three sons, and four daughters. Robert, the eldest, died unmarried; the second, Charles, succeeded to his father, and from him have been descended the several noble persons of his name who have borne the titles of Duke of Marlborough, and Earl Spencer: Henry, the third son, died soon after his birth. The daughters were Anne, wife of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, afterwards Duke of Hamilton; Elizabeth, married to Donald Macarty, Earl of Clancarty; Isabella, who died unmarried, and Mary, who died an infant.

Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban.

From the original of Van Somer, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Verulam.

Drawn by R. W. Satchwell & Engraved (with Permission) by W. T. Fry.

London, Published Oct.r 1819 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mason & Jones and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown

FRANCIS BACON,

VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

It has been determined that the insertion of a portrait of this wonderful man in such a collection as the present is indispensable, and the resolution may possibly be proper. Should it, on the other hand, be thought impertinent to add one more to the many engravings which have already rendered his features so well known to us, some apology for the supererogation may perhaps be reasonably founded on the excellent skill of two artists displayed in this new effort. Not so with the biographer. He finds that the character of Bacon has been long since placed in every possible point of view, and every lineament traced with the most critical exactness; and he will rejoice, if he is prudent, to be spared the perilous task of adding a single touch. Conscious that he cannot safely venture to enlarge the scale of this grand picture, how much more forcibly must he feel the impossibility of reducing it to a miniature; of discussing, to drop the figure, within the limits of a few pages the mysteries of a sublime philosophy, of a profound state policy, and of a character which presents the most awful example extant at once of human wisdom and weakness. Thus impressed, and with scarcely any view but to preserve uniformity of appearance in this work, I proceed to a detail, unavoidably cold and meagre, of circumstances merely historical.

Francis Bacon was the younger of the two sons of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal under Queen Elizabeth, by Anne, one of the daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, of Gidea Hall, in Essex, and sister to the wife of the Lord Treasurer Burghley. He was born at York House, in the Strand, on the twenty-second of January, 1561, and educated under the care of Whitgift, afterwards Primate, in Trinity College, Cambridge, of which he was entered at the age of twelve years. It should seem that it was not the intention of his parents to devote him to the profession of the law, for, soon after he had left the University, he went to Paris with Sir Amias Powlett, and lived in the house of that minister during his embassy, on the affairs of which he was at least once dispatched to communicate personally with the Queen; but his father having been prevented, as is said, by a sudden death, in 1579, from making the provision intended for him, he returned and enrolled himself a member of the society of Gray's Inn. Here he studied the common law with the closest application, and relaxed his giant mind by laying the foundation of his philosophy. He remained long at the bar, undistinguished but by his talents and his eloquence, and by the extensive practice to which they had conducted him; nor was it till 1588 that he obtained even the degree of Counsel to the Queen, for he had cultivated a strict intimacy with Essex, the uniform rival, and indeed enemy, of his powerful relations the Cecils, who therefore in a great measure denied him their patronage. It is true that they gave him the reversion of an office of considerable emolument, the Registership of the Star-chamber, and this was perhaps the only instance of their favour ever experienced by him.

He waited, however, patiently till the year 1596, when the office of Solicitor General becoming vacant, Essex and his friends exerted themselves to the utmost to place him in it. They were unsuccessful, and here we meet with a wonderful proof of the romantic generosity and grandeur of that nobleman's heart. Sympathizing with his disappointed friend, and stung with anger at the slight which had been put on his own suit, he instantly determined to alienate a part of his estate to Bacon, from whose pen we have a recital of

the conversation which occurred when the Earl visited him to declare his intention. "After the Queen," says he, "had denied me the Solicitor's place, for the which his Lordship had been a long and earnest suitor in my behalf, it pleased him to come to me from Richmond to Twickenham Park, and brake with me, and said, 'Mr. Bacon, the Queen hath denied me the place for you, and hath placed another. I know you are the least part of your own matter, but you fare ill because you have chosen me for your mean and dependance, yet you have spent your time and your thoughts in my matters: I die (these were his words) if I do not somewhat towards your fortune: you shall not deny to accept a piece of land which I will bestow upon you.'" Twickenham Park, here mentioned, was the gift bestowed on him, including one of Essex's highly ornamented mansions, particularly celebrated for its pleasure grounds, which had obtained the name of the "garden of paradise." Yet Bacon, painful to relate, when that unhappy nobleman was some years after arraigned, not only pleaded against him at the bar, but at length published a declaration of his treasons, with the view of justifying his execution. The nation shuddered at this ingratitude to its favourite. Bacon was universally execrated, and even threatened with assassination. He addressed an apology, which may be found in his works, to the Earl of Devonshire, one of Essex's bosom friends, from which the passage just now given is extracted; but the stain which he had cast on himself was then too glaring, and he missed even the sordid reward at which he had aimed, for Elizabeth's ministers, to whom he had thus sold himself, durst not admit him publicly into their councils.

By James, who loved learning better than morals, and sought for servants at once wise and pliant, he became presently in some measure distinguished. He was among the first to prefer his claims to that Prince's favour, and had assiduously courted the great men of both nations, and of all parties, as well religious as political, to forward them. He had been long a member of the House of Commons, in which his exact knowledge of the temper of that body gave him perhaps more weight even than his admirable powers of mind, or his eloquence, and he rendered himself now essentially useful in forwarding there the King's favourite objects; for while he was, in fact, the confidential agent for the Crown, he had the address to persuade the House of his entire independence, and, to strengthen that impression, frequently espoused measures which he privately meditated to overthrow. This practice, then a novelty in parliamentary tactics, remained long unsuspected: His rewards, which doubtless were considerable, were kept as secret as his services, and it was not till the year 1607 that he was at length appointed Solicitor General; nor did that mark of royal favour tend to impair the confidence in which he was held by the Commons, for in the following session they made choice of him to represent to the King the grievances of the nation, and received with complacency a haughty answer because he had prefaced the delivery of it by a fascinating harangue. He remained without farther preferment till 1613, when on the twenty-seventh of October he obtained the post of Attorney General.

It was very soon after that period that the memorable George Villiers first appeared at Court, and became instantly a favourite. Bacon was the foremost of the flatterers of his youth and inexperience, and Villiers, justly proud of the friendship of the wisest of his countrymen, and with sufficient prudence to discern the importance of such a counsellor to his own welfare, became earnestly attached to him, and resolved to devote himself to his gratification. On the ninth of July, 1616, the King received Bacon into the Privy Council, a distinction which it was not usual to bestow on Attorneys General; on the third of March, 1617, O. S. delivered the Great Seal to him, as Lord Keeper; and on the fourth of January, in the succeeding year, exalted him to the degree of Lord High Chancellor. In making these several important steps he was assiduously aided by the influence which Villiers exercised over James, while his consummate policy in the pursuit of his own interests is almost without a parallel. A letter which may be found in his works, soliciting the King to promote him to the office of Lord Keeper, furnishes a curious instance of the craft with which he advanced his own cause, and undermined the pretensions of others, solely by appealing to the ruling foible in his master's regal character; and this in a method so delicately covert and indirect that all his hints on the subject of prerogative seem to arise

collaterally and incidentally. The following passage may be a sufficient example—"I hope I may be acquitted of presumption if I think of it, both because my father had the place, which is some civil inducement to my desire, and, chiefly, because the Chancellor's place, after it went to the law, was ever conferred upon some of the learned counsel, and never upon a judge: for Audley was raised from a King's Serjeant; my father from Attorney of the Wards; Bromley from Solicitor; Puckering from Queen's Serjeant; Egerton from Master of the Rolls, having newly left the Attorney's place. Now, I beseech your Majesty let me put you the present case truly. If you take my Lord Coke this will follow: first, your Majesty shall put an over-ruling man into an over-ruling place, which may breed an extreme; next, you shall blunt his industry in matter of finances, which seemeth to aim at another place; and, lastly, popular men are no sure mounters for your Majesty's saddle. If you take my Lord Hobart, you shall have a judge at the upper end of your Council board, and another at the lower end, whereby your Majesty will find your prerogative pent; for, though there should be emulation between them, yet, as legists, they will agree in magnifying that wherein they are best: He is no statesman, but an œconomist wholly for himself, so as your Majesty, more than an outward form, will find little help in him for the business. If you take my Lord of Canterbury, I will say no more but the Chancellor's place requires a whole man, and to have both jurisdictions, spiritual and temporal, in that height is fit only for a King. For myself, I can only present your Majesty with gloria in obsequio," &c.

On the eleventh of July, 1618, Bacon was created Baron of Verulam, in the County of Herts, and on the twenty-seventh of January, 1620, Viscount St. Alban. The great machine of the State had now fallen chiefly under his direction. James, who, with all his vanity, had too much good sense to slight the dictates of another's wisdom, submitted most matters to his judgment and decision; and a mixture of friendship, veneration, and deference to age and long experience, had brought the warmth and the caprice of Buckingham, by whom so much was governed, in great measure under his controul. His sudden elevation in place, and dignity, and confidence, produced, however, more than usual envy, and aggravated the feelings of his enemies, who were many. The old party of the disgraced Earl of Somerset, which was by no means insignificant, detested him; Sir Edward Coke, with whom he had maintained for many years a constant rivalry and warfare, was his bitter foe, and ruled the opinions of a multitude. Bacon's attachment to Buckingham, which was invariable, had involved him in the unpopularity and jealousy with which that favourite was now surrounded; and the impartiality, whether proceeding from principle or policy, which distinguished his judicial decrees, had excited the resentment of numerous individuals in the Court and State whose private interests had been affected by them. Hopeless wishes for his downfall had been secretly formed by thousands, for probity, as well as wisdom, seemed to secure him from all attack, when the House of Commons, in the Parliament which met on the thirtieth of January, 1620, only three days after his reception of his new dignity of Viscount, appointed a committee to inquire into the conduct of the courts of justice, which, on the fifteenth of March, 1620, O. S. reported against him two charges of the grossest corruption. It was fully proved that he had accepted large bribes from two suitors in the chancery, and the turpitude of the offence seemed to acquire a deeper dye from the exceeding necessity of the parties, one of whom had been forced to mortgage an estate to furnish the requisite sum, and the other to borrow miserably of a usurer.

On the motion of Sir Edward Coke these charges were sent up to the Peers, to whom Bacon, who was, or feigned to be, very ill, sent an expostulatory letter. They answered him with respect and tenderness, and even manifested an inclination to believe him innocent; but on the very next day new complaints were made to them by the House of Commons, in which more than twenty instances were cited of his having taken bribes, amounting together to many thousand pounds, and the Lords appointed a select committee to take the whole into the most serious consideration. Bacon now threw himself on the favour of the King, and the influence of Buckingham. James, who is said to have

lamented his wretched degradation, even with tears, admitted him to a long audience, and procured an adjournment of Parliament for some days, in the hope of devising means to soften his fall, but the only effect of the pause was to produce fresh accusations. Nothing remained but to submit himself to the mercy of the Peers, and, on the twenty-fourth of April, he made a general acknowledgement of his guilt, by a letter to the House, composed with admirable force and beauty of expression, which was presented by the Prince of Wales. The Lords, however, very properly insisted on his answering to each particular charge, which he did, on the thirtieth of the same month, confessing nearly all that had been alledged against him. He was deprived the next day of the Great Seal; and, on the third of May, having in the meantime received a summons to attend the House, which he declined on the score of illness, the Peers, in the simple form of an answer to the House of Commons, then standing at their bar to demand judgment against him, sentenced him to a fine of forty thousand pounds; to be imprisoned in the Tower during the King's pleasure; and to be for ever incapable of holding any public office, or of sitting in Parliament.

His confinement was short. James, still anxious to receive his counsels, renewed a personal intercourse with him, and, on the twelfth of the following October, signed a warrant remitting the whole of his sentence, except the parliamentary prohibition, from which also he was at length relieved towards the close of his life. He retired, loaded with debt, and unable to practise frugality: such indeed were his necessities, that he condescended to sue for the office of Provost of Eton College, and suffered the mortification of a refusal. It is needless to say that his few remaining years were passed in study, but the greater part, and the most important, of his mighty works were composed during the period in which he directed the affairs of the State, and superintended the individual private interests of thousands; a fact almost miraculous. Of those works, as has been already premised, it is impossible here to speak to any purpose: suffice it therefore to say, referring only to their extent, that they consist, according to his own division of them, of two hundred and forty-one distinct treatises, philosophical, historical, religious, and political.

Bacon died on the ninth of April, 1626, and was buried in the chapel of St. Michael's Church, in the town of St. Albans. He had been married, in his middle age, to Alice, daughter of Benedict Barnham, an Alderman of London, by whom he left no issue.

RICHARD WESTON,

FIRST EARL OF PORTLAND.

THE circumstances of this nobleman's life and character have never yet been collectively presented to our view, nor has the graver, till now, rendered his person familiar to us. He seems to have been one of those who were valued rather for good intentions than for able services, yet he possessed considerable talents, with most of the qualifications of a man of business, and many of a courtier. His faults, which were not abundant, arose from errors of temper, rather than of the head or heart. Distinguished by exemplary fidelity, by a zealous attachment to regal power, and by a sedulous application to the affairs of the State, he filled for some years the highest office in it, without acquiring the public regard and confidence which he appears really to have merited; and died in possession of that great post, little regretted, even by his own dependents, and leaving only a name which history seldom mentions.

His descent, both by father and mother, was from among the most ancient of the English gentry. He was the only child of Sir Jerome Weston, of Skrynes, in the parish of Roxwell, in Essex, Knight, by Mary, daughter of Anthony Cave, of Chicheley, in Bucks, a merchant of London, but of the old house of Cave, of Northamptonshire. He was bred in the Middle Temple to the study of the law, into the practice of which he came with the better grace because his paternal grandfather had risen in it to the station of a Justice of the Common Pleas, and his education, to use the words of Lord Clarendon, "had been very good, both among books and men." He remained, however, not long in that profession, and probably quitted it on succeeding to the inheritance of his patrimony, when he went abroad, and having for a considerable time applied himself to the observation of the politics and manners of the most eminent Courts in Europe, returned with a determination to seek preferment in the State. "He betook himself," says the same historian, "to the Court, and lived there some years, at that distance, and with that awe, as was agreeable to the modesty of the age, when men were seen some time before they were known, and well known before they were preferred, or durst pretend to it." He acquired, however, many friends, but in this tedious attendance, he not only consumed his fortune, which had been considerable, but contracted great debts to many who had pinned their hopes on his prospects, and was on the point of abandoning the Court in despair, when he was sent Ambassador to Prague, jointly with Sir Edward Conway, to endeavour to reconcile the Emperor and the Elector Palatine; and in the following year was entrusted alone to negotiate at Brussels with the Imperial and Spanish Ministers for the restitution of the Palatinate.

He acquitted himself in those missions with a caution and dexterity which procured for him, in addition to the approbation of his own Court, the favourable testimony of the foreign Statesmen with whom he had treated, and his fortune was now fixed: He was soon after his return received into the Privy Council, and appointed Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, and on the twenty-fifth of May, 1624, obtained a commission for the office of Treasurer of the Exchequer, during the King's pleasure. Not yet arrived at the height of his preferment, he was now, however, in the zenith of his favour. The exactness and frugality with which he administered the affairs of the revenue were equally acceptable to the Crown and to the people; but the chief theatre of his services was at that time the House of Commons, in which, not that it was then the peculiar province of

the minister holding his office, he had the management of all matters which the King had peculiarly at heart. In this function he carried himself at once with such prudence and courteousness, that while he essentially served James, and afterwards Charles, he gained the good opinion of the House, and had the rare good fortune for a considerable time to enjoy the high esteem at once of the King, the Parliament, and the favourite Buckingham, by whom it is believed that he was first brought into public employment.

His merits and services were nobly rewarded. On the thirteenth of April, 1628, he was advanced to the dignity of a Baron, by the title of Lord Weston, of Neyland, in Suffolk; and on the fifteenth of the following July appointed Lord High Treasurer, Ley, Earl of Marlborough, who had filled that post irreproachably for some years, having been purposely removed, under the pretence that his age and infirmities had disqualified him for it. This mighty elevation, which he owed to Buckingham, presently produced a change in his carriage which became evident to all with whom he had any intercourse, and excited the utmost surprise. The complaisance and condescension for which he had been always remarkable, and to which he was much indebted for his good fortune, suddenly forsook him; and, by an unaccountable perverseness, he whose proudest hopes had been at length gratified to the utmost now first manifested an inordinate pride and ambition, of which he had never before been even suspected. One of the first fruits of this strange alteration was a growing discord with Buckingham, whose tragical death is said to have prevented his discharge from the high office to which that nobleman had so lately introduced him. "He did indeed," observes Lord Clarendon, "appear on the sudden wonderfully elated; and so far threw off his old affectation to please some very much, and to displease none, in which art he had excelled, that in few months after the Duke's death he found himself to succeed him in the public displeasure, and in the malice of his enemies, without succeeding him in his credit at Court, or in the affection of any considerable dependents."

With the King, however, he still enjoyed considerable favour, of which he received the largest proofs. On the ninth of April, 1631, he was elected a Knight of the Garter; in the succeeding winter had a grant of Chute forest, in Hampshire, an estate of great value, to which was joined the office of Governor of the Isle of Wight; and on the seventeenth of February, 1633, O. S. was created Earl of Portland; nor could Charles be reasonably blamed for these bounties. It is true, that the most constant feature of Weston's political character was a vehement and sincere attachment to the royal prerogative; that he had very readily fallen in with the project of governing without Parliaments, to which the violence of the times, as well as the King's habitual notions of state policy, had induced that unhappy Prince to resort; and had been the chief adviser of the dissolution of the third which sat in this reign, as Buckingham had been of the two former; but Charles's motives to regard him arose not merely out of selfish prejudices. "Though he was not superior," says Clarendon again, "to all other men in the affection, or rather resignation, of the King, so that he might dispense favours and disfavours according to his own election, he had a full share in his master's esteem, who looked upon him as a wise and able servant, and worthy of the trust he reposed in him, and received no other advice in the large business of his revenue; nor was any man so much his superior as to be able to lessen him in the King's affection by his power: so that he was in a post in which he might have found much ease and delight if he could have contained himself within the verge of his own province, which was large enough, and of such extent that he might at the same time have drawn a great dependence upon him of very considerable men, and have appeared a very useful and profitable minister to the King, whose revenue had been very loosely managed during the late years, and might have been easily improved; and no man better understood what method was necessary toward that good husbandry than he."

"I know not," adds Lord Clarendon, for so frequently quoting whom no apology can be necessary, "by what frowardness in his stars he took more pains in examining and enquiring into other men's offices than in the discharge of his own; and not so much joy in what he had, as trouble and agony for what he had not. The truth is, he had so vehe-

ment a desire to be the sole favourite that he had no relish of the power he had; and in that contention he had many rivals who had credit enough to do him ill offices, though not enough to satisfy their own ambition, the King himself being resolved to hold the reins in his own hands, and to put no further trust in others than was necessary for the capacity they served in; which resolution in his Majesty was no sooner believed, and the Treasurer's pretence taken notice of, than he found the number of his enemies exceedingly increased, and others to be less eager in the pursuit of his friendship; and every day discovered some infirmities in him, which being before known to few, and not taken notice of, did now expose him both to public reproach, and to private animosities; and even his vices admitted those contradictions in them that he could hardly enjoy the pleasant fruit of any of them. That which first exposed him to the public jealousy, which is always attended with public reproach, was the concurrent suspicion of his religion. His wife, and all his daughters, were declared of the Roman religion; and though himself, and his sons, sometimes went to Church, he was never thought to have zeal for it; and his domestic conversation and dependents, with whom he used entire freedom, were all known Papists, and were believed to be agents for the rest; and yet, with all this disadvantage to himself, he never had reputation and credit with that party, who were the only people of the kingdom who did not believe him to be of their profession; for the penal laws, those only excepted which were sanguinary, and even those sometimes let loose, were never more rigidly executed, nor had the Crown ever so great a revenue from them, as in his time; nor did they ever pay so dear for the favours and indulgences of his office towards them."

These misfortunes, if the consequences of his own errors may properly be so called, produced in him a gradually increasing irritation of temper, which at length wholly disgusted his few remaining friends. He became to the last degree haughty and disobliging, and such was the unhappy mixture in his nature of rashness and pusillanimity, that every affront or vexation offered by him was instantly followed by an agonising dread of the resentment of the offended party. Thus his carriage towards the Queen was marked by a constant alternation of petulant insults, and degrading apologies. Having provoked her to anger, his first care, on retiring from her presence, was to discover what she had afterwards said of him in her passion: receiving the news with increased alarm, he appealed sometimes to the King's authority, and sometimes to her compassion; and, in making his peace, generally betrayed those from whom he had gained the intelligence. These unhappy singularities at length visibly extended their influence to his conduct in the affairs of the State. His services were beheld with contemptuous indifference, not because either his parts or his fidelity was suspected, but because he had provoked in all sorts of people a habit of general dislike. He had none of that magnanimity which finds consolation in the consciousness of upright intentions: he became careless and negligent, and seems to have been withdrawn from this world just in time to avoid a disgraceful dismissal from office, and perhaps an undeserved impeachment.

He had, however, his eulogists and flatterers. There is in the Cabala one of those complimentary epistles with which it was then usual to treat the great at the commencement of a new year, addressed to him by Sir Henry Wotton; and exhibiting a picture of his character, in which, however highly coloured, there could not but have been some truth in the representation of every feature. It contains several notices of him which are no where else to be found, and is altogether too curious a piece to allow of abridgment. What must have been the degree of the Treasurer's unpopularity when Wotton could not in decency avoid alluding to it, as he does, towards the conclusion of such an address?

" My most honoured Lord,

" I most humbly present, though by some infirmities a little too late, a straying new year's gift unto your Lordship, which I will presume to term the cheapest of all that you have received, and yet of the choicest materials. In short, it is only an image of yourself, drawn by memory from such discourse as I have taken up here and there of your Lordship among the most intelligent and unmalignant men, which to portrait before

you I thought no servile office, but ingenuous and real; and I wish that it could have come at that day, that so your Lordship might have begun the new year, somewhat like Plato's definition of felicity, with the contemplation of your own idea.

"They say that in your foreign employments under King James your Lordship won the opinion of a very able and searching judgement, having been the first discoverer of the intentions against the Palatinate, which were then in brewing, and masqued with much art; and that Sir Edward Conway got the start of you, both in title and employment, because the late Duke of Buckingham wanted then, for his own ends, a military secretary. They say that under our present Sovereign you were chosen to the highest charge at the lowest of the State, when some instrument was requisite of indubitable integrity, and provident moderation, which attributes I have heard none deny you. They discourse thus of your actions since—That though great exhaustations cannot be cured without sudden remedies, no more in a kingdom than in a natural body, yet your Lordship hath well allayed those blustering clamours wherewith at your beginning your house was in a manner daily besieged. They note that there hath been made changes, but that none hath brought to the place a judgement so cultivated and illuminated with various erudition as your Lordship, since the Lord Burghley, under Queen Elizabeth, whom they make your parallel in the ornament of knowledge. They observe in your Lordship divers remarkable combinations of virtues and abilities rarely sociable. In the character of your aspect a mixture of authority and modesty: in the faculties of your mind, quick apprehension and solidity together: in the style of your port and train as much dignity, and as great dependency, as was ever in any of your place, and with little noise and outward form: that your table is very abundant, free, and noble, without luxury: that you are by nature no flatterer, and yet of greatest power in Court: that you love magnificence and frugality, both together: that you entertain your guests and visitors with noble courtesy, and void of compliment: lastly, that you maintain a due regard to your person and place, and yet an enemy to frothy formalities.

"Now, in the discharge of your function, they speak of two things that have done you much honour, viz. that you had always a special care to the supply of the navy, and likewise a more worthy and tender respect towards the King's only sister, for the continual support from hence, than she hath found before: they observe your greatness as firmly established as ever was any, of the love, and, which is more, in the estimation, of a King who hath so signalised his constancy; besides your additions of strength, or at least of lustre, by the noblest alliances of the land. Amongst these notes, it is no wonder if some observe that, between a good willingness in your affections to satisfy all, and impossibility in the matter, and yet an importunity in the persons, there doth now and then, I know not how, arise a little impatience, which must needs fall on your Lordship, unless you had been cut out of a rock of diamonds.

"Now, after this short collection touching your most honoured person, I beseech you give me leave to add likewise a little what men say of the writer. They say I want not your gracious good will towards me, according to the degree of my poor talent and travels, but they say that I am wanting to myself, and, in good faith, my Lord, in saying so they say the truth; for I am condemned, I know not how, by nature to a kind of unfortunate bashfulness in mine own business, and it is now too late to put me in a new furnace. Therefore it must be your Lordship's proper work, and not only your noble but even your charitable goodness that must in some blessed hour remember me. God give your Lordship many healthful and joyful years, and the blessing of the text, "beatus qui attendit ad attenuatum;" and so I remain, with an humble and willing heart, at your Lordship's command,

HENRY WOTTON."

The Earl of Portland died of a gradual decay, the conclusion of which was attended by a complication of the most acute sufferings. Mr. Garrard, the busy and lively intelligencer to Lord Strafford, describes his ailments, in a letter to that nobleman, of the twelfth

of March, 1634, with a particularity at once affecting and disgusting. Other circumstances of some interest relative to him are detailed in that letter. The King's regard for him seems to have been undiminished to the last. Charles had given him, says Garrard, twelve thousand pounds since the preceding Christmas; visited him, when nearly in the last extremity, and remained by his bed-side "till his Majesty could no longer endure to hear him breathe with such difficulty and pain, and so loud;" and commanded the Court to wear mourning for him. The same authority states that his rental was six thousand six hundred pounds, and his debts twenty-five thousand, and that at the time of his decease he was not possessed of one hundred pounds. Lord Clarendon informs us that "all the honours the King conferred on him could not make him think himself great enough, nor could all the King's bounties, nor his own large accessions, raise a fortune to his heir; but, after six or eight years, spent in outward opulency, and inward murmur and trouble that it was not greater; after vast sums of money and great wealth gotten, and rather consumed than enjoyed, without any sense of delight in so great prosperity, but with the agony that it was no greater, he died unlamented by any; bitterly mentioned by most who never pretended to love him, and severely censured and complained of by those who expected most from him, and deserved best of him; and left a numerous family, which was in a short time worn out, and yet outlived the fortune he had left behind him." He died at Wallingford House, in Westminster, on the thirteenth of March, 1634, O. S. and was buried in the cathedral of Winchester.

This nobleman was twice married; first, to Elizabeth, daughter of William Pinchion, of Writtle, in Essex; secondly, to Frances, daughter of Nicholas Waldegrave, of Borely, in the same county. By his first lady he had one son, Richard, who died unmarried, and two daughters; Elizabeth, married to Sir John Netterville, son and heir to Nicholas, Viscount Netterville, in Ireland; and Mary, to Walter, Lord Aston, of Forfar, in Scotland: The second brought him three sons, and four daughters; Jerome, who succeeded to his honours, and whose only son Charles, the third Earl, fell, fighting bravely, when young and unmarried, in one of the great naval actions with the Dutch, in 1665; Thomas, on whom the titles and estates devolved on the death of that young nobleman, and in whom the honours became extinct; Nicholas and Benjamin, who died without male issue. The daughters by the second marriage were Catherine, wife of Richard White, of Hutton, in Essex; Frances, of Philip Draycote, of Paynesley, in Staffordshire; Anne, married to Basil, Lord Fielding, son and heir to William, Earl of Denbigh; and Mary, who died unmarried.

WILLIAM RUSSELL,

DUKE OF BEDFORD.

THIS nobleman, the first of his eminent family that was advanced to the highest rank of the peerage, was the eldest son of Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, by Catherine, daughter and coheir of Giles Brydges, third Lord Chandos. He was born in 1613, and received his education at Magdalen College, in Oxford. The few circumstances of his life which have been handed down to us are chiefly of a domestic nature. Soon after he returned from his travels he became violently enamoured of a young lady, to whose exquisite beauty a portrait in this work bears ample testimony, nor were the qualities of her mind less admirable, and his passion was met by her with equal ardour. She was the only child of that unhappy and guilty pair, Robert Car, Earl of Somerset, and Frances Howard, the divorced Countess of Essex. The Earl, his father, with feelings for which no apology is necessary, vehemently opposed their union, and was at last induced by the King's express interposition to give it his unwilling consent; but his conduct in the arrangements for the nuptials was neither dignified nor delicate. Somerset's fortune, as well as his character, had been lost in the dark abyss of ruin into which he had plunged himself: his last remaining comfort was his daughter, whom he loved with the most tender fondness; and the Earl of Bedford now left him no alternative but to reduce himself to beggary, or to destroy, probably for ever, her peace: he insisted on a portion of twelve thousand pounds for the wife of his son, and Somerset, to whom of the wealth which James had heaped on him scarcely any thing remained but his house at Chiswick, sold it, together with the furniture, and his plate and jewels, to raise that sum, saying that, " since her affections were settled, he chose rather to undo himself than to make her unhappy."

He was a member of that wretched assembly which met on the third of November, 1640, and is known by the appellation of the Long Parliament. His father, a man of restless and ambitious temper, had from the commencement of the public discords attached himself to the popular party, with the view of forcing on the King an administration to be formed and headed by himself; and Lord Russell, as might be expected, obeyed in some measure the dictates, and followed the example, of his parent. But his disposition was mild and moderate, and his future conduct with regard to public affairs soon proved the just value which he set on a name too exalted to be tarnished by any arts but those which spring from party intrigue, and an inheritance too mighty to be shaken but by such popular convulsions as might threaten the existence even of empires. He accepted, it is true, the command of General of the Horse, under the Earl of Essex, in the army first raised by the Parliament, his commission for which was granted on the fourteenth of July, 1642, two months after he had succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father, and was almost immediately detached, with a powerful body of cavalry, and seven thousand foot, to harass the Marquis of Hertford in the western counties, where that nobleman was employed in levying forces for the King. He conducted the enterprise with vigour and success; rejoined the main army; and distinguished himself on the twenty-fourth of the following October at the battle of Edge Hill, where he commanded that reserve of Horse which gained the reputation of having, by a timely relief, saved the Parliament army from total discomfiture: but he quitted the rebel service within one year from the date at which he entered it. History affords us no clue to the motives which induced him to this sudden step; the testimony however of a long remaining life, marked by the highest honour

and probity in private concerns, and by an unsuspected, though passive, loyalty, leaves us little room to doubt that his secession ought to be widely distinguished from the unworthy vacillations of many of his compeers.

Towards the end of the summer of 1643 he repaired to London with Essex, and some other noblemen of the party, who had at length determined to use their utmost efforts to accomplish a peace, and voted for a conference with the Commons, which was held on the fifth of August, to settle the terms which it might be proper to propose to the King, and to assure them of the concurrence and steady support of the House of Peers. They arrived however but to behold the rapid decline of that great branch of the legislature; and the Earl of Bedford, disappointed in the salutary views which he had too late conceived, and threatened, and even pursued, by a wild and savage mob, to the raising of which he had unwittingly contributed his own great authority, resolved to fly to Oxford, and place himself under the protection of the King. Amidst difficulties and dangers, he reached Wallingford, in Berkshire, the royal garrison nearest to London, where he was admitted by the Governor, who would not however allow him to proceed without orders from the Privy Council, in which it was long debated, with great heat, whether he should be received: at length the King, who was then besieging Gloucester, came for one day to Oxford, purposely to decide the question, and commanded that he should be sent for, together with the Earl of Holland, who had left the rebel army with him, and had now accompanied him in his journey. Charles received him graciously, and not only readily granted his request of pardon, which he soon after prudently took out under the Great Seal, but accepted his offer of personal service; and, having joined the royal army, he was present in the first battle of Newbury, on the twentieth of September, where, says Lord Clarendon, "he charged in the King's regiment of horse very bravely, and behaved himself throughout very well." He returned to Oxford with the King, who treated him with a marked condescension, and even apparent confidence, but the carriage of the Court and Council towards him was less complaisant. He became disgusted, and on the following Christmas day, rather in the character of a visitor than a partisan, once more joined the Earl of Essex, who then lay with his army at St. Albans. He had in the mean time secretly, as Lord Clarendon observes, "made his peace at Westminster," whither he repaired soon after, to his own house, and was, for form's sake, committed to the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod; a sequestration was put also on his estates, which, however, together with his person, were presently released. Those whom the fortune of war had converted into rulers, satisfied with having detached him from the royal cause, required no further active service from him, and he buried himself in retirement till the total extinction of the rebellion.

In the spring of 1660, when the Peers once more met, preparatory to the Restoration, he joined them with becoming cheerfulness, and lent a steady and sincere aid to that great measure. He remained however unemployed, either in court or ministry, till his death, and seems to have observed an honest neutrality amidst the factions which distracted the three reigns under which he was destined yet to live. In the innumerable tracts which have issued from the press on the subject of that conspiracy which unhappily deprived him of his eldest son, his name is never mentioned, save than to state that he offered a hundred thousand pounds to the Duchess of Portsmouth to prevail on the King to spare a life so precious to him, and to record the bitter taunt which he flung at James the second, when in the last agonies of his expiring sovereignty. "My Lord," said that miserable Prince, when for the last time he called about him the few eminent persons who had not yet joined his adversary, "you are a good man: you have much interest with the Peers: you can do me service with them to-day." The Earl, with a pardonable vengeance, replied, "Alas, Sir, I am old and useless—but I once had a son, who might have served your Majesty on this occasion."

When the Prince and Princess of Orange mounted the Throne he was sworn of their Privy Council; was soon after appointed Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Bedford, Cambridge, and Middlesex; and on the eleventh of May, 1694, was advanced to the dig-

nities of Marquis of Tavistock, and Duke of Bedford. He married Anne, daughter and heir, as has been before observed, to Robert Car, Earl of Somerset, and had issue by her six sons, and three daughters. Francis, the eldest son, who died in 1679, unmarried; William, who perished on the scaffold on the twenty-first of July, 1683, from whom the present noble Duke is lineally descended; Edward, and Robert, both of whom married, but died childless; James, and George, also married, but from whom no male issue now remains. The daughters were Anne, who died unmarried; Diana, married first to Sir Greville Verney, of Compton Verney, in Warwickshire, Knight of the Bath, secondly, to William, Lord Allington in Ireland; and Margaret, wife of her kinsman, Edward Russell, Earl of Orford. The Duke, their father, died on the seventh of September, 1700, and was buried with his ancestors at Cheyneys, in the county of Bucks. Some account of his character is to be found in a sermon, preached on the occasion of his death, by Samuel Freeman, D. D. rector of the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, and as nothing to the same purpose occurs elsewhere in print, I will insert a few passages from it, without apologising for their triteness and redundancies.

"Who can sufficiently admire or fully imitate the sweetness of his temper, and the benignity of his nature? The greatness of his birth made him the more humble; the height of his condition did not exalt his mind; there was nothing of pride and fastidiousness in his conversation; 'twas all condescension, without being mean and cheap. That man had a great deal of demerit in him indeed that was wholly refused admittance into his presence, and none ever went uneasy out of it whose requests were reasonable, and their persons not unworthy. Nothing but sin had his frown. The good actions of men had his praise; their weakness his excuse; their afflictions his pity; and their distresses his succour. His piety towards God was sincere and unaffected; his devotions in the closet daily; in public constant, uniform, and regular. He had indeed a charitable opinion of all good men who did not come up in all points to the Church of England, but he utterly disliked schism and separation. His religion was inward; in reality and substance, not placed in externals. He was very much for unity and peace in the Church; but his opinion was that they might be preserved by a mutual forbearance in matters of ceremony without a rigid imposition of them, and he was wont to say that he thought it equally superstitious to shew too much zeal, either for or against them; but, whilst he "made known his moderation unto all men," and bestowed his favours too upon many whom he judged conscientious though of a different persuasion he ever in his practice kept close to the Church of England. You might see him, unless prevented by sickness, or other necessary occasion, every Lord's day at church, and there behaving himself with the greatest devotion, strictest attention, and humblest reverence, especially at the blessed sacrament; communicating frequently; always on his knees, and with most ardent affections; and ever expressing a great uneasiness and dissatisfaction when unexpected accidents kept him, as he used sensibly to call it, from "the food of his soul."

"Here was the family wherein not an oath nor a profane jest could be heard; where sobriety was habitual, virtue and religion triumphed, and the worship of God daily and devoutly performed; and so highly conducive did he think the public worship of God to be, for the glory of God, and salvation of souls, that he gave such orders for the affairs of his family on the Lord's day that most of his servants were at liberty timely to attend upon it, and none of them wholly let and hindered from it. The concern also he had for God's house was answerable to the veneration he had for his worship. He was always ready to promote any design for the erecting chapels and churches where there were none, and increasing the number of them where they were thin. In the time of the civil war, when every thing almost of order and decency was called superstition, as he was passing by where the possessed soldiers were pulling down part of a church, and the ornaments of it, and asked of him to give them something to encourage the work, he said to those about him, "my father and I have built several churches, and, by the help of God, I'll pull none down." His beneficence and alms were of the same piece with his piety. He was never backward to forgive; always ready to distribute. His charity, like that of God's, was

universal; not confined to sects and parties, but flowing abundantly towards all men, yet discreetly placed and proportioned, according as men's needs and capacities presented, giving most where it was most wanted, and where it might be to the best purposes. He loved good Christians, of what denomination soever, many of which subsisted by his bounty; and for others, whose virtue was suspected, and their conversation of no good report, whilst he hated hypocrisy and vice, he relieved their persons, shewing himself a true friend to mankind, and a benefactor to the human nature. It was his daily prayer that, next to the pardon of his sins, God would give him an easy passage; and God was pleased to hear his prayer: never did person leave the world with greater inward peace, a more resigned mind, with less struggle and discomfiture, and with more assured hopes of a joyful resurrection, than he did. His lamp of life was not blown out: the oil wasted by degrees, and the flame went out: nature was quite tired and spent, and he fell asleep."

Francis North, First Lord Guildford,

Lord Keeper.

From the original of Riley, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Guildford.

Drawn by W.m Hilton A.R.A.t Engraved (with Permission) by J.S. Agar.

London, Published Feb.y 2. 1808 by Lackington Hughes Harding Mayor & Jones and Longman Rees Orme & Brown.

FRANCIS NORTH,

FIRST LORD GUILDFORD.

FRANCIS NORTH, the lineal ancestor of the Earls of Guildford, was the third son of Dudley, fourth Lord North, by his wife, Anne, daughter and coheir to Sir Charles Montague, a younger brother to Henry, Earl of Manchester. It appears from circumstances which it is needless to recite that he was born in or about the year 1638. He was placed at a very early age in a school, then of considerable fame, at Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, and removed from thence to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was admitted a fellow commoner on the eighth of June, 1653. He had been from his infancy designed for the profession of the law, and, on quitting the University, was entered of the Middle Temple, where a most happy disposition, in which good nature, resolution, and prudence, seem to have been justly blended, enabled him to distinguish himself no less by the elegance and innocency of his relaxations than by the industry and success of his studies. He became there, says Roger North, in his lively and entertaining notices of his own family, "not only a good lawyer, but a good historian, politician, mathematician, natural philosopher, and, I must add, musician, in perfection." He appeared at the bar, and presently acquired extensive practice, under the especial patronage of Sir Jeffery Palmer, then Attorney General, by whom he was soon after named to argue for the Crown on a writ of error brought by the House of Commons in the case of Mr. Holles, one of the well known five members, who had been convicted in the preceding reign of a riot in that House. In this remarkable cause he acquitted himself with such ability, and gave such proofs of a firm devotion to monarchical government, in which indeed he had been bred from his cradle, that he was immediately appointed one of the King's Counsel. He soon after obtained the office of Chief Justice of Chester, and on the twenty-third of May, 1671, on which day he was knighted, that of Solicitor General; was elected to serve in Parliament for the borough of King's Lynn, in Norfolk; in 1673 succeeded Sir Heneage Finch in the post of Attorney General, and in the beginning of Hilary Term in the succeeding year was constituted Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

The King, who had long looked around him in vain for a counsellor at once wise and honest, found at length such a one in Sir Francis North. There is reason to believe that Charles had sought his advice long before he called him publicly to his councils; had weighed his talents, and considered his political principles; and it is agreeable to find a Prince so frequently, and indeed so justly, taxed with carelessness and levity in his notions of government, voluntarily adopting, for North had no party friends, a man who had ever avowed that the sole foundation of good government was the law of the land. Professing that maxim, he was called in 1679 to the Privy Council, then newly constituted by Charles on a plan equally wise and popular, and, on the twentieth of December, 1682, on the death of the Chancellor Earl of Nottingham, received the Great Seal, with the style of Lord Keeper. In the following year, on the twenty-seventh of September, he was advanced to the peerage by the title of Lord Guildford.

A man of his disposition and opinions could scarcely have become a minister in a time more unpropitious to himself. The few years which remained of the reign of Charles were distinguished by the Bill of Exclusion, and the Popish and Protestant plots; by the utmost bitterness of turbulent factions, and the most unprincipled devices of party intrigue: to these he had no weapons to oppose but simple wisdom and integrity. The statesmen with

whom he was doomed to act were, to a man, selfish and faithless, and the King, indolent and unsteady, soon grew weary of listening to counsels which they seldom failed to contradict. Surrounded by these difficulties, the Lord Keeper pursued the course of his duty with firmness, as well as with the caution which they had rendered necessary. He seems to have retained his high station with the sole view of serving his country, and declared, shortly before his death, that "he had not enjoyed one easy and contented minute since he had the Seal:" yet his keeping it has been ascribed to mercenary views. "North," says the slanderous Burnet, "was a crafty and designing man. He had no mind to part with the Great Seal, and yet he saw he could not hold it without an entire compliance with the pleasure of the Court." In the memoirs however of that profligate Court, numerous as they are, not a breath of censure on his conduct, save from that Bishop, is to be found. His political creed has been set forth by his brother, Roger North, with much perspicuity, and I will insert the passage which comprises it, not more for its immediate relation to the objects of this sketch, than for the importance of its doctrines to all systems which affect to be monarchical, in all times, and perhaps more particularly in the time in which we live.

"His Lordship," says Roger North, "scorned the vulgar and fanatic calumnies that he was a prerogative man, and laboured to set up arbitrary power; but, notwithstanding all that, he laboured as much as he could to set up the just prerogatives of the Crown, which were well known to the law, and to the lawyers, although it had been the fashion, as well in Westminster Hall as at St. Stephen's, to batter the prerogative. He has said that "a man could not be a good lawyer and honest, but he must be a prerogative man," so plain were the law books in these cases. He was sincerely of opinion that the Crown wanted power by law, so far was it from exceeding. It was absolutely necessary that the government should have a due power to keep the peace, without trespassing upon the rights of any one; and, if it had not such power rightfully, either it would assume and exercise powers that were wrongful, and then what bounds? or else sedition would prevail, and, pulling down one, set up another government entirely wrongful, to which all law and truth being opposite, consequently such a government would be opposite to them, and meditate no security but actual force; and what can the people, that are always designing to diminish the just powers of the Crown, expect but that the Crown should always design to repair itself by a provision of force? Nothing is so sure as that government will be supported by means either rightful or wrongful: if subjects will not have the one, they shall have the other.

"These considerations made his Lordship ever set himself against the republicans, and resist their intended encroachments upon the Crown. He thought the taking away of the tenures a desperate wound to the liberties of the people of England, and must, by easy consequence, procure the establishment of an army; for when the legal dependance of the monarchy and the country upon each other is dissolved what must succeed but force? He used often to inveigh against those who perpetually projected to weaken the monarchy, as a set of men either corrupt and false-hearted, or else short-sighted and ignorant. The yet living history of the late times concurred; for what did the people get by robbing the Crown of the power to dissolve the Parliament, and of the militia? There cannot be a more false illusion than it is to suppose that what power the Crown lost was so much liberty gained to the people; and yet in these times a broad-spread party went about with such syren songs to engage the community to join in their project of divesting the King of his commissions of the peace, and lieutenancy, &c. all which his Lordship saw plainly, and detested. I have heard him say that if the people knew what miseries would be the consequence of those men having their wills they would stone them, as they would mad dogs, in the street. It may be esteemed one of his Lordship's chief felicities that his real principles of honour and probity exactly squared with his engagements and services at Court. He never had the remorse to have in the least dis-served his country by serving the Crown; and the discerning Court, and more discerning King, saw plainly that he acted from the bottom of his heart, and did nothing servile, or for flattery, that any way contradicted the

series of his conduct and advice, which is more than can be truly said of any of the preferment-hunters of that, or almost any, time."

His carriage towards the ministers of his time was so wide of confidence that he could scarcely have been said to maintain an ordinary intimacy with any of them, except Secretary Jenkins, who, like himself, was honest, and indefatigable in the public service: yet, such is the charm of probity, that they not only treated him with profound deference and respect, but forbore to assail him with those petty arts and intrigues by which they constantly endeavoured to supplant each other. Jefferies alone, of whose dislike it was honourable to be the object, was his open and professed enemy; but the attacks of that savage were aimed chiefly at his judicial character. The acute and unprincipled Sunderland was his chief political foe, but his timid malice evaporated in ridiculous fables invented to prejudice the moral fame of his adversary, who well knew him, and therefore despised and loathed him. Burnet, whose report here is not wholly unsupported by collateral testimony, informs us that the Earl of Nottingham, son to Lord Guildford's predecessor, "hated him because he had endeavoured to detract from his father's memory, and had got together so many instances of his ill administration of justice that he exposed him severely for it:" and would persuade us that the Lord Keeper sunk under the disgrace of these disclosures. "It was believed," says Burnet, "that this gave the crisis to the uneasiness and distraction of mind he was labouring under. He languished some time, and died despised and ill thought of by the whole nation." The concluding assertion is utterly false, but such are the follies and absurdities, and such the abandonments of truth and charity, into which men, even of great talents, and of high moral and pious pretensions, may be led by an unreasonable heat of party spirit.

Charles, to the last hour of his life, held this excellent person in unabated favour, and James, for decency's sake, continued him in his high office, but knew not how to value his worth. In the very commencement of that Prince's reign he experienced a cruel affront. He had composed, with singular wisdom and eloquence, a speech on the general state of public affairs, to be delivered, according to the custom, by himself, at the opening of the Parliament, but, when he presented it in the Cabinet Council, for the King's approbation, he was informed that it was altogether unnecessary; that his Majesty had determined to address the Parliament solely from his own mouth, and that his speech was already prepared. Numerous mortifications followed, and James, fraught with new and frantic plans of government in which he was conscious that Guildford would never join, shewed no inclination to protect him. His health suddenly declined. "The death," says Roger North, "of King Charles the second; the managing in order to the coronation, and the Parliament, and sitting there to hear his decrees most brutishly and effrontuously arraigned, which he must defend with all the criticism and reason, as well as temper, that he could by stress of thought muster; besides the attendances at Court and Council, where nothing squared with his schemes, and where he was by Sunderland, Jefferies, and their complices little less than derided; to all which the dispatch of the chancery business is to be added, where, for want of time, all ran in arrear, which state of the court was always a load upon his spirits: all this was more than enough to oppress the soul of an honest cordial man, and I verily believe it did that to his Lordship which people mean when they say that 'his heart was broke.'" He retired into the country, under the pressure of a continual fever, and was permitted to carry with him the Great Seal. His last advice to James was that he should stop the sanguinary proceedings of Jefferies against the miserable followers of Monmouth, and that advice was rejected. Within a few weeks after, the triumph of that detestable judge over him was consummated. He died at his seat of Wroxton, in Oxfordshire, on the fifth of September, 1685, and Jefferies was his successor.

The domestic character of Lord Guildford appears to have been highly amiable, and the variety of his knowledge, and accomplishments, truly astonishing in a man of his laborious profession. He committed a few small works to the press, and some remain in manuscript. Among the former are "An Argument in a case between Soams and Barnardiston," and "An Argument in a trial between the Duke of Norfolk and Charles Howard," printed

together—" The King's (Charles the 2d.) Declaration on the Popish Plot"—A Paper on " the Non Gravitation of Fluids," considered with reference to the natural history of fish, published in Lowthorp's Abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions—" A Philosophical Essay on Music"—" A Narrative of some Passages in, or relating to, the Long Parliament" —" A Narrative to the House of Commons of what Bedloe had sworn before him at Bristol"—" An Answer to a Treatise by Sir Samuel Morland on the Barometer"—and a small tract intituled " The Anatomy of an Equivalent," relating a proposal for taking away the Test, and penal laws. The two latter have not been printed.

Lord Guildford married Frances, second daughter and coheir of Thomas Pope, Earl of Downe, in Ireland, and had issue by her three sons; Francis, his successor; Charles, who died unmarried; and Pope, an infant; and two daughters, Anne, and Frances, both of whom also died unmarried.

Cardinal Wolsey.

From the original of Holbein, in the Collection at

Christ Church, Oxford.

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London, Published Feby. 2, 1818, by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mayor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

THERE is much reason to suspect that few eminent characters in history have been more misrepresented than that of Wolsey. The interests, the passions, and the prejudices of those by whom alone he could have been well known were combined against him. They consisted of the most enlightened and powerful of each important class of his countrymen, and consequently guided the opinions of the rest. The reformers, of course, shewed him no favour, and the heads of the Anglo-Romish church beheld with secret anger the monopoly which he had formed of the favour of the Papal See, and the alacrity with which he aided the project for Henry's divorce. The nobility were not less jealous and fearful of his influence than indignant at the superior splendour assumed by a priest of obscure origin. When he suddenly declined from the enormous height on which his capricious master had placed him, policy, as well as inclination, prompted these several parties to pour the full tide of their vengeance on his reputation; to trample, at the foot of the throne, on the ruins of a fallen favourite; and, while they flattered Henry and Anne Boleyn by magnifying his defects, and depreciating his merits, to represent him to the nation as a singular instance of the injustice with which fortune sometimes showers her choicest gifts on the unworthy. The reformation, immediately succeeding, imposed silence on such as might have been able and willing to rescue his fame from undeserved obloquy, and consigned to utter oblivion all those little interesting and lively notices which are the safest guides to a correct judgment of the human character. The malice of his enemies could not however conceal from us that he ruled absolutely the political system of England during the many years in which Henry's credit, as a monarch and a man, remained unsullied, and that the enormities of that reign commenced as soon as his ministry had concluded; that his magnificence was equalled by his generosity, and his love of learning by his princely endeavours to diffuse it among his countrymen; that his wisdom was eminent, and that he possessed in that rude age the accomplishments of a gentleman and a courtier in a degree perhaps peculiar to himself.

His very birth was attacked by slander. He is commonly reported to have been the son of a butcher, of Ipswich, in Suffolk; but this tale seems to be satisfactorily refuted by the will of Robert Wuley (and we have ample evidence that the Cardinal in early life so spelled his surname), dated the twenty-first of September, 1496, and recorded in the Bishop's Court at Norwich; by which he gives all his lands and tenements in the parish of St. Nicholas, in Ipswich, and his free and bond lands in the parish of Stoke, to Joan, his wife, and the residue of his possessions to her, and his son Thomas, whose destination to the clerical profession he expressly mentions. Of those persons, who evidently possessed property of no small consideration, Wolsey was undoubtedly the offspring. He was born at Ipswich, in the month of March, 1471, and became a student in the university of Oxford so young that he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts at the age of fourteen. He was afterwards elected a fellow of Magdalen college, and appointed master of the grammar school belonging to that house, where, among his other pupils, he instructed the three sons of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, who rewarded him by the gift of a rectory in Somersetshire, his first ecclesiastical preferment; and here we meet with another story to his prejudice, scarcely credible. Sir Amias Powlett, a neighbouring magistrate, is said to have punished him with the stocks, in his own parish, for inebriety; and we are told that he fled, overwhelmed with shame, from his cure. Can this scandalous tradition possibly be

reconciled with the known fact that Deane, Archbishop of Canterbury, received him at that precise period as a domestic chaplain?

Upon the death of that Prelate, in the spring of 1504, he was retained in the same capacity by Sir John Nanfan, an ancient courtier, in some degree of favour with Henry the seventh, and at that time treasurer of Calais, and was by that gentleman presently after recommended to the King's service. He was now appointed one of the chaplains in the royal household, the treasurer of which, Sir Thomas Lovel, a wise man, and of much weight in Henry's councils and favour, presently discerned his superior merit, and distinguished him by his patronage; and he gained at the same time the esteem of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, a minister who enjoyed the King's peculiar confidence. On the recommendation of these statesmen, Henry, in 1508, sent him to Flanders, to make a personal communication to the Emperor, which he performed with such address, and within a period of time so inconceivably short, that he was received on his return, both by the King and Council, with the highest approbation. The rich Deanery of Lincoln, and other ecclesiastical preferments, were immediately bestowed on him, and these grants were among the last acts of that reign.

Doubtless he was already well known to Henry the eighth, and had probably acquired some share of that Prince's good graces before the death of the late King; but historians, in their fondness for referring all that occurs in courts to intrigue, ascribe his sudden elevation to some political circumstances of the time. The affairs of the state were then wholly directed by Thomas, Earl of Surrey, soon after Duke of Norfolk, Lord Treasurer, and the Bishop of Winchester, who held the office of Secretary of State, and the Privy Seal. Jealousies subsisted between these great men, and Fox is said to have recommended Wolsey with peculiar earnestness, in the hope that he might become the instrument of supplanting the Treasurer in the King's favour. If this report be correct, the Bishop conceived his plan in an evil hour for himself, for Wolsey presently became so completely master of Henry's opinions and affections that both Fox and his rival were forced, for their own credit, to abandon the administration of affairs which they were no longer suffered to guide. To gain this ascendancy he had addressed himself at once to his master's wisdom and weakness; to his passions and prejudices; to his love of science and of pleasure; to his ambition for political distinction, and his earnest desire of despotic rule. Such was Wolsey's discernment, and such the versatility of his talents, that he fully succeeded in all.

Henry, who on his accession had given him the office of Almoner, admitted him soon after into the Privy Council; loaded him with benefices, among which were the Deaneries of York and Hereford; and appointed him first Register, and then Chancellor, of the Order of the Garter: but he now rose with the most unparalleled rapidity. In 1513 he was appointed Bishop of Tournay, in Flanders, and, a few months after, of Lincoln: in the autumn of the following year he was promoted to the See of York, and succeeded Warham in the office of Lord High Chancellor; and on the seventh of September, 1515, obtained the Cardinal's hat. As the Court of Rome had now honoured him with its highest dignity, so presently after it invested him with the greatest powers it had to bestow, by a commission appointing him Legate à latere, which he received in the following year. In the meantime his revenues outstript even the measure of his preferments. He held, together with the See of York, the Bishoprick of Durham, which he afterwards exchanged for Winchester; farmed, at rents scarcely more than nominal, those of Worcester, Hereford, and Bath, which had been given by Henry the seventh to foreigners, who resided in their respective countries; and had the rich Abbey of St. Albans in commendam. His presents and pensions from several princes amounted to an immense annual sum. Such compliments were common in those days, and were openly accepted by ministers of state, not as bribes to seduce them from their loyalty, but as acknowledgements of their fair and honourable protection in their respective countries of the just interests of the donors. Indeed Wolsey's bitterest enemies have never ventured to breathe a suspicion on his fidelity.

His enormous income, which has been computed to exceed that of the Crown, he expended with a magnificence which, were it not the best authenticated part of his story,

would seem utterly incredible. His houses, witness that yet remaining at Hampton, were palaces; and his domestic establishment was a Court, maintained with a brilliancy and order which few sovereign princes could emulate. He had eight hundred servants, of whom nine or ten were noblemen, fifteen knights, and forty esquires. He sat on a chair of state, under a canopy, and was approached with all the marks of respect paid to royalty, even to kneeling. Henry, who loved romantic splendour, and abhorred parsimony, encouraged these superb excesses, and even delighted to witness them. It has been usual to charge him with unreasonable pride; but the imputation will be found to rest only on a few instances of his jealous exaction of ceremonious deference to his ecclesiastical rank. Of that sort was his contest with the Primate Warham on the question whether his cross should be borne before him in the diocese of Canterbury; a mere question of right and privilege. For the rest, cumbrous grandeur was the foible of the age, and in whom could it be more decorous than in him who represented the ruler of kings, and was himself the most powerful of subjects?

It is less easy to find an apology for his conduct in his character of Legate. Under the authority of that commission he persuaded Henry to allow him to erect a jurisdiction not only wholly new in the method of its constitution but assuming faculties independent of all law. It affected chiefly to enforce a just observance of religious and moral duties, particularly in cases where the means of legal correction had not been hitherto provided, and openly assumed, as well over the laity as the clergy, a right of inquisition and censure which till then had rarely been exercised even in the wild sallies of an undefined royal prerogative. He strove to invest it with a controul over the ecclesiastical courts, and to arrogate to it appeals from their judgment in testamentary cases. Warham, a priest of great humanity and mildness, at length complained to the King of these excesses, but without effect; and Wolsey persevered till a private individual had the courage to prosecute his judge, who was convicted in a court of law of gross malversation. Henry is said now to have reprehended the Cardinal with great severity, and he prudently restrained in some respects the authority of his court, which however subsisted while he held the office of Legate. Another undue exertion of his legantine power, less important, gave much offence. By a mandate, issued under that authority, he removed the sittings of the Convocation from St. Paul's, its very ancient place of meeting, to Westminster. This innovation was suggested by his hatred of Warham, whom he seems to have constantly persecuted by a series of petty injuries and insults. It is only in his warfare with that amiable prelate that we discover any abatements of the dignity of Wolsey's mind.

A detail of his political life would necessarily include a series of historical conjectures and reasonings more extensive than the plan of this work could allow, and of his personal story the peculiar circumstances which immediately followed his death have, as has been before observed, left us little but a few important facts, too well known to justify an enlarged repetition. One step only was wanting to raise him to the summit of human ambition: he naturally aspired to the Papal chair, and Henry favoured his pretensions. On the death of Leo the tenth, in 1521, he became a candidate, and, though the election had ended before the arrival of a person whom he sent to Rome to cultivate his interests there, obtained a considerable support. The Prelate who succeeded, and took the name of Adrian the sixth, survived little more than two years, when Wolsey made a second effort, and again failed. A letter of great length, dispatched by him to his agents at Rome on this latter occasion, has fortunately been preserved, and has been more than once published. It will remain a lasting testimony to the force, the activity, and the elegancy of his mind; the delicacy of his feelings, and the exactness of his honour. The subtlety and minuteness with which he dissects the intrigues of the Conclave, and the directions that he gives for steering through them without meanness or duplicity, reflect equal credit on his head and his heart; and the whole is delivered in a graceful flow of expression, to which it may not be too bold to say that no parallel can be found in the epistolary remains of his time.

Wolsey, though disappointed of the attainment of this mighty object, retained his

accustomed influence in the Court of Rome. He had carried himself towards Julio de Medicis, the successful candidate, with an unusual generosity and sincerity in the affairs of the election, and the new Pontiff, from gratitude as well as interest, left no means untried for his gratification. It was about this time that the Cardinal conceived his superb plan for academical institutions at Oxford and Ipswich, and the Pope readily granted his licence for the suppression of a multitude of the smaller religious houses, and the diversion of their revenues to the erection and endowment of those colleges. Thus, according to Camden, six hundred and forty-five monasteries were dissolved. The measure excited a general murmur throughout the kingdom: the pious proclaimed it to be sacrilegious, and the poor, whose alms it curtailed, readily joined in the complaint: Henry himself, as is proved by letters from him still extant, permitted it with reluctance; but Wolsey was not to be deterred by ordinary opposition, and Oxford owes her magnificent Christ Church to his perseverance. His foundation at Ipswich, a projected school, of most extensive views, and admirable constitution, was not wholly completed at the time of his death, and presently fell to decay. It was perhaps deemed impolitic to suffer such a monument to his memory to flourish in the place of his birth.

His influence over the mind of his master seemed to increase with the years of his ministry, and the uniform prosperity which waited on his counsels gave, perhaps not altogether unjustly, a colour of wisdom in the eyes of Europe to the King's submission to his will; but he was doomed to fall a victim to Henry's passion, and his fate was interwoven with the King's sudden attachment to Anne Boleyn. He was already beheld by that lady with aversion, for he had prevented her marriage with Lord Percy, whom she tenderly loved, and he had little room to doubt that she would exert her utmost influence with the King to his disadvantage. When he turned his view from his own danger to the frightful effects which the union of Henry to Anne could scarcely fail to produce both on the Church and the State, he foresaw the ruin of the grand scheme of policy by which he had so long and so gloriously governed both; the downfal of the ecclesiastical establishment itself; and the disgrace, both as a monarch and a man, of his master, whose reputation he had in a manner created. Convinced of Henry's earnest inclination to repudiate Catherine, but uncertain of the extent of his passion for Anne, and despairing of success in opposing both, he seems to have hoped that by a ready and humble acquiescence in the one he might possibly gain the means of counteracting the other. The warmth too with which he engaged in the prosecution of the divorce perhaps arose in some measure from a private and personal feeling, for the Emperor Charles the fifth, nephew to Catherine, had encouraged his hopes of the Popedom, and secretly undermined his interest; and it has been supposed that his conduct on this great occasion was influenced by a spirit of revenge.

The process against the Queen was commenced early in the year 1528, and Wolsey, together with another Cardinal, sent to England expressly for that purpose, were by a Bull from Rome constituted the judges. The novelty of such a jurisdiction, and the extreme delicacy, as well as importance, of the case, together with the necessity of repeated references to the Pope, and constant prevarication in his answers, so protracted the suit, that at the end of twelve months the probability of any speedy decision, which had long been gradually decreasing, seemed utterly hopeless. It was at this point of time that Wolsey began to decline in the King's favour. That eagerness for strict truth, which often overlooks obvious facts to seek it in nice enquiry, and endless conjecture, has induced historical writers to ascribe his disgrace to a variety of causes, and each has his favourite prejudice. One finds it in the vengeance of Catherine and Anne Boleyn; another in the intrigues of the Papal Court; a third in the anger of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, with whom the Cardinal had a furious quarrel, in open court, on the day that the Queen's cause was adjourned to Rome; and a fourth in the discovery by a courtesan of that city of a letter written by Wolsey to the Pope's Secretary in direct opposition to the divorce. After all, it is highly probable that it arose from two very simple motives in the bosom of Henry himself—brutal resentment of the delay of the sentence, in opposition to his will; and anxiety to begin the

reformation, on which he had now secretly determined, and in the prosecution of which it was impossible for Wolsey to have become an instrument.

The Pope's inhibition in the autumn of 1529 of further proceedings in England in the matter of the divorce was the final signal for Wolsey's fall, which, though not unexpected, was sudden. Henry, then on a progress, commanded his attendance at Grafton, in Northamptonshire. It was their last interview. The King, who received him courteously, and passed the most part of the day in frequent private conferences with him, seemed irresolute, but Anne, who was in the house, and to whom Henry at intervals repaired, is said to have turned the scale against him. He returned to London, where he learned that the Attorney General was preparing an indictment against him, yet on the commencement of Michaelmas term he took his seat on the Chancery Bench with the accustomed solemnities. Two days after, on the eighteenth of October, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, verbally commissioned by Henry, went to his house, to demand the Great Seal, which he refusing to deliver without a more authentic command, they procured a letter to him from the King, on sight of which he resigned it. His palace of York House, which stood on the site of Whitehall, with its innumerable precious contents, were afterwards seized, under the authority of an obsolete statute which will presently be mentioned, and he was sent to an unfurnished house at Esher, in Surrey, which belonged to his See of Winchester, where he fell into a dangerous illness. The King now again hesitated; dispatched the physicians of the Court to attend him; and sent him, as a token of regard, a ring which Wolsey had formerly presented to him. He recovered his health, and was permitted to remove to the palace of Richmond, which he had some years before received of Henry, in exchange for Hampton Court; and here he received a present from the King of ten thousand pounds, for he was now stripped of all his private property, as well as of his dignities and offices. This favourable disposition however soon changed, and Henry, surrounded by numbers who now ventured to declare their enmity to the humbled favourite, commanded him to retire to York.

In the meantime his prosecution had been pushed on with constant vigour. The charges against him were first preferred in the Star Chamber, on the first of October, by which Court he was declared guilty of the whole; and then remitted to the Parliament, which met on the third of the following month. The Lords sent down to the House of Commons an accusation against him, digested into forty-four articles, unproved, and mostly incapable of proof, but the Commons, even in that despotic reign, refused to lend themselves to such flagrant injustice, and it was found necessary to indict him of having procured Bulls from Rome, particularly that by which he was constituted Legate, contrary to a law of Richard the second, called "the Statute of Provisors." These alledged offences had been committed by him, and he had for many years exercised the powers that he derived from them, not only with the countenance and approbation of the King and Parliament, but under a formal permission expressly granted by Henry himself. The miserable Wolsey however durst not produce that licence; pleaded guilty to the indictment; declared his ignorance of the statute; and threw himself on the mercy of the tyrant, who on the twelfth of February, 1530, N. S. granted him a pardon, the peculiar plenitude of which has been more than once remarked by our most eminent lawyers.

The sequel of this tragedy is so monstrous that history, unsupported by the evidence of public records, might have striven in vain to convince after ages of its credibility. Wolsey having retired to his Archbishoprick of York, and to the possession of its revenues, which had been restored to him when he received the royal pardon; shorn of all other beams of his former grandeur, and deprived of all hope of regaining any other portion of it; was suffered to pass little more than one month in the commencement of a life of innocence, and piety, and resignation, when he was arrested by the Earl of Northumberland, at Cawood, one of the houses of his See, for high treason, grounded on the self same charges which had been so lately, and so amply remitted. The events of his few succeeding days are perhaps more generally known than any other part of our history. As his persecutors were dragging him on towards London, he died on the way, broken hearted, at the Abbey of Leicester, on the thirtieth of November, 1530.

Lady Arabella Stuart.

From the original of Van Somer in the Collection of

The Most Noble The Marquis of Bath.

Drawn by Wm. Hilton A.R.A. Engraved (with Permission) by W. Holl.

London Published Feb.y 1.st 1828 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

LADY ARABELLA STUART.

It is surprising that so little attention should have been hitherto bestowed on the fair subject of this memoir. Not more distinguished by royal lineage than by admirable talents and worth; importantly connected with the history of her time, while her private life was marked by events so strange as to resemble the fictions of romance; a victim to various and almost unceasing calamity, and at length a martyr to the vilest persecution; the circumstances of her story have been hitherto suffered to remain in a great measure uncollected. It is true that her name appears in some works of general biography, and it is true also that the articles to which it is prefixed are always superficial, and in many instances erroneous.

She was the only child of Charles Stuart, fifth Earl of Lenox, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Cavendish, of Hardwick, in Derbyshire, and is supposed to have been born in 1577. Her father, unhappily for her, was of the royal blood both of England and Scotland, for he was a younger brother of King Henry, father of James the sixth, and great grandson, through his mother, who was a daughter of Margaret, Queen of Scots, to our Henry the seventh. This illustrious misfortune, from which she derived no kind of claim to the throne of Scotland, and but a remote chance of inheriting the English crown, rendered her equally obnoxious to the caution of Elizabeth, and the timidity of James, and they secretly dreaded the supposed danger of her leaving a legitimate offspring. Many subordinate circumstances concurred to increase their aversion. She had been born in England, where her father died in the twenty-first year of his age, and admirably educated under the care of her grandmother, the old Countess of Lenox, who resided in London. Her manners, her habits, and her attachments, were therefore entirely English, and her character displayed, together with a fine understanding and high accomplishments, a heart so kind, so frank, and so innocent, and such a lively humour, as ensured the admiration and delight of all who knew her. Her exalted rank kept her almost always within the circle of a Court to which she was the chief ornament, and she became there the object of that meaner and more common sort of jealousy which constantly follows superior merit. A disgust of a graver order succeeded; and Princes and Statesmen thought that they discerned in the spontaneous tribute of regard which her perfections demanded the views of a party which had conspired to raise her to the throne. It is true that some of those busy and intriguing spirits, from which no State can ever be entirely free, had occasionally glanced at her presumptive title, and even urged some fantastic arguments in favour of her succession to Elizabeth, and the well known Father Persons, in his hatred to that Princess, to whom he was conscious that no theme of disquisition could be more odious, collected their reasonings in a pamphlet of no small extent, which he dedicated to the Earl of Essex, and printed in 1594, under the assumed name of Richard Dolman. This work, although the author had the candour to deny Arabella's claim to the immediate inheritance, published her name and descent in every part of Europe: she became for a time the subject of frequent conversation in all the foreign Courts, and the suspicion in which she was already held at home naturally increased.

James, who beheld her with complacency till he had ascended the throne of England, earnestly desired to marry her to his cousin, Esme Stuart, whom he had created Duke of Lenox, and whom, before the birth of his own children, he had considered as his heir; but this match was prevented by Elizabeth, under the false pretence that Lenox was a papist. A son of the Earl of Northumberland then addressed her, and was favourably received.

Their correspondence, which the great Thuanus mistakingly asserts to have proceeded to a marriage, was necessarily carried on in privacy, but was presently discovered, and she was placed for a time in confinement, by the Queen's order, but released without further punishment. Thus injured as she had been by Elizabeth, the death of that Princess increased the measure of her misfortunes. Soon after the accession of James, Raleigh, having ruined his own credit with the King by his endeavours to undermine Cecil's, plunged into that conspiracy with the Brooks, so fatal to himself, of which little is known but that its main object was to place her on a throne to which she had neither inclination nor pretensions, and by means unknown to herself. During his trial, at which she was present, on the first mention of her name in the evidence, Cecil rose, and said, " here hath been a touch of the Lady Arabella Stuart, a near kinswoman of the King's. Let us not scandal the innocent by confusion of speech. She is as innocent of all these things as I, or any man here, only she received a letter from my Lord Cobham to prepare her, which she laughed at, and immediately sent it to the King." The old Earl of Nottingham, who stood by her, added, " the Lady doth here protest upon her salvation that she never dealt in any of these things, and so she wills me to tell the court;" and Cecil proceeded—" The Lord Cobham wrote to my Lady Arabella to know if he might come and speak with her, and gave her to understand that there were some about the King that laboured to disgrace her: she doubted it was but a trick; but Brook, Lord Cobham's brother, saith that my Lord moved him to procure the Lady Arabella to write to the King of Spain; but he affirms that he never did move her as his brother devised." Whether these noblemen seriously meant to exculpate her may perhaps be doubtful; but we have abundant reason to believe that they spoke the truth, since no trace of historical intelligence is to be found that tends to implicate her as an active party in this most obscure, and even ridiculous design.

Some reflections however had been cast on her by one of the witnesses, for Michael Hickes, reciting some particulars of Raleigh's trial, in a letter to her uncle, Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, of the sixth of December, 1603, writes—" They say the La. Arbella's name came to be mentioned in the evidence against him, but she was cleared in the opinion of all, and, as I hard, my Ld C. spake very honourably on her behalf; but one that gave in evydence, as it is sayd, spake very grossly and rudely concerninge her La. as I thynk yor L^{p} hath hard, or shall heare." It is worthy of remark that the passages alluded to by Mr. Hickes do not appear in the printed accounts of Raleigh's trial, in which her name is mentioned only in the indictment; and it should seem that the notes of those parts of the evidence had been suppressed, while the apologetic addresses of the two Lords, to which they had given occasion, were inadvertently suffered to be published. It must be inferred then that James, and his government, not only believed her to be innocent, but were inclined even to favour her, for the trial could not have been published but with their sanction: yet she appears at that time to have lost her credit at Court, where she presently afterwards suffered, together with the mortification of being personally neglected by the royal family, the various vexations of a pecuniary embarrassment extending nearly to poverty. Under all these untoward circumstances, she had no prospect of protection but in marriage, while she durst not openly encourage the addresses of any suitor; and persons of inferior rank, and with sordid views, availed themselves of her situation to make proposals to her which her terrors and distresses induced her to listen to, at least without the contempt which they deserved. Thus too she was forced into habits of deception and hypocrisy contrary to her generous and candid nature. Fowler, Secretary and Master of Requests to Anne of Denmark, in a letter to the same Earl of Shrewsbury, of the third of October, in the following year, says—" My Lady Arbella spends her time in lecture, reiding, hearing of service and preaching, and visiting all the Princesses. She will not heare of marriage. Inderectlie ther wer speaches used in the recommendation of Count Maurice, who pretendeth to be Duke of Gueldres. I dare not attempte her."

Matters proceeded thus till Christmas 1608, when James appears to have received her into some degree of favour, for he gave her, according to the custom of court presents at that season, one thousand marks, to pay her debts, and plate to the amount of two hundred

pounds. About this time he granted her, as will be presently shewn by a document which has till now escaped notice, and which contradicts the report of all who have mentioned this part of her story, his permission to marry, only restricting her choice to his own subjects. She determined on William Seymour, grandson, and afterwards heir to the Earl of Hertford, but a natural timidity, which had been increased by constant ill usage, joined perhaps to some doubt of the King's sincerity, or of his resolution, induced her still to dissemble, and they were married with the utmost privacy in January, or February, 1609. Her apprehensions were but too just. A rumour of unusual intimacy between them having been conveyed to the Court, they were summoned before the Privy Council, and reprehended with great severity. As they were then suffered to escape without further punishment, it may be presumed that they yet denied their marriage, and were credited; but in the summer of the following year it was by some means fully discovered, and the Lady was committed to the custody of Sir Thomas Parry, in his house at Lambeth, and Mr. Seymour to the Tower of London, where, on his arrival, he was complimented by Melvin, a nonconformist minister, then confined there, with a distich, the pretty quaintness of which may furnish an excuse for the momentary interruption of this narrative—

> "Communis tecum mihi causa est carceris: Ara—
> Bella tibi causa est; araque sacra mihi."

It was probably at this precise period that Arabella addressed to the King the following petition, or letter, which has been preserved in the Harleian collection, together with some other papers of less moment relating to her marriage, among which is a declaration to the Privy Council by Sir Edward Rodney, that it was solemnized in his presence, in her chamber at Greenwich.

May itt please your most excellent Matie.

I doe most hartily lament my hard fortune that I should offend yor Matie, especiallie in that whereby I have longe desired to meritt of yor Matie, as appeared before yor Matie was my Soveraigne: and, thoughe yor Ma$^{tie's}$ neglect of me, my good likeinge of this gent. that is my husband, & my fortune, drewe me to a contracte before I acquainted yor Matie, I humblie beseech yor Matie to consider howe impossible itt was for me to ymagine itt could be offensive unto yor Matie, havinge fewe dayes before geven me your royall consent to bestowe myselfe on anie subject of yor Ma$^{tie's}$, wch likewise yor Matie had done longe since. Besides, never havinge ben either prohibited any, or spoken to for any, in this land by yor Matie these 7 yeares that I have lived in yor Ma$^{tie's}$ house, I could not conceave that yor Matie regarded my mariage att all; whereas, if yor Matie had vouchsafed to tell me yor mynd, and accepte the free will offeringe of my obedience, I would not have offended yor Matie, of whose gratious goodnes I presume so much that, if itt weare as convenient in a worldlie respect as mallice may make itt seame to seperate us whom God hath joyned, yor Matie would not doe evill that good might come thereof; nor make me, that have the honor to be so neare yor Matie in bloud, the first presedent that ever was, though our Princes maie have lefte some as little imitable for so good and gratious a Kinge as yor Matie as David's dealinge with Uriah. But I assure myselfe, if itt please yor Matie in yor owne wisedome to consider throughlie of my cause, there will noe solide reason appeare to debarre me of justice, and yor princelie favor, wch I will endeavor to deserve whilst I breathe, and, never ceasinge to praie for yor Ma$^{tie's}$ felicitie in all thinges, remaine,

Your Ma$^{tie's}$ &c.

The rigour with which they were at first confined was soon abated. She was allowed the range of Sir Thomas Parry's grounds, and at length placed under the charge of Sir James Crofts, in the house of a Mr. Conyers, at Highgate; and Mr. Seymour seems to have had nearly the freedom of a prisoner on parole. They took the advantage of this relaxation to correspond by letters; their intercourse was detected; and the King commanded

that Arabella should be removed to Durham. Mutually terrified at the prospect of so total a separation, they determined to fly, and found means to concert a plan for their departure, which both effected on the same day, the third of June, 1611, unhappily however, owing to some error in their appointment, never to meet again. The circumstances of their escape are related in a letter from a Mr. John More to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated on the eighth of that month, with a liveliness and simplicity which could not but be injured by describing them in any other form of words.

" On Monday last, in the afternoon," says Mr. More, " my Lady Arabella, lying at Mr. Conyers's house near Highgate, having induced her keepers and attendants into security by the fair shew of conformity, and willingness to go on her journey towards Durham, which the next day she must have done, and in the mean time disguising herself, by drawing a pair of great French-fashioned hose over her petticoats, pulling on a man's doublet, a man-like peruke, with long locks, over her hair, a black hat, black cloak, russet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her side, walked forth between three and four of the clock with Markham. After they had gone a-foot a mile and a half to a sorry inn, where Crompton attended with horses, she grew very sick and faint, so as the ostler that held the stirrups said that gentleman would hardly hold out to London; yet, being set on a good gelding astride, in an unwonted fashion, the stirring of the horse brought blood enough into her face; and so she rode on towards Blackwall, where arriving about six of the clock, finding there in a readiness two men, a gentlewoman, and a chambermaid, with one boat full of Mr. Seymour's and her trunks, and another boat for their persons, they hasted from thence towards Woolwich. Being come so far, they bade the watermen row on to Gravesend: there the watermen were desirous to land, but for a double freight were contented to go on to Leigh, and by that time the day appeared, and they discovered a ship at anchor a mile beyond them, which was the French bark that waited for them. Here the lady would have lain at anchor, expecting Mr. Seymour, but, through the importunity of her followers, they forthwith hoisted sail seaward. In the mean while Mr. Seymour, with a peruke and beard of black hair, and in a tawny cloth suit, walked alone without suspicion from his lodging, out of the great west door of the Tower, following a cart that had brought him billets. From thence he walked along by the Tower wharf, by the warders of the south gate, and so to the iron gate, where Rodney was ready with oars to receive him. When they came to Leigh, and found that the French ship was gone, the billows rising high, they hired a fisherman for twenty shillings to set them aboard a certain ship that they saw under sail. That ship they found not to be it they looked for; so they made forward to the next under sail, which was a ship of Newcastle. This, with much ado, they hired for forty pounds to carry them to Calais, but whether the collier did perform his bargain or no is not as yet here known. On Tuesday, in the afternoon, my Lord Treasurer being advertised that the Lady Arabella had made an escape, sent forthwith to the Lieutenant of the Tower to set strait guard over Mr. Seymour; but, coming to the prisoner's lodgings, he found, to his great amazement, that he was gone from thence one whole day before."

Mr. More, having stated some other matters not to our present purpose, adds—" Now the King, and the Lords, being much disturbed with this unexpected accident, my Lord Treasurer sent orders to a pinnace that lay at the Downs to put presently to sea, first to Calais road, and then to scour up the coast towards Dunkirk. This pinnace, spying the aforesaid bark which lay lingering for Mr. Seymour, made to her, which thereupon offered to fly towards Calais, and endured thirteen shot of the pinnace before she would strike. In this bark is the lady taken, with her followers, and brought back towards the Tower, not so sorry for her own restraint as she would be glad if Mr. Seymour might escape, whose welfare she protesteth to affect much more than her own." He did in fact arrive safely in Flanders, where he remained for many years a voluntary exile.

The unfortunate Arabella was led a prisoner to London, and placed in the closest confinement. A great parade was made of the enormity of her crime, perhaps to maintain some consonance with the terms of a proclamation which had been issued for the appre-

hension of herself, and her husband, in which they were charged with "divers great and heinous offences." Her aunt, Mary Cavendish, Countess of Shrewsbury, was also committed to the Tower, and the Earl, her husband, confined in his own house. Even the Earl of Hertford, infirm and superannuated as he was, received a summons to repair instantly to the Court from his distant retirement. Arabella, and Lady Shrewsbury, were immediately questioned at great length by the Privy Council. The former, says More, in another letter to Winwood, "answered the Lords at her examination with good judgment and discretion, but the other is said to be utterly without reason, crying out that all is but tricks and giggs: that she will answer nothing in private; and if she have offended in law, she will answer it in publick,"—a resolution surely not less reasonable than high spirited. The same letter informs us that great contrariety of prejudice on the subject of her persecution arose between the English and Scottish parties; the one averring that it was ridiculous to apprehend any design on the throne from pretensions so remote; the other comparing the offence, for the perils that it involved, to the gunpowder treason; "and so," adds More, who appears to have been a man of considerable ability and penetration, "it is said to fill his Majesty with fearful imaginations, and, with him, the Prince, who cannot so easily be removed from any settled opinion."

After long protracted and nice enquiry, no ground could be discovered for any criminal charge against either of them, yet they were suffered to remain close prisoners. Early, however, in the following year, it was suddenly reported to the Court that Arabella was inclined to make extraordinary disclosures, and she was again summoned before the Council, and preferred some strange and incoherent accusations against several persons, among whom was the Countess, her aunt, who was still in confinement: but it presently appeared that the frame of her mind had given way under the pressure of aggravated calamity and unjust seclusion. James and his ministers at length sacrificed to prudence what they had denied to justice and humanity, and all proceedings were dropped; but she was remanded to the Tower, where she soon after sunk into helpless idiocy, and survived in that wretched state till September, 1615, on the twenty-seventh of which month she was buried in Westminster Abbey, near the remains of her kinsman, Henry, Prince of Wales. We find in the poems of Richard Corbet, Bishop of Norwich, the following lines, by way of monumental inscription to her memory, which seem to challenge insertion here.

"How do I thank thee, death, and bless thy power,
That I have past the guard, and 'scap'd the Tower!
And now my pardon is my epitaph,
And a small coffin my poor carcase hath;
For at thy charge both soul and body were
Enlarg'd at last, secur'd from hope and fear.
That amongst saints, this amongst Kings is laid,
And what my birth did claim my death hath paid."

Nor shall I be blamed for concluding this memoir with one of her letters, which, as it has no relation to any particular part of her foregoing story, may perhaps be most properly placed here. The good sense, the elegancy of expression, the innocent playfulness, and the high politeness, with which she communicates the trifles of which it treats, will tend to prove the truth of the slight view which I have ventured to give of her character, and increase our pity for her sufferings, and our indignation against the memory of her persecutors. It is addressed to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and was written in the year 1603.

"At my returne from Oxford, wheare I have spent this day, whilest my Lo. Cecill, amongst many more weighty affaires, was dispatching som of mine, I found my cousin Lacy had disburdened himselfe at my chamber of the charge he had from you, and straight fell to prepare his fraught back, for hindering his back returne to-morrow morning, as he intendeth.

"I writt to you of the reason of the delay of Taxis' audience: it remaineth to tell how

jovially he behaveth himselfe in the interim. He hath brought great store of Spanish gloves, hauke's hoods, leather for jerkins, and, moreover, a perfumer. These delicacies he bestoweth amongst our ladies and lords, I will not say wth a hope to effeminate the one sex, but certeinly wth a hope to grow gratious wth the other, as he already is. The curiosity of our sex drew many la. and gentlewomen to gaze at him betwixt his landing place and Oxford, his abiding place; which he desirous to satisfy (I will not say nourish that vice) made his coche stop, and tooke occasion wth petty guiftes and cowrtesies to winne soone wonne affections; who, comparing his manner wth Monsieur de Ronee's hold him theyr farre wellcomer guest. At Oxford he took som distast about his lodging, and would needes lodge at an inne, because he had not all Christe's Colledge to him selfe, and was not received into the towne by the Vicechancellour, in pontificalibus, which they never use to do but to the King, or Queene, or Chancellour of the University, as they say; but those scruples were soon disgested, and he vouchsafeth to lodge in a peece of the college till his repaire to the King at Winchester.

" Count Arimberg was heere w^th^in these few dayes, and presented to the Queene the Archduke and the Infanta's pictures, most excellently drawne. Yesterday the King and Queene dined at a lodge of Sr Henry Lea's, 3 miles hence, and weare accompanied by the French Imbassadour, and a Dutch Duke. I will not say we weare merry at the Dutchkin, least you complaine of me for telling tales out of the Queene's coch; but I could finde in my heart to write unto you som of our yeasterdaye's adventures, but that it groweth late, and, by the shortnesse of your letter, I conjecture you would not have this honest gentleman overladen wth such superfluous relations. My Lo. Admirall is returned from the Prince and Princesse, and either is or wil be my cousin before incredulous you will beleeve such incongruities in a councellour, as love maketh no miracles in his subjectes, of what degree or age whatsoever. His daughter of Kildare is discharged of her office, and as neere a free woman as may be, and have a bad husband. The Dutch Lady my Lo. Wotton spoke of at Basing proved a lady sent by the Dutchess of Holstein, to learne the English fashions. She lodgeth at Oxford, and hath binne heere twice, and thincketh every day long till she be at home, so well she liketh her entertainment, or loveth hir owne countrey. In truth she is civill, and thearfore cannot but look for the like which she brings out of a ruder countrey: but if ever theare weare such a vertu as curtesy at the Court, I marvell what is become of it, for I protest I see little or none of it but in the Queene, who ever since her coming to Newbury hath spoken to the people as she passeth, and receiveth theyr prayers wth thanckes, and thanckfull countenance, barefaced, to the great contentment of natife and forrein people; for I would not have you thincke the French Imbassador would leave that attractive vertu of our late Queene El. unremembred or uncommended when he saw it imitated by our most gratious Queene, least you should thincke we infect even our neighbours wth incivility. But what a theame have rude I gotten unawares! It is your owne vertu I commend by the foile of the contrary vice; and so, thincking on you, my penne accused myselfe before I was aware; therefore I will put it to silence for this time, only adding a short but most hearty prayer for your prosperity in all kindes, and so humbly take my leave. From Woodstocke, the 16 of September.

Yo^r^ Lo^'^. neece,

ARBELLA STUART."

LUCIUS CAREY,

SECOND VISCOUNT FALKLAND.

Lord Clarendon has left us two views of the character of this admirable person. The one, in the memoirs of his own life, with a graceful carelessness of style suited to the subject, shews him as a private man, and discovers to us his person, his temper, his accomplishments, his social habits, and his domestic affairs. From that source such matter as may wear the garb of original composition in this memoir will be chiefly drawn. The other, in the great history of the rebellion, exhibits him in the state, the senate, and the field, and is well known to constitute the brightest ornament to English biography. Authenticated by the closest intimacy, and the most unreserved confidence; glowing with the sacred warmth of a friendship strictly impartial, because it was founded on the contemplation of every excellence of heart and mind; and poured forth in a stream of beautiful and splendid expression, it stands alone, an example of positive perfection. The sanctity of such a monument must not be invaded. The symmetry of such a model must not be distorted. I shall prefix to that great masterpiece a short chronological narrative of some common-place facts to which it may be found occasionally to allude, and of others on which it may be wholly silent; but, for itself, not a word shall be suppressed, nor a word intruded on its text; nor shall I venture to disturb even the form of its original arrangement.

Lucius Carey was born about the year 1610, the eldest son of Henry Carey, of Berkhamsted and Aldenham, in Herts, by Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of Sir Laurence Tanfield, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. His father, who in 1620 had been created Viscount Falkland, in Scotland, was appointed two years after Lord Deputy of Ireland, and, having removed his family to that country, Lucius commenced his education in Trinity College, Dublin. On his return he became a student of St. John's, in Oxford, and is said to have been remarked there not only for the variety and rapidity of his acquirements, but for certain lively irregularities of conduct which afforded little expectation of the seriousness that distinguished his maturity. On account, as it should seem, of some such sally he was soon after confined for a time in the Fleet prison, for a petition is extant from his father to the King, praying for his release, and it is from that document only that we have any knowledge of his restraint. Whatsoever might have been the nature of these levities, he discarded them under circumstances peculiarly tempting to youthful extravagance, for before he had reached the age of twenty-one he inherited from his maternal grandfather the uncontrouled possession of a very large fortune, and assumed at that very period the regularity and moral decorum for which he was ever after remarkable. It might be convenient to a mere eulogist to ascribe this sudden turn to rigidly virtuous and philosophic resolution, but it were more modest to consider it as the result of one of those rare dispositions which, by the passive influence of their own native benignity, can extract good from the conflict of passions and sentiments, and produce even felicity from contingencies which often involve us in the wildest ruin. The truth is, that immediately after he became possessed of his estates he married a young lady whom he passionately loved. Her portion was small, and his father conceived therefore that vehement indignation which so frequently disgraces parents on such occasions. Sir Lucius, for he was then a knight, besought his pardon with the most sincere humility, and at length laid before him deeds ready for execution, by which he proposed to convey to him the whole of his own property, and begged to be allowed to subsist on his bounty. Lord Falkland rejected all terms

of reconciliation, and his excellent son passed over into the Netherlands, with the view of purchasing there some military command, in which having failed, he returned, after a year's absence, and, sitting down tranquilly in his mansion of Great Tew, in Oxfordshire, devoted himself to universal study, solacing his hours of leisure in the purest domestic happiness, and in the society of those who were then esteemed the chief ornaments of the neighbouring University.

His accession to the title and paternal estate, on the death of his father in 1633, drew him not from the serenity of his retirement. At length, in 1639, he accompanied the Earl of Holland, General of the Horse, in the expedition of that year against the Scots. The reputation for talents, genius, and general literature, by which he was then distinguished may be well inferred from several addresses made to him on that occasion, particularly by Waller, and Cowley, neither of whom would have dared to satirize a man of his character by vain adulation and false praise. Cowley's poem commences with these lines—

> " Great is thy charge, O North. Be wise and just:
> England commits her Falkland to thy trust.
> Return him safe: learning would rather chuse
> Her Bodley or her Vatican to lose.
> All things that are but writ or printed there
> In his unbounded breast engraven are.
> There all the sciences together meet,
> And every art does all her kindred greet."

And in Waller's we find these passages—

> " Brave Holland leads, and with him Falkland goes.
> Who hears this told, and does not strait suppose
> We send the Graces and the Muses forth,
> To civilize and to instruct the North?"

And afterwards—

> " Ah, noble friend, with what impatience all
> That know thy worth, and know how prodigal
> Of thy great soul thou art, longing to twist
> Bays with that ivy which so early kist
> Thy youthful temples; with what horror we,
> Think on the blind events of war, and thee,
> To fate exposing that all knowing breast
> Among the throng, as cheaply as the rest."

He represented the borough of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, in the two Parliaments which met in the year 1640, and the disgust which he conceived at the unhappy dissolution of the first added perhaps somewhat of passion to the sound and honest judgment which led him for a time to espouse the popular party in the second: the motives however which influenced his adoption and rejection of that party, and indeed the whole of his political conduct, will be presently fully stated in the words of the great historian. In the spring of 1642 he was prevailed on to accept a seat in the Privy Council, and the office of a Secretary of State, in which the King, though he felt to the utmost the wisdom and fidelity of his more important services, disliked his pen. Charles, for whom elegancy of composition had no charms, told Sir Philip Warwick that " he had had two Secretaries; one a dull man in comparison of the other, and yet the first best pleased him; for," said he, " my Lord Carleton ever brought me my own sense in my own words; but my Lord Falkland most commonly brought me my instructions in so fine a dress that I did not always own them." Warwick informs us that he possessed the King's unbounded confidence, and adds a few concise remarks on his character, which, since a solitary sceptic has ventured to charge Lord Clarendon's nobler picture with partiality, acquire an increased value as the corroborative testimony of an honest and judicious contemporary, to whom he could not but have been perfectly well known. " The Lord Falkland," says Warwick, " had pro-

digious natural parts; a memory, and a fancy, which retained all it read or heard, and then as rhetorically set it forth; and his notions were useful, and not common. He loved his book, and so was a great master of books, but in temper somewhat hypochondriac, and therefore men of business often found that in him which they practised not themselves, nor perchance would not, if they could, have imitated him. That which crowned all was that he was a person of great probity and sincerity." The fantastic censures to which I have alluded, fell, it is much to be lamented, from the delightful pen of the late Lord Orford, the hasty escapes of a love of singularity and controversy, and the bitter fruit of inveterate prejudices, imbibed in a school of perverse politics. They have been overthrown by Sir Egerton Brydges, in the third volume of his biographical Peerage, with a force, and candour, and closeness of argument, before which all doubt on the subject must vanish.

Little remains to be said by me of this excellent man. The noble historian informs us that " his stature was low, and smaller than most men; his motion not graceful; and his aspect so far from inviting that it had somewhat in it of simplicity; and his voice the worst of the three, and so untuned, that, instead of reconciling, it offended the ear, so that nobody could have expected music from that tongue; and sure no man was less beholden to nature for its recommendation into the world." The lady who had been captivated by the incomparable spirit which inhabited this unpolished exterior, herself an example of all female worth, was Lettice, daughter of Sir Richard Morison, of Tooley Park, in Leicestershire; by whom he had two sons; Lucius, who died at Paris in 1646; and Henry, who inherited the title and estates. Granger speaks of a third, of whom I find no mention elsewhere.

Lord Falkland fell in the field at Newbury on the twentieth of September, 1643. " In this unhappy battle," says Lord Clarendon, " was slain the Lord Viscount Falkland, a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge; of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation; of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind; and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life; that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war than that single loss it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity.

" Turpe mori, post te, solo non posse dolore."

" Before this Parliament his condition of life was so happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to be twenty years of age he was master of a noble fortune, which descended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without passing through his father or mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented to find themselves passed by in the descent. His education for some years had been in Ireland, where his father was Lord Deputy, so that when he returned into England to the possession of his fortune he was unentangled with any acquaintance or friends which usually grow up by the custom of conversation, and therefore was to make a pure election of his company, which he chose by other rules than were prescribed to the young nobility of that time: and it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to his friendship for the agreeableness of their natures, and their undoubted affection to him, that his familiarity and friendship for the most part was with men of the most eminent and sublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity, and such men had a title to his bosom.

" He was a great cherisher of wit, and fancy, and good parts, in any man, and if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a most liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune, of which in those administrations he was such a dispenser as if he had been trusted with it to such uses; and, if there had been the least of vice in his expense, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolved to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were necessary to that end; and therefore having once resolved not to see London, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek tongue, he went to his own house in the country, and pursued it with that indefatigable industry that it will not be believed in how short a time he was master of it, and accurately read all the Greek historians.

"In this time, his house being within little more than ten miles of Oxford, he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men of that University, who found such an immenseness of wit, and such a solidity of judgment in him; so infinite a fancy, bound in by a most logical ratiocination; such a vast knowledge that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility, as if he had known nothing; that they frequently resorted and dwelt with him as in a College, situated in a purer air; so that his house was a University in a less volume, whither they came not so much for repose as study, and to examine and refine those grosser propositions which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation.

"Many attempts were made upon him, by the instigation of his mother (who was a lady of another persuasion in religion, and of a most masculine understanding, allay'd with the passion and infirmities of her own sex) to pervert him in his piety to the church of England, and to reconcile him to that of Rome, which they prosecuted with the more confidence because he declined no opportunity or occasion of conference with those of that religion, whether priests or laicks, having diligently studied the controversies, and exactly read all, or the choicest, of the Greek and Latin fathers, and having a memory so stupendous that he remember'd on all occasions whatsoever he read: and he was so great an enemy to that passion and uncharitableness which he saw produced by difference of opinion in matters of religion, that in all those disputations with priests and others of the Roman church he affected to manifest all possible civility to their persons, and estimation of their parts, which made them retain still some hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reasons to him to that purpose. But this charity towards them was much lessened, and any correspondence with them quite declined, when by sinister arts they had corrupted his two younger brothers, being both children, and stolen them from his house and transported them beyond seas, and perverted his sisters, upon which occasion he writ two large discourses against the principal positions of that religion, with that sharpness of style, and full weight of reason, that the church is deprived of great jewels in the concealment of them, and that they are not published to the world.

"He was superior to all those passions and affections which attend vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men, and that made him too much a contemner of those arts which must be indulged in the transactions of human affairs. In the last short Parliament he was a Burgess in the House of Commons, and from the debates, which were there managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to Parliaments that he thought it really impossible they could ever produce mischief or inconvenience to the kingdom, or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them: and from the unhappy and unseasonable dissolution of that convention he harboured, it may be, some jealousy and prejudice to the Court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined, his father having wasted a full fortune there in those offices and employments by which other men use to obtain a greater. He was chosen again this Parliament to serve in the same place, and in the beginning of it declared himself very sharply and severely against those exorbitances which had been most grievous to the State, for he was so rigid an observer of established laws and rules that he could not endure the least breach or deviation from them, and thought no mischief so intolerable as the presumption of ministers of state to break positive rules for reasons of state, or Judges to transgress known laws upon the title of conveniency or necessity, which made him so severe against the Earl of Strafford, and the Lord Finch, contrary to his natural gentleness and temper; insomuch as they who did not know his composition to be as free from revenge as it was from pride thought that the sharpness to the former might proceed from the memory of some unkindnesses, not without a mixture of injustice, from him towards his father. But without doubt he was free from those temptations, and in both cases was only misled by the authority of those who he believed understood the laws perfectly, of which himself was utterly ignorant; and if the assumption, which was then scarce controverted, had been true, that an endeavour to overthrow the fundamental laws of the kingdom was treason, a strict understanding

might make reasonable conclusions to satisfy his own judgement from the exorbitant parts of their several charges.

"The great opinion he had of the uprightness and integrity of those persons who appeared most active, especially of Mr. Hamden, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the peace of the kingdom; and though he differed from them commonly in conclusions, he believed long their purposes were honest. When he grew better informed what was law, and discerned in them a desire to controul that law by a vote of one or both Houses, no man more opposed those attempts, and gave the adverse party more trouble by reason and argumentation, insomuch as he was by degrees looked upon as an advocate for the Court, to which he contributed so little that he declined those addresses, and even those invitations, which he was obliged almost by civility to entertain; and he was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to preferment, that he affected even a moroseness to the Court and to the courtiers, and left nothing undone which might prevent and divert the King's or Queen's favour towards him but the deserving it; for when the King sent for him once or twice, to speak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent comportment in those councils, which his Majesty graciously termed doing him service, his answers were more negligent, and less satisfactory, than might be expected; as if he cared only that his actions should be just, not that they should be acceptable; and that his Majesty should think that they proceeded only from the impulsion of conscience, without any sympathy in his affections, which from a stoical and sullen nature might not have been misinterpreted, yet from a person of so perfect a habit of generous and obsequious compliance with all good men might very well have been interpreted by the King as more than an ordinary averseness to his service; so that he took more pains, and more forced his nature to actions unagreeable and unpleasant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the Court than most men have done to procure an office there: and if any thing but not doing his duty could have kept him from receiving a testimony of the King's grace and trust at that time, he had not been called to his Council; not that he was in truth averse from receiving public employment, for he had a great devotion to the King's person, and had before used some small endeavour to be recommended to him for a foreign negociation, and had once a desire to be sent Ambassador into France, but he abhorred an imagination or doubt should sink into the thoughts of any man that in the discharge of his trust and duty in Parliament he had any biass to the Court, or that the King himself should apprehend that he looked for a reward for being honest.

"For this reason, when he heard it first whispered that the King had a purpose to make him a Privy Councellor, for which there was in the beginning no other ground but because he was known sufficient (haud semper errat fama, aliquando & eligit) he resolved to decline it, and at last suffered himself only to be overruled by the advice and persuasions of his friends to submit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the King intended to make him Secretary of State, he was positive to refuse it, declaring to his friends that he was most unfit for it; and that he must either do that which would be great disquiet to his own nature, or leave that undone which was most necessary to be done by one that was honoured with that place; for the most just and honest men did every day that which he could not give himself leave to do; and indeed he was so exact and strict an observer of justice and truth that he believed those necessary condescensions and applications to the weakness of other men, and those arts and insinuations which are necessary for discoveries and prevention of ill, would be in him a declension from his own rules of life, though he acknowledged them fit and absolutely necessary to be practised in those employments. He was in truth so precise in the practic principles he prescribed himself (to all others he was as indulgent) as if he had lived in republica Platonis, non in fœce Romuli.

"Two reasons prevailed with him to receive the Seals, and but for those he had resolutely avoided them: the first, the consideration that his refusal might bring some blemish upon the King's affairs, and that men would have believed that he had refused so great an honour and trust because he must have been with it obliged to do somewhat else not justifiable; and this he made matter of conscience, since he knew the King made choice

of him before other men especially because he thought him more honest than other men. The other was, lest he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the House of Commons, who were sore troubled at the displacing Sir Harry Vane, whom they looked upon as removed for having done them those offices they stood in need of; and the disdain of so popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other; for as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients; and he so much the more consented to and approved the justice upon Sir Harry Vane in his own private judgment, by how much he surpassed most men in the religious observation of a trust, the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuse for.

"For these reasons he submitted to the King's command, and became his Secretary with as humble and devoted acknowledgement of the greatness of the obligation as could be expressed, and as true a sense of it in his heart: yet two things he could never bring himself to whilst he continued in that office, that was to his death, for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omissions in a most necessary part of his place; the one, employing of spies, or giving any countenance or entertainment to them. I do not mean such emissaries as with danger would venture to view the enemy's camp, and bring intelligence of their number, or quartering, or any particulars that such an observation can comprehend; but those who, by communication of guilt, or dissimulation of manners, wind themselves into such trusts and secrets as enable them to make discoveries. The other, the liberty of opening letters, upon a suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say such instruments must be void of all ingenuity and common honesty before they could be of use, and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited: and that no single preservation could be worth so general a wound and corruption of human society as the cherishing such persons would carry with it. The last he thought such a violation of the law of nature that no qualification by office could justify him in the trespass: and, though he was convinced by the necessity and iniquity of the time that those advantages of information were not to be declined, and were necessarily to be practised, he found means to put it off from himself, whilst he confessed he needed excuse and pardon for the omission; so unwilling was he to resign any part of good nature to an obligation in his office.

"In all other particulars he filled his place with great sufficiency, being well versed in languages, to understand any that are used in business, and to make himself again understood. To speak of his integrity, and his high disdain of any bait that might seem to look towards corruption, "in tanto viro, injuria virtutem fuerit." Some sharp expressions he used against the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his concurring in the first bill to take away the votes of Bishops in the House of Peers gave occasion to some to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude and publish, that "he was no friend to the church, and the established government of it," and troubled his friends much, who were more confident of the contrary than prepared to answer the allegation. The truth is he had unhappily contracted some prejudice to the Archbishop; and, having observed his passion when, it may be, multiplicity of business, or rather indisposition, had possessed him, did wish him less entangled and engaged in the business of the Court or State: though, I speak it knowingly, he had a singular estimation and reverence of his great learning, and confessed integrity; and really thought his own letting himself loose to those expressions which implied a disesteem of the Archbishop, or at least an acknowledgement of his infirmities, would enable him to shelter him from part of the storm he saw raised for his destruction, which he abominated with his soul.

"The giving his consent to the first bill for the displacing the Bishops did proceed from two grounds: the first his not understanding then the original of their right and suffrage there, the other an opinion that the combination against the whole government of the church by Bishops was so violent and furious that a less composition than the dispensing with their intermedling in secular affairs would not preserve the order; and he was persuaded to this by the profession of many persons of honour, who declared they did desire

the one, and would not then press the other, which in that particular misled many men: but when his observation and experience made him discern more of their intentions than he before suspected, with great frankness he opposed the second bill that was preferred for that purpose, and had without scruple the order itself in perfect reverence, and thought too great encouragement could not possibly be given to learning, nor too great rewards to learned men. He was never in the least degree moved or swayed by the objections which were made against that government in the church (holding them most ridiculous) or affected to the other, which those men fancied to themselves.

" He had a courage of the most clear and keen temper, and so far from fear that he seemed not without some appetite of danger, and therefore upon any occasion of action he always engaged his person in those troops which he thought by the forwardness of the commanders to be most like to be farthest engaged; and in all such encounters he had about him an extraordinary chearfulness, without at all affecting the execution that usually attended them, in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not by resistance made necessary; insomuch that at Edge Hill, when the enemy was routed, he was like to have incurred great peril by interposing to save those who had thrown away their arms, and against whom it may be others were more fierce for their having thrown them away; so that a man might think he came into the field chiefly out of curiosity to see the face of danger, and charity to prevent the shedding of blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profession of a soldier, and shortly after he came to his fortune, before he was of age, he went into the Low Countries, with a resolution of procuring command, and to give himself up to it, from which he was diverted by the complete inactivity of that summer; so he returned into England, and shortly after entered upon that vehement course of study we mentioned before, till the first alarm from the North: then again he made ready for the field, and though he received some repulse in the command of a troop of horse of which he had a promise, he went a volunteer with the Earl of Essex.

" From the entrance into this unnatural war his natural chearfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to; yet, being one of those who believed that one battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a victory on one side that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions of the victor (which supposition and conclusion generally sunk into the minds of most men, and prevented the looking after many advantages that might then have been laid hold of) he resisted those indispositions, et in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat. But after the King's return from Brentford, and the furious resolution of the two Houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions which had before touched him grew into a perfect habit of unchearfulness, and he who had been so exactly easy and affable to all men that his face and countenance was always present, and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness and less pleasantness of the visage a kind of rudeness or incivility, became on a sudden less communicable, and thence, very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had minded before always with more neatness, and industry, and expence, than is usual to so great a soul, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of suitors, and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick, and sharp, and severe, that there wanted not some men, strangers to his nature and disposition, who believed him proud and imperious, from which no mortal man was ever more free.

" It is true that as he was of a most incomparable gentleness, application, and even submission, to good, and worthy, and entire men, so he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his place, which subjected him to another conversation and intermixture than his own election would have done) adversus malos injucundus, and was so ill a dissembler of his dislike and disinclination to ill men that it was not possible for such not to discern it. There was once in the House of Commons such a declared acceptation of the good service an eminent member had done to them, and, as they said, to the whole kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, that the Speaker might, in the name of the

whole House, give him thanks; and then that every member might, as a testimony of his particular acknowledgement, stir or move his hat towards him; the which, though not ordered, when very many did, the Lord Falkland, who believed the service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous person could not have stooped to it for any recompence, instead of moving his hat, stretched both his arms out, and clasped his hands together upon the crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head, that all men might see how odious that flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the person, though at that time most popular.

"When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and, sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence, and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word peace, peace, and would passionately profess that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart. This made some think, or pretend to think, that he was so much enamoured on peace that he would have been glad the King should have bought it at any price, which was a most unreasonable calumny; as if a man that was himself the most punctual and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon conscience or honour could have wished the King to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this senseless scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse of the daringness of his spirit; for at the leaguer before Gloucester, when his friends passionately reprehended him for exposing his person unnecessarily to danger (for he delighted to visit the trenches and nearest approaches, and to discover what the enemy did) as being so much beside the duty of his place that it might be understood rather to be against it, he would say merrily that his office could not take away the privilege of his age, and that a Secretary in war might be present at the greatest scene of danger; but withal alledged seriously that it concerned him to be more active in enterprises of hazard than other men, that all might see that his impatiency for peace proceeded not from pusillanimity, or fear to adventure his own person.

"In the morning, before the battle, as always upon action, he was very chearful, and put himself in the first rank of the Lord Byron's regiment, then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musqueteers, from whence he was shot with a musquet in the lower part of the belly, and, in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning, till when there was some hopes he might have been a prisoner, though his nearest friends, who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four and thirtieth year of his age, having so much dispatched the true business of life that the eldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocency. Whosoever leads such a life needs be the less anxious upon how short warning it is taken from him."

Lord Falkland left "A Discourse of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome," "A Discourse concerning Episcopacy," and some other pieces of controversial divinity, which were published, singly, soon after his death. Many of his speeches too remain in print, and some scattered poems, the most considerable of which is one on the death of Ben Jonson.

Sir Walter Raleigh.

From the original of Zucchero in the Collection of

The Most Noble The Marquis of Bath.

Drawn by W.m Hilton. A.R.A.t Engraved (with Permission) by W.m T. Fry.

London Published Feb.y 1.st 1818 by Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown Paternoster Row.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

The history of Raleigh has always been an object of anxious and busy enquiry, and the pains that have been taken to render it complete seem to have been rewarded with the most ample success. This will ever be the case with one who moved in so many spheres of action, and shone so brightly in such various classes of fame. The soldier will cherish the reputation of heroes; the critic, of writers; the politician, of statesmen; but in this individuality of attention, in this unconscious singleness of fellow feeling, how many inestimable notices of general character are overlooked, and irrecoverably lost! The life of Raleigh, on the other hand, was a sort of public property, in which every taste and every profession had an interest, and each therefore has lent a helping hand to raise and perfect the biographical monument which has been erected to his memory. To endeavour to add to such a story would be hopeless labour: to select from it can be little better than dull repetition.

Raleigh was descended from a family of high antiquity in Devonshire. He was a younger son of a gentleman of his names who was seated in a mansion called Fardel, in the parish of Cornwood, near Plymouth, by his third wife, Catherine, daughter of Sir Philip Champernoun, of Modbury, and widow of Otho Gilbert, of Compton, all which parishes are in that county. He was born in 1552, and exactly well educated, first under the care of his father, and afterwards in Oriel College, of which he was entered at about the age of sixteen, and which he left, though his residence there had little exceeded one year, with a high reputation for academical attainments. In the autumn of 1569 he entered into public life in the character of a soldier, in a troop of a hundred gentlemen volunteers, raised by his relation Henry Champernoun, which attached itself to the expedition then fitted out by the order of Elizabeth for the succour of the Huguenots in France. In this service, which was of the most arduous character, he remained for not less than five years, and is supposed to have returned in 1576, in which year it is evident that he resided in chambers in the Middle Temple, a circumstance which has given occasion to some contest among his biographers which might have been effectually set at rest by reference to his trial, on which he took occasion expressly to declare that he had never studied the law. He remained however not long inactive, for in 1577 he made a campaign in the Low Countries under the command of Norris, and in the following year, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, one of the celebrated navigators of that day, who was his uterine brother, having obtained a patent from the Queen to colonize in North America, Raleigh embarked with him in that expedition. It proved unsuccessful. They were met on their voyage by a Spanish fleet of superior force, and defeated, and Raleigh, returning just at the period when a new insurrection, aided by the intrigues and the troops of Spain, had broken out in Ireland, flew to the scene of action, and now proved that he possessed, in addition to the personal bravery for which he was already distinguished, all other qualifications for a military commander. The government of Munster, a post then of the greatest importance, was intrusted to him, jointly with two old officers of established fame; a few months after he was appointed Governor of Cork; and these were his first public employments.

The Irish insurgents having been for the time reduced, he arrived in England towards the end of the year 1581, to seek preferment at the Court. It has been said that he first attracted Elizabeth's notice by a singular sort of compliment: that happening to be near her when she was walking abroad, and met with a marshy spot which she hesitated whether to pass over, he stepped suddenly forward, and taking off his velvet cloak, spread it on the

place for her to tread on. The same light authorities inform us that, shortly after he had thus introduced himself, he wrote with a diamond on a window in one of her private apartments, "Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall;" which coming to her knowledge, she wrote under it, "If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all." Such gallantries were neither inconsistent with the fashion of the time, nor with Elizabeth's taste: whether they really occurred or not, it is certain that she now took him in some measure under her protection; and indeed he possessed all the requisites to captivate her weakness, as well as her deliberate opinion. "He had," says Sir Robert Naunton, "in the outward man a good presence, and well compacted person; a strong natural wit, and a better judgment, with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set out his parts to the best advantage; and to these he had the adjuncts of some general learning, which by diligence he enforced to a great augmentation and perfection; for he was an indefatigable reader, whether by sea or land, and none of the least observers, both of men and the times." These powers he found an opportunity soon after of bringing into action with the happiest effect, on the occasion of a difference which, having occurred during his service in Ireland between himself and the Deputy, Lord Grey of Wilton, had been referred by a Council of War in that country to the Privy Council of England, before which it was heard in the spring of 1583. "I am somewhat confident," adds Naunton, "among the second causes of his growth was the variance between him and my Lord General Grey, in his descent into Ireland, which drew them both over to the Council Table, there to plead their own causes; where what advantage he had in the case in controversy I know not, but he had much the better in the telling of his tale; insomuch as the Queen and the Lords took no slight mark of the man, and his parts; for from thence he came to be known, and to have access to the Lords, and then we are not to doubt how such a man would comply, and learn the way of progression. And whether or no my Lord of Leicester had then cast in a good word for him to the Queen, which would have done no harm, I do not determine; but true it is he had gotten the Queen's ear at a trice, and she began to be taken with his elocution, and loved to hear his reasons to her demands; and the truth is she took him for a kind of oracle, which nettled them all; yea, those that he relied on began to take this his sudden favour for an alarm, and to be sensible of their own supplantation, and to project his."

Whether it was with the view in one who seems not to have abounded in prudence of avoiding these jealousies, or to gratify an inclination to project and enterprise which certainly belonged to his nature, it is now perhaps too late to learn, but Raleigh, in this moment of triumphant favour, and for several succeeding years, seems to have devoted his serious attention exclusively to maritime discovery, and speculation. In 1583 he sailed towards Newfoundland, as Vice Admiral of a fleet of four ships, commanded by his brother Gilbert, one of which he had manned and victualled at his own charge, and named after himself. The expedition was most unfortunate; and Gilbert, with two of his ships, was lost in returning to England; yet in the following year Raleigh laid a plan before the Queen and Council for another, and, by a grant, dated the twenty-fifth of March, 1584, was allowed "free liberty to discover such remote heathen and barbarous lands as were not actually possessed by any Christian, nor inhabited by Christian people." He now fitted out two ships for the Gulph of Florida, and the fruit of the voyage was the discovery of Virginia, which is well known to have then received its name from Elizabeth, and where, at his recommendation, she consented to the planting of an English colony, which in the spring of the following year was dispatched thither under his direction in a fleet of seven sail, commanded by his kinsman, Sir Richard Granville, who on his return captured a Spanish ship worth fifty thousand pounds. Even during this voyage he was actively engaged with Sir Adrian Gilbert, another of his half brothers, in an enterprise to explore the north-west passage, in which those straits which have been denominated from Davis, the ill-fated commander, were first penetrated. In 1586 he fitted out another squadron to Virginia; sent two ships to cruise against the Spaniards, which returned with considerable wealth; and joined George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, in a less successful adventure to the South Seas. In 1587, he was still anxiously engaged in the establishment of the new

colony, his interests in which he soon after assigned, with certain reservations, to several merchants of London; in the succeeding year distinguished himself in the great overthrow of the Spanish Armada; and in 1589 sailed with Norris and Drake to Portugal on the expedition then undertaken to restore Don Antonio to the throne of that country.

While he was thus engaged, favours and distinctions, whether he courted them or not, were lavishly showered on him. In 1584 he obtained the then envied honour of knighthood; was elected to serve in Parliament for his native county, as he was afterwards for Cornwall; and received in that year a patent for licensing the sale of wines throughout the nation, and in the next a grant of twelve thousand acres in the counties of Cork and Waterford. In 1586 he was appointed Seneschal of the Duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and, a few months after, Captain, that is to say Commander, of the Queen's Guard. Great estates in the western counties were afterwards bestowed on him by Elizabeth, particularly the manor of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, where he built, says Coker, in his Survey of that County, "in a park adjoining to the castle, out of the ground, a most fine house, which he beautified with orchards, gardens, and groves, of much variety and delight." In the mean time his public and private conduct seem to have been marked by the most perfect independence: he neither led nor served any party; nor do we discover a single instance of his having used that influence which he certainly possessed over the affections of Elizabeth to any unworthy end, nor of his having endeavoured to increase, or even to maintain it by adulation or servile compliance. On the contrary, his professions, and indeed his practices, were not unfrequently in opposition to her religious or political notions. In receding contemptuously from the ridiculous complexities of school divinity, he is said to have fallen into contrary errors, and to have become a sceptic, if not a deist. The Queen reasoned with him on these subjects, and censured his opinions with sharpness, but he disdained to disavow them. He defended the learned puritan Udal, who had libelled the Hierarchy with the most virulent bitterness, and, when that minister was therefore condemned for high treason, interfered successfully to save his life. His interest seems indeed to have been continually exerted in the service of others, and we are told that Elizabeth once said to him, alluding to the frequency of such his requests, "When, Sir Walter, will you cease to be a beggar?" to which he answered, "When your Majesty shall cease to be beneficent."

In 1592 he sailed again on an expedition against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, with a strong force, raised by himself and others, to which Elizabeth added two of her best ships of war. It was prevented by storms from reaching its destination, and he returned, but his shattered fleet after his departure captured a Portuguese carrack, said to have been the richest prize that had ever been brought to England. The discovery of his amour with Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of the Queen's maids of honour, occurred just at this period, an offence which, though he made the best atonement in his power by marrying the lady, Elizabeth punished by imprisoning them in the Tower for many months. It should seem that this severity was dictated rather by prudence, and a sense of propriety, than by resentment, for he certainly received eminent proofs of the Queen's favour immediately after his liberation, yet it is held by several writers that the umbrage into which he fell on this occasion determined him once more to quit England, while others, with perhaps as little reason, ascribe that resolution to the envy and jealousy by which he was assailed at home. It is highly probable that his motive was simply the acquisition of wealth to support his enormous expences, for no man of his time surpassed him in magnificence. He tilted in silver armour, wearing a sword and belt set with diamonds, rubies, and pearls; appeared at Court on solemn occasions, covered with jewels, nearly to the value of seventy thousand pounds; and his retinue and table were maintained with proportionate splendour. It is in perfect agreement with a just notion of Raleigh's character to suppose that he wished to owe these luxuries to his own exertions, and his choice of the country to which he now directed his speculations tends in no small degree to favour that conjecture.

He had long contemplated the full discovery of Guiana, in South America, and in the spring of 1594 dispatched a trusty person thither, on whose favourable report he sailed in

the following February, and returning in August, 1595, described to Elizabeth in the most glowing colours the inexhaustible riches of the soil, on which he besought her to plant a colony. She refused, but to console him for the disappointment, named him Admiral in the expedition of the next year, which ended in the capture of Cadiz, and also in that of the summer of 1597, which is so largely treated of by most of our historians, under the name of the Island Voyage. In both those enterprises Essex had the chief command, and it was in the latter that an unhappy discord arose between these great men, which perhaps accelerated the fall of the one, and was certainly pregnant with the more distant fate of the other. It was clear that the success of the plan had been sacrificed to their envious rivalry, and their misconduct was discussed at home with unusual freedom. They returned, overflowing with mutual reproaches, to the disgraceful consolations usually sought by men so circumstanced; Essex to become the leader of a senseless mob, and Raleigh to resign his independence into the hands of a minister of state. Tempted by views of gratifying his resentment, this great man became a dupe to the artifices of Cecil, who cherished him for the hour as a willing instrument to thwart the ambition, and undermine the favour, of Essex. Of his willingness we have indeed subsequently too frightful a proof in a letter that has been more than once printed, written by him to the Secretary after Essex had been made prisoner, from which, amidst some ambiguity of expression, it may be inferred that he thirsted for the blood of that unhappy favourite. Raleigh was now flattered by moderate favours, and cajoled by splendid hopes. The management in the House of Commons of affairs in which the Crown was peculiarly interested seems to have been committed chiefly to him during the remainder of this reign: He obtained in 1598 a grant of the pre-emption of Cornish tin, a privilege of great lucre; was sent Ambassador to Flanders, with Lord Cobham, in the summer of 1600; and in the autumn of that year was appointed Governor of Jersey. Meanwhile he was fallaciously encouraged to expect the great and arduous post of Deputy of Ireland, and the dignity of a Baron.

But Cecil's sole purpose was at length accomplished. Essex had been finally disposed of, and Raleigh in his turn became an object of jealousy and fear. His fortune now hung on the slender thread that supported the life of Elizabeth, for he was too firmly fixed in her favour to be shaken by any effort of malice or intrigue while he remained her servant; but Cecil had not neglected to infuse bitter prejudices against him into the mean and timid mind of her successor, who on mounting the throne received him with coolness, and soon after dismissed him from his employments. Raleigh, in searching for the motives to this indignity, detected the wicked baseness of the Secretary, and, in the first moments of a generous irritation, presented a memorial against him to the King, in which, among many other heavy accusations, he denounced Cecil as a main instrument in causing the death of the unfortunate Mary. The intelligence was received by James with indifference, but it naturally changed the aversion of Cecil into the deepest hatred; while Raleigh, deceived, persecuted, and threatened, by the minister, and neglected by the King, threw himself into the arms of a small party, headed by two noblemen, distinguished only by their bitterness against James and his countrymen. With these, Brook, Lord Cobham, and Thomas Lord Grey de Wilton, he certainly in some measure engaged in that conspiracy to place Arabella Stuart on the throne, the singular extravagancy of which is familiar to all readers of English history, but how far short his offence fell of treason, his trial, which took place at Winchester, on the seventeenth of November, 1603, will abundantly prove. The utter deficiency of evidence in support of the charge; the courage, candour, and ready wit and judgement, displayed by himself; and the brutal speeches of Coke, the Attorney General; combine to render that document a record of one of the most curious and interesting juridical processes on record. He was however found guilty by a jury more barbarous even than his prosecutors, for when the verdict was communicated to Coke, who happened not to be in the court when it was delivered, he exclaimed to the messenger, "surely thou art mistaken, for I myself accused him but of misprision of treason." He received sentence, and remained at Winchester in daily expectation of death for about a month, during which he appealed to James's mercy, and on the fifteenth of December received a reprieve, and

was removed to the Tower, where he continued a prisoner for twelve years. There it is well known that he became an historian, a philosopher, and a poet, and raised a fame for almost universal science equal to his former reputation for arms and enterprize. The severity of his imprisonment was from time to time slackened, and on the twenty-fifth of March, 1616, he was at length released, on the intercession of the new favourite, Villiers, some of whose retainers had been bribed by a large sum to move their master to that end. Stripped of his estates by attainder, the sport of his enemies, and timidly abandoned by his friends, nothing now remained to this great man but his admirable powers of mind and body, and that spirit of boundless activity which had ever distinguished both, and which the severity of his fortune had left wholly unimpaired. He was no sooner at large than he undertook a new voyage to Guiana, and James, tempted by the prospect of boundless wealth, readily granted him on the twenty-sixth of August following, a commission, under the Great Seal, of Admiral. Raleigh, rendered cautious by injustice and calamity, was desirous to obtain a specific pardon before his departure, and consulted his friend Bacon, then Lord Keeper, who fatally assured him that his commission might always be pleaded fully to that effect. After long preparation, and an expense of more than ten thousand pounds, collected with the utmost difficulty, he sailed on the twenty-eighth of March, 1617. Treachery and cowardice combined to blast, together with the views of his expedition, all his future hopes. Through the vigilance and artifice of Gondamor, Ambassador from Madrid, and the base pusillanimity of James, his design was betrayed to the Spaniards at Guiana before his arrival, and he found a superior force in full array to receive him. He attempted to force a passage, and was defeated. "Never," says he, in a narrative which he published after his return, "was poor man so exposed to the slaughter as I was: for, being commanded by my allegiance to set down not only the country, but the very river by which I was to enter it; to name my ship's number, men, and my artillery; this was sent by the Spanish Ambassador to his master, the King of Spain:" nor was this the partial complaint of a disappointed and enraged commander, for the history of that time abounds in evidences of the justice of his charge. In this unhappy warfare his eldest son fell, bravely fighting. The news of his discomfiture reached London, and the terrified James instantly issued a proclamation, declaring that he had in his original orders to Raleigh, expressly prohibited any act of hostility against the Spaniards, and threatening a severe punishment. Raleigh arrived at Plymouth a few days after; was arrested on his road to London; and, after two attempts to escape, was, on the tenth of August, once more closely imprisoned in the Tower. It is unnecessary to stain these pages with a detail of the monstrous perversions of law, and justice, and humanity, under the pretext of which the blood of this admirable person was shed, for it may be found in every general history of his country. After the solemn mockery of a conference held by all the Judges, he was, on the twenty-eighth of October, brought to the King's Bench bar, and required to say why execution of the sentence passed on him fifteen years before should not now be awarded; defended himself with a vigour of argument, and beauty of eloquence, which astonished all who heard him; and was the next day, under the authority of a special warrant signed by the King, beheaded in Old Palace Yard, Westminster.

To give an ample and correct view of the infinitely diversified character of Raleigh would double the extent of these pages. A general idea of the wonderful powers which distinguished it may perhaps be best conveyed by a few words of Anthony Wood, delivered with his usual conciseness and simplicity. "Authors are perplexed," says Wood, "under what topic to place him; whether of statesman, seaman, soldier, chemist, or chronologer, for in all these he did excel; and it still remains a dispute whether the age he lived in was more obliged to his pen or his sword, the one being busy in conquering the new, the other in so bravely describing the old world. The truth is, he was unfortunate in nothing else but the greatness of his wit and advancement. His eminent worth was such, both in domestic polity, foreign expeditions and discoveries, arts and literature, both practive and contemplative, that they seemed at once to conquer both example and imitation. Those that knew him well esteemed him to be a person born to that only which he went about,

so dexterous was he in all or most of his undertakings, in court, in camp, by sea, by land; with sword, with pen." For an estimate of the profound learning and exquisite genius which he displayed in various branches of literature, let me appeal to a few pages prefixed to a very late publication of his scattered poems, in which the strictest truth of criticism is adorned by the utmost force and beauty of expression. On the whole, it is not too much to say that Raleigh was the most eminent man of the age in which he lived; an age enlightened by his talents, and perhaps improved by his example, for he descended to the grave with an exactness of moral reputation, not only unstained, but, with the single exception lately referred to, wholly unsuspected.

The printed productions of his pen which we have the good fortune to possess, for some of his works remain yet unpublished, are his celebrated History of the World—A Relation of the Discovery of Guiana, presented to Queen Elizabeth—Notes of Direction for the Defence of the Kingdom in 1588—The Prerogative of Parliament in England, proved in a dialogue between a Counsellor of State and a Justice of Peace—Instructions to his Son, and Posterity—The History of Mahomet—The Prince, or Maxims of State, republished, with the title of "Aphorisms of State"—The Sceptic, or Speculations—Observations on the Magnificence and Opulency of Cities—The State of Government—Letters to the King, and others of Quality—A Dialogue between a Jesuit and a Recusant—Observations on the Inventions of Shipping, and Sea Service—Apology for his last Voyage to Guiana—Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollanders—The Cabinet Council, containing the Chief Arts and Mysteries of State—An Historical and Geographical Description of the Great Country and River of the Amazons—Wars with Foreign Princes dangerous to our Commonwealth, or Reasons for Foreign Wars answered—Speeches and Arguments in several Parliaments towards the end of Elizabeth's reign—The Son's Advice to his Father—and the Collection of his poetical pieces lately referred to. Most of the smaller tracts here mentioned were collected by Dr. Birch, and republished in 1751, in two volumes.

Sir Walter Raleigh, as has been already said, married Elizabeth, a daughter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, alias Carew, of Beddington, in Surrey. He had by her two sons; Walter, unmarried, who was killed, as has been already said, by the Spaniards in South America; and Carew. As the subsequent issue of Raleigh has, I believe, never yet been publicly noticed, some extended account of it here may be desirable. Carew married Philippa, daughter of . . . . . Weston, and relict of Sir Anthony Ashley. By that lady he had three daughters, of whom Elizabeth and Mary died spinsters, and Anne, the youngest, became the wife of Sir Peter Tyrrel, of Castlethorpe, in Bucks; and two sons, of whom Walter, the elder, who was seated at West Horsley, in Surrey, an estate which had been purchased by his father, and was knighted soon after the restoration, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Rogers of Sandwell, in Gloucestershire, and left by her three daughters, his coheirs; Elizabeth, wife of Sir John Elwes, Knt.; Philippa, of Oliver Wicks, of Tortington, in Sussex; and Anne, married to William Knight, of Barrels, in the county of Warwick. Philip, the second son of Carew Raleigh, whom I find styled of London, and of Teuchley Meer, in Surrey, married Frances, daughter of a Mr. Granville, of Foscot in Buckinghamshire, and had by her four sons, Walter, Brudenel, Granville, and Carew; and three daughters; Frances, Anne, and Elizabeth. Most of them were living in 1695, in which year all the daughters were unmarried. At that period our intelligence ceases.

John Graham, Viscount of Dundee.

From the original of Sir Peter Leby in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Strathmore.

Drawn by Wm. Hilton, A.R.A. & Engraved (with Permission) by J. S. Agar.

London, Published July 1. 1818, by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mayor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

JOHN GRAHAM,

FIRST VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE.

THIS remarkable man, whose name can never be forgotten while military skill and prowess, and the most loyal and active fidelity to an almost hopeless cause, shall challenge recollection, was the eldest son of Sir William Graham, of Claverhouse, in the County of Forfar, by Jane, fourth daughter of John Carnegy, first Earl of Northesk. His family was a scion which branched off from the ancient stock of the great House of Montrose, early in the fifteenth century, by the second marriage of William Lord Graham, of Kincardine, to Mary, second daughter of Robert the third, King of Scotland, and had gradually acquired considerable estates, chiefly by the bounty of the Crown. He received his education in the University of St. Andrews, which he left to seek on the continent the more polished qualifications of a private gentleman of large fortune, the sphere to which he seemed to have been destined. In France, however, the latent fire of his character broke forth; he entered as a volunteer into the army of Louis the fourteenth; and having presently determined to adopt the military profession, accepted in 1672 a commission of Cornet in the Horse Guards of William the third, Prince of Orange, by whom, in the summer of 1674, he was promoted to be Captain of a troop, for his signal gallantry at the battle of Seneff, in which indeed he saved the life of that Prince by a personal effort. He asked soon after for the command of one of the Scottish regiments in the Dutch service, and, strange to tell, was refused, on which he threw up his commission, making the cutting remark that "the soldier who has not gratitude cannot be brave," and returned to England, bringing with him, however, the warmest recommendations from William to Charles the second; and Charles, who had been just then misadvised to subdue the obstinacy of the Scottish covenanters by force of arms, appointed him to lead a body of horse which had been raised in Scotland for that purpose, and gave him full powers to act as he might think fit against them, although under the nominal command of the Duke of Monmouth. His conduct in the performance of this impolitic and cruel commission has left a stain on his memory scarcely to be glossed over by the brilliancy of his subsequent merits. Bred from his infancy in an enthusiastic veneration to monarchy, and to the established church, his hatred to the whigs, as they were then called in Scotland, was almost a part of his nature; and, under the influence of a temper which never allowed him to be lukewarm in any pursuit, his zeal degenerated on this occasion with a frightful facility into a spirit of persecution. He watched and dispersed, with the most severe vigilance, the devotional meetings of those perverse and miserable sectaries, and forced thousands of them to subscribe, at the point of the sword, to an oath utterly subversive of the doctrines which they most cherished. But this was not the worst. On the first of July, 1679, having attacked a conventicle on Loudoun Hill, in Ayrshire, the neighbouring peasants rose suddenly on a detachment of his troops, and, with that almost supernatural power which a pure thirst of vengeance alone will sometimes confer on mere physical force, defeated them with considerable loss. The fancied disgrace annexed to this check raised Graham's fury to the highest pitch, and he permitted himself to retaliate on the unarmed whigs by cruelties inconsistent with the character of a brave man. The track of his march was now uniformly marked by carnage; the refusal of his test was punished with instant death; and the practice of these horrible excesses, which was continued for some months, procured for him the appellation of "bloody Claverhouse;" by which he is still occasionally mentioned in that

part of Scotland. He apologized for these horrors by coldly remarking that "if terror ended or prevented war it was true mercy."

It may be concluded that this intemperance had the full approbation of the Crown, for we find that he was appointed in 1682 Sheriff of the Shire of Wigton; received soon after a commission of Captain in what was called the Royal Regiment of Horse; was sworn a Privy Counsellor in Scotland; and had a grant from the King of the Castle of Dudhope, and the office of Constable of Dundee. Nor was it less acceptable, such is the rage of party, especially when excited by religious discord, to the Scottish Episcopalians, who from that time seemed to have reposed in him the highest confidence. James, however, in forming on his accession a new Privy Council for that country, was prevailed on to omit his name, on the ground of his having connected himself in marriage with the fanatical family of Cochrane, Earl of Dundonald, but that umbrage was soon removed, and in 1686 he was restored to his seat in the Council, and appointed a Brigadier General; in 1688 promoted to the rank of Major General; and, on the twelfth of November in that year, created by patent to him, and the heirs male of his body, with remainder, in default of such issue, to his other heirs male, Viscount of Dundee, and Baron Graham of Claverhouse, in Scotland. The gift of these dignities was in fact the concluding act of James's expiring government. Graham, who was then attending that unhappy Prince in London, used every effort that good sense and high spirit could suggest, to induce him to remain in his capital, and await there with dignified firmness the arrival of the Prince of Orange; undertaking for himself to collect, with that promptitude which was almost peculiar to him, ten thousand of the King's disbanded troops, and at their head to annihilate the Dutch forces which William had brought with him. Perhaps there existed not on the face of the earth another man so likely to redeem such an engagement, but James, depressed and irresolute, refused the offer. Struck, however, with the zeal and bravery, and indeed with the personal affection, which had dictated it, he intrusted to Dundee the direction of all his military affairs in Scotland, whither that nobleman repaired just at the time that James fled from London.

When he arrived at Edinburgh he found a Convention sitting, as in London, of the Estates of the country, in which he took his place. He complained to that assembly that a design had been formed to assassinate him; required that all strangers should be removed from the town; and, his request having been denied, he left Edinburgh at the head of a troop of horse which he had hastily formed there of soldiers who had deserted in England from his own regiment. In the short interval afforded by the discussion of this matter he formed his plans. After a conference with the Duke of Gordon, who then held the castle for James, he set out for Stirling, where he called a Parliament of the friends of that Prince, and the revolutionists in Scotland saw their influence, even within a few days, dispelled, as it were by magic, in obedience to his powerful energies. He was, in a manner, without troops, depending on the affections of those around him, which he had heated to enthusiasm, when a force sent by the Convention to seize his person seemed to remind him that he must have an army. He retired therefore into Lochaber; summoned a meeting of the chiefs of clans in the Highlands, and presently found himself at the head of six thousand of the hardy natives, well armed and accoutred. He now wrote to James, who, in compliance with French counsels, was wasting his time and means in Ireland, conjuring him to embark, with a part of his army, for Scotland, "where," as he told the King, "there were no regular troops, except four regiments, which William had lately sent down; where his presence would fix the wavering, and intimidate the timid; and where hosts of shepherds would start up warriors at the first wave of his banner upon their mountains." With the candour and plainness of a soldier and a faithful servant, he besought James to be content with the exercise of his own religion, and to leave in Ireland the Earl of Melfort, Secretary of State, between whom and himself some jealousy existed which might be prejudicial to a service in which they were alike devotedly sincere, however they might differ as to the best means of advancing it. James rejected his advice. "Dundee was furnished," says Burnet, "with some small store of arms and ammunition, and had kind promises, encouraging him, and all that joined with him."

Left now to his own discretion, and his own resources, he displayed, together with the greatest military qualifications, and the most exalted generosity and disinterestedness, all the subtlety of a refined politician. On his arrival at Inverness he found that a discord had long subsisted between the people of the town and some neighbouring chiefs, on an alledged debt from the one to the other, and that the two parties, with their dependants, had assembled in arms to decide the quarrel. He heard the allegations of the principals on each side, with an affectation of the exactness of judicial enquiry, and then, having convened the entire mass of the conflicting parties in public, reproached them with the most cutting severity, that they, " who were all equally friends to King James, should be preparing, at a time when he most needed their friendship, to draw those daggers against each other which ought to be plunged only into the breasts of his enemies." He then paid from his own purse the debt in dispute, and the late litigants, charmed by the grandeur of his conduct, instantly placed themselves in a cordial union under his banner. To certain other chiefs, upon whose estates the Earl of Argyle, who sought to restore his importance by attaching himself to the revolutionary party, had ancient claims in law, and to others, who had obtained grants from the Crown of some of that nobleman's forfeited lands, he represented the peril in which they would be placed by the success of William's enterprise on the British throne, and gained them readily to his beloved cause. He addressed himself with signal effect to all the powerful men of the north of Scotland; fomented the angry feelings of those who thought themselves neglected by the new government; flattered the vanity of those who, indifferent to the affairs of either party, sought simply for power and importance; corrupted several officers of the regiments which were in preparation to be sent against him; and even managed to maintain a constant correspondence with some members of the Privy Council, by whom he was regularly apprised of the plans contrived from time to time to counteract his gigantic efforts. Nay, he contrived to detach, as it were in a moment, from Lord Murray, heir to the Earl of Athol, a body of a thousand men, raised by that nobleman on his father's estates; a defection of Highland vassals which had never till then occurred. " While Murray," says my author, " was reviewing them, they quitted their ranks; ran to an adjoining brook; filled their bonnets with water; drank to King James's health; and, with pipes playing, marched off to Lord Dundee."

So acute and experienced a commander as William could not be long unconscious of the importance of such an enemy. He dispatched into Scotland, at the head of between five and six thousand picked troops, General M'Kay, who had long served him in Holland with the highest military reputation. In the mean time, James, who had been apprised of this disposition, sent orders to Dundee not to hazard a battle till the arrival of a force from Ireland, which he now promised. Two months however elapsed before it appeared, which Dundee, burning with impatience, was necessitated to pass in the mountains, in marches of unexampled rapidity, in furious partial attacks, and masterly retreats. It has been well said of him that " the first messenger of his approach was generally his own army in fight, and that the first intelligence of his retreat brought accounts that he was already out of his enemy's reach." The long expected aid at length arrived, in the last week of June, 1689, consisting only of five hundred raw and ill-provided recruits, but he instantly made ready for action. He advanced to meet M'Kay, who was preparing to invest the Castle of Blair in Athol, a fortress the possession whereof enabled James's army to maintain a free communication between the northern and southern Highlands, and determined to attack William's troops on a small plain at the mouth of the pass of Killicranky, after they should have marched through that remarkable defile, on their road to Blair. On the sixteenth of July, at noon, M'Kay's army arrived on the plain, and discovered Dundee in array on the opposite hills. He had resolved, for reasons abounding with military genius, to defer his onset till the evening, and M'Kay by various expedients vainly tempted him during the day to descend: at length, half an hour before sunset, his Highlanders rushed down, with the celerity and the fury of lions, and William's army was in an instant completely routed. Dundee, who had fought on foot, now mounted his

horse, and flew towards the pass to cut off their retreat, when, looking back, he found that he had outstript his men, and was nearly alone. He halted, and, waving his arm in the air, pointed to the pass, as a signal to them to hasten their march, and to occupy it. At that moment a ball from a musquet aimed at him lodged in his body, immediately under the arm so raised. He fell from his horse, and, fainting, was carried off the field; but, soon after recovering his senses for a few seconds, he hastily enquired "how things went," and on being answered "all was well," "then," said he, "I am well," and expired. William, on hearing of his death, said, "the war in Scotland is now ended."

The memory of this heroic partisan has been cherished in the hearts, and celebrated by the pens, of numbers of his countrymen. A poet thus pathetically addresses his shade, and bewails the loss sustained by Scotland in his death—

"Ultime Scotorum, potuit quo sospite solo
Libertas patriæ salva fuisse tuæ.
Te moriente novos accepit Scotia cives,
Accepitque novos te moriente Deos.
Illa tibi superesse negat, tu non potes illi,
Ergo Caledonia, nomen inane, vale!
Tuque vale gentis prisce fortissime ductor,
Optime Scotorum atque ultime, Grame, vale!"

And Sir John Dalrymple has left us some particulars of his military character exquisitely curious and interesting. "In his marches," says that author, "his men frequently wanted bread, salt, and all liquors except water, during several weeks, yet were ashamed to complain, when they observed that their commander lived not more delicately than themselves. If anything good was brought him to eat, he sent it to a faint or sick soldier. If a soldier was weary he offered to carry his arms. He kept those who were with him from sinking under their fatigues, not so much by exhortation as by preventing them from attending to their sufferings: for this reason he walked on foot with the men; now by the side of one clan, and anon by that of another: He amused them with jokes; he flattered them with his knowledge of their genealogies; he animated them by a recital of the deeds of their ancestors, and of the verses of their bards. It was one of his maxims that no General should fight with an irregular army, unless he was acquainted with every man he commanded. Yet, with these habits of familiarity, the severity of his discipline was dreadful: the only punishment he inflicted was death. All other punishments, he said, disgraced a gentleman, and all who were with him were of that rank; but that death was a relief from the consciousness of crime. It is reported of him that having seen a youth fly in his first action, he pretended he had sent him to the rear on a message. The youth fled a second time—He brought him to the front of the army, and saying that 'a gentleman's son ought not to fall by the hands of a common executioner,' shot him with his own pistol."

In society he is said to have been as much distinguished by a delicacy and softness of manners and temper, and by the most refined politeness, as he was by his sternness in war. The anonymous author of a very lately published Scottish tale, in which facts and fiction are blended with an uncommon felicity, gives us the following picture of his person and demeanour, evidently not the work of fancy, and probably in substance the result of respectable and inveterate tradition.

"Graham of Claverhouse was rather low of stature, and slightly, though elegantly, formed; his gesture, language, and manners, were those of one whose life had been spent among the noble and the gay. His features exhibited even feminine regularity. An oval face, a straight and well formed nose, dark hazel eyes, a complexion just sufficiently tinged with brown to save it from the charge of effeminacy, a short upper lip, curved upwards like that of a Grecian statue, and slightly shaded by small mustachios of light brown, joined to a profusion of long curled locks of the same colour, which fell down on each side of his face, contributed to form such a countenance as limners like to paint, and ladies to look upon. The severity of his character, as well as the higher attributes of undaunted and enterprising valour which even his enemies were compelled to admit,

lay concealed under an exterior which seemed adapted to the court or the saloon rather than to the field. The same gentleness and gaiety of expression which reigned in his features seemed to inspire his actions and gestures; and, on the whole, he was generally esteemed, at first sight, rather qualified to be the votary of pleasure than of ambition. But under this soft exterior was hidden a spirit unbounded in daring and in aspiring, yet cautious and prudent as that of Machiavel himself. Profound in politics, and imbued, of course, with that disregard for individual rights which its intrigues usually generate, this leader was cool in pursuing success, careless of death himself, and ruthless in inflicting it upon others. Such are the characters formed in times of civil discord, when the highest qualities, perverted by party spirit, and inflamed by habitual opposition, are too often combined with vices and excesses which deprive them at once of their merit and of their lustre."

Lord Dundee married Jane, third and youngest daughter of William Lord Cochrane, eldest son of William, first Earl of Dundonald, by whom he had an only child, James, who succeeded to the titles of his father, and survived him but for a few months.

George Gordon, Second Marquis of Huntley.

From the original of Vandyke, in the Collection of

Her Grace The Dowager Duchess of Buccleuch.

Drawn by R.W. Satchwell. & Engraved, with Permission, by R. Cooper.

London, Published Feb. 3.1818. by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

GEORGE GORDON,

SECOND MARQUIS OF HUNTLY.

THIS nobleman was one of the many exalted persons whom a firm and honest attachment to the established government of their country had drawn from a splendid privacy to serve Charles the first in the field. He appears to have taken no concern in the political affairs of the time, nor to have possessed more than an ordinary share of the royal confidence or affection. The earlier part of his life had passed little distinguished from those of others of his eminent rank, and the latter affords few circumstances of rare occurrence in the history of a military leader, a character in which perfect fidelity to the cause which he serves, and untarnished honour in his conduct in that, and in all others, are necessarily supposed.

He was the eldest son of George, sixth Earl of Huntly, whom James the sixth raised to the dignity of Marquis in 1599, by Henrietta, eldest daughter of Esme Stuart, Duke of Lenox. In his youth, but after his marriage, he had entered into the service of Louis the thirteenth of France, in whose army he commanded, in 1624, a company, which I find designated the Scottish gens d'armes, and which seems to have been in great measure formed by himself, since we are told that he carried with him from his own country "a party of gallant young gentlemen, well appointed." He remained long in France, and, during his stay there, was created Viscount of Aboyne, with remainder, after his death, or succession to his father's titles, to his second son; nor did he return to Scotland till the autumn of 1636, shortly after the death of his father. The unhappy contest on ecclesiastical questions which soon after produced the Scottish covenant and rebellion had then arisen to a formidable height, and the Marquis, on his arrival, instantly ranged himself with the defenders of the established church. At length, in the beginning of the year 1639, the covenanters appeared in arms, under the command of David Lesley, whom they had elected their General, and Huntly flew to Aberdeen, and placed himself at the head of the citizens, who were already in array to oppose them. The great and excellent Earl of Montrose, who in the beginning of the troubles had attached himself to the malcontent party, was now dispatched by Lesley to raise troops in that part of the country, and to attack the Marquis, who, on the appearance of Montrose's superior force, proposed to surrender the town, under articles of capitulation which were accepted. These, however, from motives now unknown, he revoked the next day; surrendered at discretion; and was led to Edinburgh, together with his heir, the Lord Gordon, and imprisoned in the castle; having suffered the mortification before his departure of seeing his second son, the Lord Aboyne, subscribe to the covenant.

The term of their imprisonment, which appears to have been intended rather as a proof of the power and resolution of the rebels than as a caution or punishment, little exceeded two months, and the Marquis on being released retired into the country, where he remained, apparently unconcerned in public affairs, till the commencement of the year 1644, when, having received a commission from the King constituting him his Majesty's Lieutenant in the north of Scotland, he raised his vassals and tenants, and suddenly appeared again in arms. This demonstration seems to have excited much anxiety in the covenanters. A convention of the disaffected estates was called at Edinburgh, and the Marquis of Argyll was directed to raise three regiments with all practicable speed, and to attack Huntly, against whom, and several of his adherents, the assembly issued a sentence of excommunication. Argyll performed his task with a spirit and expedition which enabled him to appear, even unexpectedly, with a superior force in the sight of the little army of Huntly, who immediately disbanded his men, and retired, "privately," as my authority expresses it, to Strathnaver, where he remained for some time with the Lord Reay. Huntly's conduct on this occasion did not escape without blame. One of his

clan, the Laird of Haddo, an ancestor of the Earls of Aberdeen, and a chief perhaps more fierce than prudent, insisted that Argyll's attack ought to have been withstood; threw himself into his castle, with such soldiers as he could keep together; and defended it with great bravery, till he was put into the hands of the enemy by his own treacherous garrison.

In the mean time the Lord Gordon had exerted himself with even more than the usual ardour and generosity of his years. He had attached himself to the Marquis of Montrose, who, having quitted a party, the wickedness of whose designs had filled him with horror, was now firmly rivetted to the royal cause. He joined Montrose, in February, 1645, with many adherents, at the commencement of a series of victories gained by that nobleman over the covenanters, and, as well by his amiable manners and excellent talents as by his signal bravery, had acquired Montrose's perfect esteem, when, on the second of the following July, he fell, fighting by the side of his illustrious patron, in the battle of Alford. Between that great commander, however, and the Marquis of Huntly little cordiality seems to have subsisted. In the autumn of that year we find Huntly availing himself of the commission which, as has been stated, he had received from the King in 1644 to thwart the measures and weaken the authority of Montrose, who, after long and fruitless endeavours to obtain his aid, was necessitated to leave him in inactivity, and to depend on his own resources. The conduct of Huntly on these occasions, however otherwise blameable, was in no degree tinctured by disloyalty; for, it was immediately after this period that Charles, having fatally put himself into the hands of the covenanters, was compelled by them to command his faithful servants in Scotland to lay down their arms, an order which the Marquis refused to obey while the King was in the power of his rebellious subjects. Such indeed was the opinion held of his fidelity by the English Parliament that in the propositions which were in the following year offered to his Majesty by commissioners from that assembly Huntly's name was inserted among those whom he was required specially to except from pardon, and this was one of the articles which Charles positively rejected.

It is too well known that in the succeeding January the Scottish puritans sold their King, who had so lately put himself under their protection, for a sum of money to his English rebels. So monstrous a stroke paralysed, as might reasonably be expected, the efforts of his yet faithful friends. Among these, Huntly and his band were driven into the Highlands, and the Marquis, with a few of his relations, having retired to the northernmost part of that country, wrote to Lesley to request him to intercede for permission that they might remove themselves out of the kingdom. This boon was refused; his castles were plundered, and afterwards garrisoned by the rebels; and, having wandered for six months in a country the natural desolation of which had been heightened by the ravages of war, he was seized in Strathnaver, where he had for some weeks concealed himself, and led a prisoner to Edinburgh. Here the Committee of the Estates, as it was called, was then sitting, and the question was proposed without delay, whether he should be immediately put to death, or respited till the meeting of Parliament? The Marquis of Argyll, being his brother-in-law, had the decency to withdraw before the division, in which it was determined by a single voice that his life should be spared for the time. He remained a close prisoner from the month of December, 1647, till the sixteenth of March, 1649, when he was brought to a trial, and condemned to suffer death, and on the twenty-second of that month was beheaded at the market cross of Edinburgh.

This nobleman married Anne, eldest daughter of Archibald Campbell, seventh Earl of Argyll, by whom he had five sons, and as many daughters. George, his eldest son, fell, as has been already said, in the field of battle; the second, James, Viscount of Aboyne, died unmarried not long before his father; Lewis, the third son, succeeded to the titles of Marquis of Huntly, &c.; Charles, the fourth, was created Earl of Aboyne in 1660; and Henry passed his life in the military service of the King of Poland. Of the daughters, Anne was married to James Drummond, third Earl of Perth; Henrietta, first to George, Lord Seton, and, secondly, to John Stewart, second Earl of Traquair; Jane, to Thomas Hamilton, second Earl of Haddington; Mary, was wife of Alexander Irvine, of Drum; and Catherine, of Count Morstain, High Treasurer of Poland.

FRANCES HOWARD,

DUCHESS OF RICHMOND,

WAS the only child of Thomas, Viscount Bindon (second of the sons who attained to manhood, of Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, and brother to the celebrated Henry, Earl of Surrey) by his third wife, Mabel, daughter of Nicholas Burton, of Carshalton, in Surrey. The beauty of this lady has been highly celebrated, and her vanities and eccentricities abundantly censured. She was born about the year 1578, and became, at an early age, under the influence of one of those extravagant predilections so frequent in youth, the wife of a person certainly of unsuitable rank. In this marriage originated much of the ridicule which has been levelled at her character, and, as ridicule always deals in exaggeration, the condition of her first husband has been sunk by wilful misrepresentation to utter baseness. Whenever her name is mentioned his is sure to be coupled with it, and the description usually bestowed on him is "one Prannel, a vintner's son," for some have gone farther, and asserted that his father was a mere alehouse-keeper; but the truth is that his father, Henry Prannel, was an alderman of London, and in a time too when none but the most respectable of the commercial order were elected to that degree. He had probably obtained his freedom of the city in the vintners' company, and hence this silly slander. Henry, his only son, who had the honour of gaining the hand of this high-born damsel, inherited from him, in 1594, the manors of Berewyk, and Rokey, otherwise Walter Andrews, with other considerable estates in the northern part of Hertfordshire, and these he settled on himself and his wife, and their issue, by a deed of the fourteenth of May, 1597, which fixes with tolerable precision the date of their marriage. Prannel, however, survived little more than two years, and left her childless. He was buried at Barkway, in Herts, on the twelfth of December, 1599.

Such a widow was unlikely to remain long without suitors. She was addressed by many, but her most ardent admirer was Sir George Rodney, a Somersetshire gentleman, possessed of considerable estates, in the prime of life, and highly accomplished. It is but common justice to her memory to say, that he seems from the beginning to have cherished a hopeless flame, since, in a correspondence of a most singular nature, which will presently appear, no hint of reproach is uttered on his part, or of apology on her's; yet it has been said that she at first encouraged him. Howsoever this might have been, certain it is that she disappointed his views by becoming the wife of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, who was at that time more than sixty years of age, and had been already twice married. Rodney, in the wild extravagance of an ungovernable passion, had the temerity to persevere in his suit, and was repulsed with firmness, tempered by a gentleness of manner, vainly contrived, as it should seem, to calm the fury of his temper, and perhaps to conceal his guilty imprudence from all but the Countess and himself. It had no other effect than to raise the tumult of his mind to madness. "Having drunk in too much affection," (to use the words of Arthur Wilson, in his reign of James the first) "and not being able with his reason to digest it, he summoned up his spirits to a most desperate attempt, and, coming to Amesbury, where the Earl and Countess were then resident, to act it, he retired to an inn in the town, shut himself up in a chamber, and wrote a large paper of well-composed verses to the Countess, in his own blood (strange kind of composedness) wherein he bewails and laments his own unhappiness; and, when he had sent them to her, as a sad catastrophe to all his miseries, he ran himself upon his sword, and so

ended that life which he thought death to enjoy, leaving the Countess to a strict remembrance of her inconstancy, and himself a desperate and sad spectacle of frailty." Contemporary transcripts of the verses referred to by Wilson, and of an answer from the Countess, remain in the treasures of the British Museum, unless we ought to doubt their authenticity, for which I can see no sufficient reason; but this must ever remain matter of opinion. If they are genuine, it is needless to say that they demand insertion here: if otherwise, their intrinsic merit might plead some apology for this publication of them.

Sir George Rodney to the Countesse of Hertford.

From one that languisheth in discontent,
Dear Faire, receive this greeting to thee sent;
And still as oft as it is read by thee,
Then with some deep sad sigh remember mee;
When bee thou sure this order I will keepe,
My harte shall bleede as fast as thine shall weepe:
So if in sheddinge tears thou dost not faine,
With drops of blood I'll pay thee tears againe;
To make oure sorrowes somewhat like abound,
That as thy eies so may my hart be drown'd,
In which greife shall bee full, sighes shall be plentie,
And for one sighe of thine, I'le give thee twentie;
And to the audit of thy strange content
Pay interest for the thoughts which thou hast lent;
For too too well my fortunes make me knowe
My hapless Love must worke my overthrowe,
Wherein not death itself can come with paine,
Were not my death made woeful by disdaine;
By which the times may say, by what is donne,
My father had one lost degenerate sonne,
And I shall to the stocke from whence I came,
Behold a blott both to my bloud and name,
Soe much to yield, where in disgrace I prove,
To femall softness, and unfruitfull love.
Confess I doe shame is my best desert,
Plantinge affection on a barren hart.
'Twas nature's sinne thus to commix a mynd
With beautie died in graine so muche unkinde.
No—'twas my fortune's error to vow duty
To one that bears defiance in her beautie.
Sweete poyson; precious wooe; infectious jewell:
Such is a ladie that is faire and cruell.
Howe well could I with ayre, camelion like,
Live happie, and still gazeing on thy cheeke,
In which, forsaken man! mee thinke I see
How goodlie love doth threaten cares to mee.
Why dost thou frowne thus on a kneelinge soule,
Whose faultes in love thou may'st as well controule.—
In love—but oh! that word, I feare,
Is hatefull still both to thy hart and eare.
Am I too meane in ranck? I knowe I am,
Nor can I raise the stocke from whence I came.
I am no Barron's sonne, nor borne so high:
Would I were lower, soe I were not I:
As lowe as envy's wishes could impart,
Soe I could sett my sighes beneath my hart.
Ladie, in breefe, my fates does so intend,
The period of my daies drawes to an end:
The thread of my mortalitie is spunne,
Cancell'd my life, my thread of frailtie runne.
Death stands before my eies, and says my doome
By destinie to die was not yet come;
Tells me I might have liv'd, and tells me truth,
I am not sick yett in my strength of youth;
But says in such a lamentable case
I must not live to overlive disgrace;
And yields strong reasons, for, says death most clearlie,
Such is her pleasure whom thou lov'st most dearlie.
Oh be that wish accomplished, to showe
How it shall bee; but hope alas is vayne
When all my hope is clouded with disdain.
Nor, ladie, dare I blame you, since your choice,
With whome in honour you doe now rejoice,
Is worthie in himselfe, or indeed rather
In beinge sonne to such a worthie father,
Of whom amidst my griefes I have confest
He was of Seymors both the great'st and best.
Oh may his sonne be like him in his life:
Heer's then a husband fitt for such a wife.
Yett, had my father answered his degree,
I might have bin as worthie full as hee;
For I had then bin captive to love's might,
More guided by my hart than by my sight.
Neglect of errour and the hand of heaven
Are meerlie strangers, yett it might have given
Well parted grace to frame a perfect creature,
A constant judgment to a constant feature;
For youth had then been match'd, a goodlie thinge,
Not to the sapless autumne, but the springe.
But O! the time is past, and all too late:
I may lament, but not recall my fate.
Stricte stands the censure which report displays,
That takes from mee the honor of my daies.
Revive my hopes—I cannot sincke in fame,
My reputation lost, disgrac't my name.
In virtue I am wounded, and can have
No glory nowe but in the conqueringe grave.
Sad memory to come this doome may give,
And say hee died that had no hart to live:
Herein my greifes and I shall well agree:
I'le bury them, as they have buried mee:
Thus to thy angry beautie, pretious deare,
A sacrifice of pittie will I reare;
A sacrifice of peace, to end all strife;
As true a hart as ever harboured life.
I may doe't, but my frailetie may forslow't,
And, indeed, 'tis not fitt that you should know't.
No, ladie, no; althoughe I cannot wynne
Your love for suite, to die for love is sinne.
Yet give me leave to singe my former songe:
I am too deeplie wounded to live longe,
Though not to die in hast; but I protest,
If death could make you thinke I lov'd you best,
Would I were dead, that you alone might knowe
Howe much to you I did both vowe and owe.
I strive in vaine: my miseries are such
That all I doe or write is all too much.

FRANCES HOWARD, DUCHESS OF RICHMOND.

My wish I have, if I be understood,
Willing to seale my meaning with my blood.
Faire, doe not frett, nor yett at all be mov'd,
That I have thus unfortunatlie lov'd;
Nor thinke herein report disgracefull for thee;
Heaven knowes I ever thought myselfe unworthie.
Yett, if you have a thought to cast away,
Cast it on mee, and soe you may repay
My service with some ease, and I in mynde
Commend that pittie I could never finde.
Thus ever bee, as you are, ever fair:
Rest you in much content; I in dispaire.

The Countesse's Answere.

Divided in your sorrowes, I have strove
To pittie that attemp I must not love,
For which your health you sent me (sith in vaine,
Because I could not keepe) returnes againe.
Soe nowe the case betweene us twoe thus stands,
My present state, and your mishappe, commands:
Wherein what should I say but what I see?
Impute the faultes to destinee, not mee.
Poore is the part of beautie I enjoy,
If where it winnes one it must one destroy.
Small cause have I, the owner, to rejoyce,
That cannot take free passage in my choyce;
But, for the fruitless paintinge of my cheekes,
Must still become a slave to him that seekes,
Or be term'd cruell, or, which is farre worse,
Of death or bloudshedd undergoe the curse:
Soe if one desperate in madnesse do it,
Not yeildinge, I am accessarie to it.
Is bondage then the happinesse attends
On those whome evene one for faire commends?
Then surelie better much it is to bee,
Rather than faire, in thraldome borne and free:
But this I need not pleade, since beautie's mirror
Occasions not your suite, but your own error;
And some such men there are, in whome opinion
Of what doth seeme, not is, hath most dominion:
Those onlie that for excellent doe seeme
What is not soe, indeed, but in esteeme,
Which, though I will not tax for lust in any,
Yett very lust, no doubt, it is in many;
For uncompounded love, pure and refin'd,
Is a moste neate perfection of the mynde,
And, being suche, must evermore effect
Thinges like itself in qualitie elect;
Which granted, love in these should seeke for grace
Which faire are in condition, not in face.
So love a virtue is.—How many then
True lovers should bee found amongst you men?
Such as preferr, by reason's temperate fire,
Lawfull desert before unjust desire;
Such as with goodness, in itself pure fram'd,
Are mildlie hot, not franticklie inflam'd;
Such as with goodness doe affection measure,
Grounded on cause of motion, not of pleasure.
Hee's not fitt choice that passionatelie hovers;
Lovers are men, but most men are not lovers;
And this should make us froward in deniall,
Since still wee knowe our miseries by triall.
Successe and custom, to weake women foes,
Have made men wanton in our overthrowes.
What is't in their attempts men have not vaunted,
Because the worser of our sex have graunted?
To weepe, to threaten, flatter, lie, protest,
Are but in earnest lust, and love in jest.
Myself have heard it now and then avow'd
By some whome use in follie hath made prowd,
That if by oathes one may his purpose winne,
Noe perjury in such a case is sinne:
And can we then bee blamed if, being harm'd
By sadd experience, wee bee stronglie arm'd
With resolution to defend our wrongs
Against the perjur'd falshood of men's tongues?
But whither range I in this vaine dispute,
Since what you seeke for is a wicked suite,
In telling you are captive to love's mighte,
More guided by your hart than by your sight?
I can but answer to the love you ow'd,
The love that should have thank'd you is bestow'd·
Soe I must die in debt; my hart is gonne;
You are not hee, and I must have but one.
To him I have engag'd my blushless truth:
Love is not wise in age; most rash in youth;
And I applaud my fortune, which have mett
That fate which grave discretion doth begett.
Terme age the autumne; 'tis a better play
To singe in winter than to weepe in May.
Somethinge I know; content is match'd with yeares,
When to wedd younge is as to marry teares.
And whoe can choose but faithfullie affect
That wisedome that knowes wiselie to direct?
When youth with youth their race together runne,
Both ignorant to guide, are both undone,
And therefore doe not you my choyce molest;
My match must please you, for it likes mee best:
Nor do you take the course to purchase love
From one by striveinge howe you may remove
My love from him whose nowe I am, for hee
That is no friend to him is none to mee.
Thus farr to satisfie the feeleing paine
Which in your letter seemes soe to complaine,
And speakes for you with pittie more than witte,
Have I an answere made, though farr unfitte;
Unfitt, consideringe whoe, and whose, I am;
Unfitt both for your comfort and my name.
Be not deceiv'd, nor take your hope by this,
For, doeing soe, in truth you doe amisse.
If fate had mark'd mee your's, full well you knowe
Your earnest suit had wonne mee long agoe:
But 'twas not soe ordain'd; then 'twere uneven
To strive against the ordinance of heaven.
'Twas not the fortune of your lowe descent
Your happe in haveing mee did not prevent:
Full well I knowe report in no wise can
Deny your father's sonne a gentleman.
Both hee and you have well deserv'd the same
By ancient titles, and by worthie fame,
And such you are, but what is that to mee
To withstande destinie, or fate's decree?
The many honnours donne unto our House
Make me not proude, nor being a new spouse
To my new Lorde: 'tis not an auncient seate
Of glorie, but of vertue makes us greate.
Then herein, to add greatness to your blood,
Conquer desire; be greate in beinge goode;
And you shall herein much more honor finde,
Makeinge your passions subjecte to your mynd,

Than if you were term'd noble, which lov'd stile
Is, without vertue's dresse, accompted vile.
In breife, whereas you write the fatall strife,
'Twixt love and my disdaine have doom'd your life;
Herein my minde is, I would have you knowe it,
Poorelie meethinke you strive to play the poet;
And poets, I have heard, in such a case,
Hold flattery and lieinge the best grace;
For they are men forsooth have wordes to peirce
And wound a stony heart with softning verse.
They can worke wonders, and to tricke will move
A marble hart: they teach the art of love:
They can write sonnetts, and with warbling rymes
Make woemen as lighte as are the times;
And, if I bee not then deceived much,
Your last lines intimate you to bee such.
If you bee such, then I beleeve with ease
That you canne die for love, if that you please.
Then dye as poets doe, in sighes, (false fee
To corrupt truth) in sonnetting aye mee;
With such like pretie deathes, whose trimme disguise
May barter yeilding hartes, and blind soft eies.
No, no, I never yett could heare or prove
That there was ever any died for love;
Nor would I have you be the man begine
The earnest daunce for such a sportive sinne:
For that would prove a laughter for an age;
Stuffe for a play; fitt matter for a stage.
But, that I may not spend my time in words,
Thus much my leisure and my witte affordes,
To make you thinke the paines you did employ
Were not all spent on one both nice and coy.
In honourable meaninge nowe it restes
That you for worthe's sake graunt mee two requests:
First, to desist your suit, and give less scope
To the licentious aptness of your hope;
Next, that you dare not to attempt the passage
Of more replies, by letters, or by message.
The first suite I'll entreate it at your hand,
And for the latter of them, I'le commaunde.
In doeing which you give me cause to say
That some thoughts on you are not cast away:
Else, all my love is firmelie plac'd, therefore
Hope for no favour—I will love no more.

Sir George Rodney, before hee killed himselfe.

What shall I doe that am undone?
Where shall I flie, myselfe to shunne?
Ah mee! myselfe myselfe must kill,
And yett I die against my will.
In starry letters I behold
My death in the heavens enroll'd:
There finde I, wrytt in skies above,
That I, poore I must die for love.
'Twas not my love deserv'd to die;
O no, it was unworthie I.
I for her love should not have dy'de,
But that I had no worth beside.
Ah mee! that love such woes procures,
For without her no love endures.
I for her vertues her doe serve,
Does such a love a death deserve?

The Countess is said to have accepted a succeeding lover of a milder cast, with less coyness, yet with unstained honour. Lodowick Stuart, then Earl, and afterwards Duke, of Richmond and Lenox, paid his addresses to her in the chaste and mysterious spirit of ancient romance, and they were favourably received. "In the Earl her husband's time," says Wilson, "she was often courted by the Duke, who presented many a fair offering to her, as an humble suppliant; sometimes in a blue coat, with a basket-hilt sword; making his addresses in such odd disguises." He waited long and patiently for her hand, the Earl of Hertford surviving till 1621. She was now perhaps the richest dowager in England, possessing, in addition to considerable property derived from her first husband, a jointure of five thousand pounds a year settled on her by her aged Lord, and, presently after his death, bestowed her abated beauty, and increased wealth, on the Duke of Richmond. She became once more a widow, for the Duke was found dead in his bed on the twelfth of February, 1623-4; and now, again says Wilson, "after his decease, Lenox and Richmond, with the great title of Duchess, gave period to her honour, which could not arrive at her mind, she having the most glorious and transcendent heights in speculation; for, finding the King a widower, she vowed, after so great a Prince as Richmond, never to be blown with the kisses, nor eat at the table, of a subject; and this vow must be spread abroad, that the King may take notice of the bravery of her spirit. But this bait would not catch the old King, so that she missed her aim; and, to make good her resolution, she speciously observed her rule to the last."

The same author informs us that "when she was Countess of Hertford, and found admirers about her, she would often discourse of her two grandfathers, the Dukes of Norfolk and Buckingham, recounting the time since one of her grandfathers did this; the other did that. But if the Earl, her husband, came in presence, she would presently desist; for, when he found her in those exaltations, to take her down, he would say, 'Frank, Frank, how long is it since thou wert married to Prannel?' which would damp the wings

of her spirit, and make her look after her feet, as well as gaudy plumes. One little vanity," adds Wilson, " of this great Duchess may yet crowd in this story—She was a woman greedy of fame, and loved to keep great state with little cost; for, being much visited by all the great ones, she had her formality of officers and gentlemen that gave attendance, and this advantage, that none ever eat with her; yet all the tables in the hall were spread, as if there had been meat, and men to furnish them; but before eating time, the house being voided, the linen returned into their folds again, and all her people grazed on some few dishes. Yet, where her actions came into fame's fingering, her gifts were suitable to the greatness of her mind; for the Queen of Bohemia, to the christening of whose child she was a witness, had some taste of them; and, being blown up by admiration for this bounty, either by her own design to magnify her merit, or by others, in mockery, to magnify her vanity, huge inventories of massy plate went up and down, from hand to hand, that she had given that Queen, and most believed it, yet they were but paper presents: those inventories had a non est inventus at the Hague: they saw the shell, the inventory, but never found the kernel, the plate. Such difference there is between solid worth, and airy paper-greatness." Wilson, whose anecdotes do not always deserve implicit faith, is probably correct in the view which he has given of this singular lady's character. It involved the strangest contrarieties. We learn from a letter in the Strafford papers, that even in her dying moments she insisted on the observance of all the stately ceremonies to which she had accustomed herself, and was actually surrounded by the officers of her household, bearing white wands, and other ensigns of their respective stations, while a public record informs us that she condescended to accept from James, in partnership with another person, an exclusive patent for coining farthings.

The Duchess of Richmond had no children by either of her husbands. She died on the eighth of October, 1639, and was buried, with the Duke, under a most magnificent monument, erected by herself, in Henry the seventh's chapel, in Westminster Abbey.

THOMAS, FIRST LORD CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH.

THERE is no period of English history in which we find it more difficult to estimate correctly the characters of statesmen than the reign of Charles the second. From a court in whose careless and licentious manners nature stood confessed to open view in unblushing nakedness we pass to a cabinet in which the motives to an uncertain policy were shrouded in the darkest obscurity. The last remains of that generous simplicity which shed somewhat of grace and dignity even on the faults of monarchy had perished on the scaffold with the late King, and his successor had been called, suddenly and unexpectedly, to rule by new experiments of government a people at once elated by the discovery of that strength which had enabled them to break the charm of allegiance, stung with disappointment at the failure of their visionary hopes of independence, and secretly prepared to meet with defiance the resentment which they anticipated, because they felt that they had so justly merited it. To correct these different dispositions Charles had recourse alternately to fraud and force; to haughty menaces, and mean condescensions. The characters therefore of his ministers were necessarily as various as the features of his system, if it deserved to be so called: some were chosen for their boldness, some for their powers of deception, others for mere pliability of temper, and a few were actually recommended by the total absence of all moral principle. Clifford, not to mention his talents, which were very powerful, was elevated and ruined by his courage.

Of the splendor and antiquity of his family it is needless to speak. He descended from a junior line which branched off in the fourteenth century from that which afterwards produced the Earls of Cumberland, and was the eldest of the three sons of Hugh Clifford, of Ugbrook, in Devonshire, a gentleman who had been intrusted with the command of a regiment of foot for the King in the beginning of the rebellion, by Mary, daughter of Sir George Chudleigh, of Ashton, in the same county, Baronet. He was born on the first of August, 1630, and completed his education at Exeter College, in Oxford, where he became a gentleman commoner on the twenty-fifth of May, 1647, and "was accounted," says Wood, "by his contemporaries there a young man of a very unsettled head, or of a roving shattered brain." The fervid and sanguine disposition which drew on him this censure from dull and plodding judgments, enabled him to reap the fruits of study without labour, and he left the University in a state of proficiency which astonished those who had uttered it. He travelled for some time on the continent, and on his return, was entered of the Middle Temple, and studied the law with an assiduity which leaves little room to doubt that he then intended to adopt it as a profession. The ancient affection, however, of his native county to his name and family opened new prospects to him. The borough of Totnes elected him to serve in the Parliament by which Charles the second was restored, and rechose him for the first which was called by that Prince. He was now in his proper sphere of action. The freedom of debate was suited to his natural impatience of controul, and his ambition was soothed by splendid visions of preferment. He possessed all the requisites to establish parliamentary reputation, and exercised them with a freedom and boldness at that time seldom practised. He commenced his career by opposing the measures of government; grew distinguished and formidable; made terms with the King's ministers; and became a most steady advocate for the royal prerogatives. This character on the political theatre was then a novelty.

His affection to monarchy, however, was sincere. The very name of Clifford was an emblem of loyalty, and he had been bred from his cradle in the strictest habits of implicit obedience to the throne. He now privately engaged himself, in concert with some other members of the House of Commons, to use his most strenuous endeavours to augment, by all practicable means, the authority and revenue of the crown; and it has been said that Lord Clarendon's opposition to those measures was the principal cause of that great man's fall. Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, and Secretary of State, was his first eminent political friend and patron, and his strict intimacy with that minister, together with a strong rumour that he had been secretly reconciled to the church of Rome about the time of the restoration, introduced him to the favour, and shortly after to the confidence, of the Duke of York. In compliment to that Prince, and perhaps to relieve and solace a spirit of peculiar ardency, he attended the Duke in the great sea-fight with the Dutch of the third of June, 1665, and became so interested in the tremendous novelties which he that day witnessed, that he chose to remain with the fleet after the command had devolved, in the Duke's absence, on the Earl of Sandwich, with whom he sailed, in the beginning of the following August, on the expedition to Bergen, in Norway. Nor was this all, for in the following year he accompanied Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle in that signal battle with the ships of the States General, which continued without intermission for the first four days of June, and in another engagement with the same fleet on the twenty-fifth of July. In these several actions he fought with a bravery so remarkable, that it was afterwards thought fit to record it in the Gazette which notified his admission into the Council, in which we are told that the honour was conferred on him "for the singular zeal wherin he had on all occasions merited in his Majesty's service, and more eminently in the honourable dangers in the late war against the Dutch and French, where he had been all along a constant actor, and had made it his choice to take his share in the warmest part of those services."

In the mean time he had not been employed in any ostensible office, except that of Envoy to the King of Denmark and Sweden, for the conclusion of certain treaties, and this he executed very satisfactorily in the intermediate space between his two naval campaigns. On the twenty-sixth of October, 1666, he was appointed Comptroller of the Household, and on the fifth of the following December, sworn of the Privy Council; on the thirteenth of June, 1668, the office of Treasurer of the Household was conferred on him: and, presently after, the Treasury being put into commission on the death of the Earl of Southampton, he was named one of the Lords Commissioners. He became now, perhaps, the King's most confidential adviser, and this was presently after in a manner publicly acknowledged by his reception into that Cabinet Council which from the initial letters of the names of the five who composed it obtained the denomination of "the Cabal." The designs and the conduct of that remarkable body are now so well known that it would be impertinent to enlarge on them here. In all their plans for the establishment of absolute monarchy, and the restoration of the Romish religion, Clifford joined them with a genuine and disinterested sincerity, which wanted only a better cause to render it public virtue. His zeal indeed in the prosecution of those views rose to a pitch of enthusiasm which blinded him to all other political objects but such as tended immediately to favour or to thwart the accomplishment of them, and on such objects he bestowed no consideration but of the simplest and shortest means by which they might be forwarded or removed. The House of Commons was of course odious to him, and he justified the purchased subserviency of Charles to Louis the fourteenth, by saying, that "if the King must be in a dependence, it was better to pay it to a great and generous Prince than to five hundred of his own insolent subjects." The features of his system were very clearly drawn in a pamphlet which was published, and read with much interest, soon after his death: "This Lord's notion," says the anonymous writer, "was, that the King, if he would be firm to himself, might settle what religion he pleased, and carry the government to what height he would: for, if men were assured in the liberty of their consciences, and undisturbed in their properties; able and upright judges made, in Westminster Hall, to judge the causes

of meum and tuum; and if, on the other hand, the fort of Tilbury was finished, to bridle the city; the fort of Plymouth, to secure the west; and arms for twenty thousand men in each of these, and in Hull for the northern parts; with some addition, which might be easily and undiscernedly made, to the force now on foot; there were none who had either will, opportunity, or power, to resist."

Charles, who thirsted for absolute monarchy chiefly for the sake of personal ease, and James, always ready to sacrifice all other considerations to his inveterate affection to the ancient religion, determined to ensure his future services by giving him the strongest proofs of their favour and gratitude. On the twentieth of April, 1672, he was created Baron Clifford, of Chudleigh, in the county of Devon, to which honour was added, as his patrimony was moderate, a grant of considerable estates, chiefly in Somersetshire; and, on the twenty-eighth of the following November, was appointed Lord High Treasurer. An almost incredible tale however is extant, of the immediate motive by which Charles was induced to place him in that great post. In the preceding year the King, who had now become the voluntary vassal of Louis, resolved to gratify that Prince by breaking the league, known by the title of the triple alliance, which had been formed against France in the year 1667, between England, Sweden, and the United Provinces, and to make war on the latter of those powers. His coffers were exhausted; the Parliament not then sitting; and no reasonable hope to be entertained from assembling it of obtaining a grant of money for the prosecution of a measure so unpopular. In this dilemma, Charles is said to have declared that he would give the staff of High Treasurer to any one of his ministers who could contrive a feasible plan to raise fifteen hundred thousand pounds, without an application to Parliament. "The next day," as the story goes, "Lord Ashley," (afterwards the notorious Earl of Shaftesbury) "told Clifford that there was a way to do this, but that it was dangerous, and might, in its consequences, inflame both Parliament and people. Clifford, impatient to know the secret, plied the Lord Ashley with visits, and, having drunk him to a proper height, led him insensibly to the subject of the King's indigence. Lord Ashley, warm and unguarded, dropt the important secret of shutting up the Exchequer. Clifford took the hint; left the Lord Ashley as soon as he could; went the same night to Whitehall; and, attending till the King rose, demanded the white staff. The King renewed his promise if the money could be found, and then Clifford disclosed the secret, and was accordingly made Lord Treasurer." The whole of this seems to be fabulous. The wretched and iniquitous project of shutting up, as it was called, the Exchequer, by which the bankers, who had supplied Charles's necessities with money borrowed of others on the security of the revenues, were disabled from fulfilling their engagements, was devised and recommended by Ashley alone.

Lord Clifford held his high appointment for little more than six months. About the time that he obtained it, Charles, at his suggestion, published a declaration for universal liberty of conscience and worship, and for the suspension of the penal laws against dissenters of all descriptions. It was presently perceived that this measure was contrived for the encouragement and benefit of the Roman Catholics; the House of Commons took it up with great warmth; voted it to be illegal; and not only endeavoured, by two several addresses, to persuade the King to revoke it, but broke out into open hostility against the Papists, and brought in a bill for a new test, peculiarly framed to disqualify them for all public employments. The Peers received it with more moderation, but Clifford defended it in that house with a haughtiness and violence of expression which provoked the utmost resentment and disgust. It was on that occasion that he applied the often quoted phrase, "monstrum horrendum ingens," to the vote of the Commons, and reproached that branch of the legislature in terms of anger and contempt, never, perhaps, before or since applied to it by a speaker in the upper house. The Lords, however, sanctioned the King's declaration by their vote, but the majority was small, and no less than thirty signed a protest against it. The Chancellor, Shaftesbury, spoke and voted against it, and the King, to whom Clifford had not only previously submitted the plan of his speech, but by whom some additions had been made to it, intimidated by the resentment which it had produced,

and the artifices of the Treasurer's enemies, determined to abandon at once his measure, and his minister. Burnet's statement of the matter at this precise period is very curious, and, as he mentions the name of the person who reported it to him from Lord Clifford's mouth, may have a better title to credit than many others of that Bishop's anecdotes. I will give it in his own words.

"In the afternoon of the day in which the matter had been argued in the House of Lords, the Earls of Shaftesbury and Arlington got all those members of the House of Commons on whom they had any influence, (and who had money from the King, and were his spies, but had leave to vote with the party against the Court, for procuring them the more credit) to go privately to him, and to tell him that, upon Lord Clifford's speech, the House was in such fury that probably they would have gone to some high votes and impeachments, but the Lord Shaftesbury, speaking on the other side, restrained them; they believed he spoke the King's sense, as the other did the Duke's: this calmed them. So they made the King apprehend that the Lord Chancellor's speech, with which he had been much offended, was really a great service done him; and they persuaded him farther, that he might now save himself, and obtain an indemnity for his ministers if he would part with his declaration, and pass the bill. This was so dextrously managed by Lord Arlington, who got a great number of the members to go one after another to the King, who, by concert, spoke all the same language, that before night the King was quite changed, and said to his brother, that Lord Clifford had undone himself, and had spoiled their business by his mad speech; and that, though Lord Shaftesbury had spoke like a rogue, yet that had stopped a fury which the indiscretion of the other had kindled to such a degree that he could serve him no longer. He gave him leave to let him know all this. The Duke was struck with this, and imputed it wholly to Lord Arlington's management. In the evening he told Lord Clifford what the King had said. The Lord Clifford, who was naturally a vehement man, went, upon that, to the King, who scarce knew how to look him in the face. Lord Clifford said he knew how many enemies he must needs make to himself by his speech in the House of Lords, but he hoped that in it he had both served and pleased the King, and was therefore the less concerned in every thing else; but he was surprised to find, by the Duke, that the King was now of another mind. The King was in some confusion. He owned that all he had said was right in itself; but he said that he, who sat so long in the House of Commons, should have considered better what they could bear, and what the necessity of his affairs required. Lord Clifford, in his first heat, was inclined to have laid down his white staff, and to have expostulated roundly with the King, but a cooler thought stopped him. He reckoned he must now retire, and therefore he had a mind to take some care of his family in the way of doing it; so he restrained himself, and said he was very sorry that his best meant services were so ill understood."

The King now revoked his declaration, and assented to the bill for the test; and Lord Clifford resigned an office which indeed he could not have retained but by a total sacrifice, not only of his honour, but of those religious principles which he had with such perfect sincerity cherished. He went to the Duke of Buckingham, who had assisted largely in obtaining it for him, and offered in return to lend his aid in forwarding the pretensions of any friend of the Duke's to the vacant post. The appointment of Sir Thomas Osborn, afterwards Duke of Leeds, was the result of that visit. Clifford retired, overwhelmed with chagrin, to the country. Some remarkable particulars of his latter days have very lately appeared in a publication of the Diary of his intimate friend, John Evelyn, who tells us, that his resignation "grieved him to the heart, and at last broke it." Mr. Evelyn adds, that when he took leave of this nobleman, on his quitting London for ever, Lord Clifford "wrung him by the hand," and said "God-b'ye—I shall never see thee more—do not expect it—I will never see this place, this city or court, again;" and couples with these speeches, which evidently refer rather to future life than death, a very idle rumour of the day, that he perished soon after by his own hand. I mention this merely for the sake of denying it. Such a fact, relating to such a man, could not have slept till now undisturbed

by the officiousness of friends, or the malice of enemies. He died, as we are informed by Prince, in his "Worthies of Devon," of a fit of the stone, at his house of Ugbrook, in that county, in September, 1673; and his friend, Mr. Evelyn, from whom alone we have any view of his private character, makes some atonement for the blemish so carelessly cast on his memory, by recording that he was "a valiant uncorrupt gentleman; ambitious; not covetous; generous; passionate; and a most sincere constant friend."

Lord Clifford married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of William Martin, of Lindridge, in Devonshire, by whom he had fifteen children. Of his sons, two, each of the name of Thomas, died infants, and a third Thomas, his heir apparent, who had reached maturity, died unmarried; George, the fourth son, inherited the title and estates, and was succeeded by his brother Hugh, ancestor to the present Lord: Simon and Charles were the sixth and seventh sons. Of the daughters, Elizabeth died an infant; a second Elizabeth was married to Henry, only son of Sir Thomas Carew, of Haccombe, in Devonshire, Bart.; Mary, to Sir Simon Leech, of Cadleigh, in the county of Derby, Knight of the Bath; Amy, to John Courtenay, of Molland, in Devon; Catherine, Anne, Rhoda, and Isabel, died unmarried.

THOMAS, LORD SEYMOUR OF SUDELEY.

THIS eminent person, who seems to have possessed all the qualities necessary to form what the world usually calls a great man, except patience, was the third son of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf Hall, in Wiltshire, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth, of Nettlested, in Suffolk. His family, which had stood for ages in the foremost rank of English gentry, was suddenly elevated by the marriage of his sister Jane to Henry the eighth. It is well known that Edward, his eldest surviving brother, was by that Prince created Viscount Beauchamp, and Earl of Hertford, and that in the succeeding reign he was appointed by the council governor of the infant King, and Protector of the realm; obtained the dignity of Duke of Somerset, and perished on the scaffold. Both were eminently distinguished for military skill and gallantry, but Thomas had the advantage in talents; was remarkable for a general firmness of mind, a daring spirit of enterprize, and the loftiest ambition. He had served with the utmost merit and applause in Henry's wars against the French, and, in or about the year 1544, was placed for life in the post of Master of the Ordnance: on the accession of his nephew, Edward the sixth, he was constituted Lord Admiral of England, created Baron Seymour, of Sudeley, in Gloucestershire, and elected a Knight of the Garter. Till this period these great men had manifested a mutual cordiality and confidence. The constant favour of Henry had left no room for alarm in the timid breast of the one, and the haughty strictness of his rule had curbed the swelling pride of the other, but the death of that imperious Prince was the signal for their total disunion. The features of a plan of aggrandisement which could not but have been premeditated presently disclosed themselves in the conduct of Seymour, and the most prominent of them appeared in his determination to connect himself with royalty by marriage. It has been said, but the report is unsupported by historical evidence, that he first attempted to win the affections of the Princess Mary. If it were so, his advances must have been made, which is highly improbable, during her father's reign, for immediately after that Prince's death he paid his addresses to the Queen Dowager, Catherine Par, and with so little reserve that their more than ordinary intimacy became presently evident to the whole Court. Catherine was easily persuaded, for he had been a favoured suitor before her marriage to the King, and accepted him for her fourth husband, long before the formality of her ostensible mourning for Henry had expired.

The discord between the brothers may be historically traced almost to the precise period of this marriage, and has been wholly ascribed to it by a writer equally remarkable for vehemence of prejudice, and carelessness of truth. Sanders, the well-known literary champion of Romanism, not content with observing, which he might probably have done with justice, that their quarrel originated in the hatred conceived by the Protector's lady, Anne Stanhope, a woman of intolerable pride and malice, against Catherine, would persuade us that its entire progress, and tragical termination, were directed solely by her influence. "There arose," says Sanders, "a very great contest between Queen Catherine Par and the Protector's wife who should have the precedence; and the contest rested not in the women, but passed to the men: and when the emulation continually increased, the Protector's wife would not let her husband alone, till at last it came to pass that the Protector, who, although he ruled the King yet was ruled by his wife, must cut off his brother, that nothing might be an hindrance to her will." Hayward, the able historian of that reign, without seeking for a corroboration of this tale, for which he would have sought in vain, has adopted Sanders's report, and even enlarged on it, in more than one of those florid

passages so frequent in his interesting work. The only document however on record which tends to prove, and that rather obscurely, even that any jealousy subsisted on the score of the marriage is a letter from Catherine to the Admiral, in the year 1548, preserved in Haynes's State Papers, which commences with these words, and then turns to other subjects. "Thys schalbe to advertysche yow that my Lord your brother hathe thys afternone a lyttell made me warme. Yt was fortunate we war so much dystant, for I suppose els I schulde have bitten him. What cause have they to feare havynge suche a wyffe?" The truth is that Seymour, from the very hour of Edward's accession, had been meditating the means of supplanting his brother in the King's affections, and in the exercise of his public authority.

The Protector was not long unapprised of these designs. Even so early as the summer of 1547, while he was fighting victoriously in Scotland, he received intelligence that his brother was engaged in great and dangerous intrigues against him at home. Led astray as well by goodness of heart as weakness of judgement, he had framed the fantastic theory of building the strength of his government on the affection of the people, and had therefore courted the Commons at the expence of the Aristocracy. Seymour availed himself of this error, and industriously fomented the discontent which it had excited among the nobles, but his rashness impelled him to premature steps. Without sufficient preparation, he endeavoured to prevail on them to propose in Parliament the abrogation of his brother's high faculties, and the election of himself to the station of Guardian of the King's person; artfully, however, and with an affected modesty, declining the office of Protector, with the double view of securing to his own interests him who might eventually be elected to it, and of controuling his government by the exercise of a secret influence over the royal mind. He even prevailed on Edward to write a letter to the Parliament, desiring them to appoint him to the first of those trusts. His suggestions, however, were received with coldness and disgust, and he resented the disappointment with the undisguised anger and the unguarded speeches of one to whom a just right had been denied. The Protector, on his return, unwillingly prepared to proceed against him as a public criminal, and accepted with eagerness the concessions and apologies which he was at length prevailed on to offer, but those motions on the Admiral's part were wholly insincere, and his ambitious resolutions perhaps acquired new force from the privacy with which he was now compelled to cherish them.

Artifice indeed seems to have been foreign from his nature, but he had no alternative but to practise it or to abandon his designs. He again addressed himself secretly to the young King; endeavoured to inflame his passions with the desire of independent sway; told him that he was "a poor King, and could not pay his own servants," and soothed the generosity of his disposition by supplying him privately with money; but the purity of Edward's heart, and the superiority of his mind, rendered these stratagems fruitless, while his affection to his uncles induced him, till the secret was at length wrung from him, to conceal them. In the mean time an increasing intimacy, of a singular and mysterious nature, was observed to subsist between the Admiral and the young Elizabeth, who had been placed, upon the death of her father, under the care of the Queen Dowager, and remained an inmate in her family after her marriage to Seymour. Elizabeth had then scarcely passed her fourteenth year, and his attentions to her seem to have commenced with those innocent freedoms which it is usual to take with children. Catherine herself was often a party in their levities. But it was not long before he addressed himself to her with privacy, or in the presence only of some of her principal attendants, whom it is evident he had secured to his interests. Elizabeth, on her part, became enamoured of him, and the Queen, after indulging an easy and unsuspicious temper, even to absurdity, was at length jealous, and procured the removal of the object of her uneasiness to the custody of others. On these curious circumstances history, which is not at all surprising, has been wholly silent. They have been disclosed by the publication, in that fine collection, Haynes's State Papers, of the unwilling testimonies of several persons preparatory to the prosecution of the Admiral, to which I must refer the reader for particulars too numerous,

and, in some instances, too gross, to be here recited. The motives to his conduct in the pursuit of this amour, for so it must be called, are scarcely doubtful. If the Princess had surrendered her honour to his importunities, she could have bribed him to secrecy only by submitting to become his wife, a condescension which in that case he certainly intended to exact. Catherine, it is true, was then living, and in good health, but might easily have been put out of the way. A man at once powerful, active, ambitious, and unprincipled, could at that time scarcely encounter an insurmountable difficulty. She died very soon after, not by poison, as has been reported, but in childbirth, and circumstances which presently succeeded effectually arrested the progress of the Admiral's designs on Elizabeth.

Some time, however, was yet allowed to him for the contrivance of new schemes. Those considerations which led Edward's Council to put the Princess Elizabeth into the hands of Catherine Par had induced them to place Jane Grey also, who was next in succession to the Crown, in the same custody. After the death of Catherine, the Marquis of Dorset, father to Jane, became desirous to recal his daughter into the bosom of her family. Seymour, under various pretexts, resisted his importunities, and, on being earnestly pressed, secretly represented to the Marquis the probability, should she still be permitted to remain under the protection of himself and his mother, that he might contrive to unite her in marriage to the young King. This overture, such was the coarseness of the age, was accompanied by a present of five hundred pounds, and Dorset accepted it, and submitted. The Admiral was actuated in this negotiation by two motives. Dorset, though a man of weak intellect, possessed a powerful influence, derived from his lady's relation in blood to the throne, from his great estates, and, above all, from the innocence and integrity of his character. Seymour was anxious to ensure his support; but this was not all: the Protector, or, perhaps, rather his lady, had proposed their heir as a husband for Jane, and the Admiral was not less eager to thwart their views, than in the pursuit of his own. To his envy of his brother's greatness a private injury had lately added the desire of revenge. Henry had bequeathed to the Queen Dowager some estates, and certain valuable jewels, to the possession of neither of which she had been admitted. After her death, Seymour, seemingly with strict justice, claimed them of the Council, and that body, under the direction, as he conceived, of the Protector, refused to admit his claim.

Somerset, however, seems to have acted, through the whole of their contest, with the most exemplary patience and moderation, resulting from a rooted tenderness for his brother; but new discoveries, rapidly succeeding each other, at length compelled him, not only for his own security, but for that of the realm, to interpose his authority. In addition to the instances that have been already given of Seymour's dangerous disposition, it now appeared that he had seduced by presents and promises almost all those persons who had ready access to the King's person, and were most in his confidence; that he had propagated the most injurious reports of the secret policy of his brother's government, asserting, among a multitude of other calumnies, that he was raising in Germany a mercenary force, by the aid of which he intended to establish a despotism in England; that he had established a formidable influence in every county of the realm; had computed that he could raise even among his own tenants, servants, and retainers, ten thousand men; had actually provided arms for their use; and had gained to his interests Sir John Sharington, Master of the Mint at Bristol, who had engaged to supply him with money to equip them. The Protector, thoroughly informed on all these points, still hesitated. He endeavoured once more to try the effect of entire confidence and affectionate persuasion; reasoned and entreated with the coolness and impartiality of a disinterested friend; and strove, even at this late period, to reclaim his brother's kindness and duty by new favours and distinctions. Seymour, among whose faults treachery and deceit appear to have had no place, received these condescensions with a haughty sullenness, and would engage for nothing; and Dudley, Earl of Warwick, whose secret plans for raising himself on the ruins of the family of Seymour were already approaching to maturity, seized the opportunity afforded by this obstinacy of persuading the Protector to give up to his fate a man by whose talents and courage they would probably have been rendered abortive. Somerset, thus influenced,

deprived his brother of the office of Admiral, and on the sixteenth of January, 1549, O. S. signed a warrant for his imprisonment in the Tower.

A committee of three Privy Counsellors was now deputed to take those examinations from which most of the foregoing particulars of Seymour's offences have been derived; the result was digested into thirty-three articles, which were laid before the Privy Council; and that assembly went presently after in a body to the Tower to interrogate himself, but he refused to answer; demanded time to consider the charges; and a public trial, in which he might be confronted with the witnesses. This was denied, and it was determined to prosecute him by a bill of attainder. No other instance perhaps can be found in which that suspicious and unpopular process had been at any time conducted with so much justice and fairness. It occupied exclusively the attention of the Parliament from the twenty-fourth of February till the fifth of March, and the multifarious facts alledged were canvassed with the most scrupulous exactness: The Peers, by whom it was passed unanimously, paid the compliment, unusual in those days, to the lower House, of permitting such of their own body as could give evidence on the case to be there examined vivâ voce; and in the latter assembly, more than four hundred members being on that day present, it was opposed only by nine or ten voices. The Protector, now, with a reluctant hand, signed a warrant for Seymour's execution, and, on the twentieth of March, he suffered death on Tower Hill, in a sullen silence, and with a courage so ferocious and desperate, as to have given occasion to Bishop Latimer to say, in his fourth sermon, that "he died very dangerously, irksomely, horribly; so that his end was suitable to his life, which was very vicious, profane, and irreligious."

Lord Seymour was never married, but to Catherine Par, who left to him an only daughter, Mary, born in September, 1548, who survived him, and was restored in blood almost immediately after his death, but died an infant.

HENRY FITZALAN,

EARL OF ARUNDEL.

THE first attempt is now made to bring into one view the dispersed relics of this very eminent person's story. In searching for them, regret has been excited at every step by evident presumptions that innumerable circumstances of that story have been long lost in utter oblivion. In the life of a man of exalted rank, not less distinguished by the vigour of his talents than by his honesty and high spirit; continually in the service of the Crown, under four Monarchs the characters of whose minds and tempers, and the policy of whose governments, were dissimilar even to opposition; devoted with the most faithful and unbending resolution to a religion which he saw alternately cherished and proscribed by those Princes, professed and abjured by his compeers; what interesting facts must have occurred! what dangers must he not have encountered, what difficulties must he not have surmounted? Those curiosities, however, have been sacrificed to the dulness or the timidity of the historians of the seventeenth century, and little remains of him but an outline which it is now too late to endeavour to fill up.

Henry Fitzalan, the last Earl of Arundel of his family, was born in 1512, the only son of William, the ninth Earl, by Anne, second daughter of Henry, fourth Earl of Northumberland of the Percys. He had passed the age of thirty before he succeeded, on his father's death, to the titles and great estates of his ancestors, and his life had been till then confined, according to the rule of domestic subordination which generally prevailed in that time, to the sports of the field, and the festivities, and warlike exercises of the Court. In the summer however of the following year, 1544, he attended Henry in his splendid voyage to Boulogne, and was appointed, on his arrival there, Field Marshal of the army then employed in the remarkable siege of that town, under the command of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. The success of the enterprize was at least completed by his vigilance and courage. In the night of the eleventh of September, after the siege had been carried on for six weeks, he marched the squadron committed to his charge close under the walls, and there awaited the event of a furious discharge of cannon which played on them over his head. It proved fortunate: a breach was effected: and he, at the head of his troops, first entered the town, which two days after capitulated. The King rewarded this service by a grant of the Government of Calais, and of the office of Comptroller of the Royal Household. Henry loved bravery, but he loved yet better implicit obedience, of which he received shortly after from this nobleman a remarkable proof. He had been appointed, with others, to negotiate a treaty with the Scots, the terms proposed for which had received the unanimous approbation of the Council, but were secretly disliked by the King. Henry, unwilling to disoblige his ministers, permitted them to write in his name to the Earl to conclude the treaty, but in the same hour commanded Cecil, whom he had lately received into much confidence, to repair privately to the Earl, in Scotland, and to tell him that, whatsoever he, the King, had ordered by his letter, it was his Majesty's pleasure that he should immediately break up the treaty. Cecil observing to the King, to use the words of my author, " that a message by word of mouth, being contrary to his letter, would never be believed; ' well,' said the King, ' do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing of it to his own choice.' Upon Mr. Cecil's arrival, the Earl of Arundel shewed the other commissioners as well the message as the letter: they are all for the letter. He said nothing, but ordered that the message should be written, and signed by his fellow commissioners; and thereupon

immediately broke up the treaty, sending Cecil with the advertisement of it to the King, who, as soon as he saw him, asked aloud—'what, will he do it, or no?' Cecil replied that his Majesty might understand that by the inclosed: but then the King, half angry, urged—'nay, tell me, will he do it, or no?' Being then told it was done, he turned to the Lords, and said 'now you will hear news, the fine treaty is broken;' whereto one presently answered that he who had broke it deserved to lose his head; to which the King straitly replied that he would lose a dozen such heads as his was that so judged rather than one such servant as had done it, and therewith commanded the Earl of Arundel's pardon should be presently drawn up, the which he sent, with letters of thanks, and assurance of favour." Henry, soon after his return, appointed him Lord Chamberlain, and, in his last moments, which indeed were then approaching, distinguished him by naming him one of the guardians of the infant successor.

In the great conflict for power between Seymour and Dudley which agitated the following reign it was scarcely possible for any eminent person connected with the State or Court to remain neuter. The Earl of Arundel, who continued Lord Chamberlain, seems to have endeavoured to keep that course for a time, but at length joined the faction of Warwick, and when the first storm broke out against the Protector was appointed, partly from confidence, and in some measure in consideration of his high office in the household, one of the six Lords under whose care, or rather in whose custody, the King was placed, to frustrate any attempt by the other party to seize his person. It was not possible however that two such men should remain long united. The grand features of Warwick's disposition were an ambition wholly unprincipled, and a violence of temper which broke through all the bounds of prudence; while Arundel, to use the words of Sir John Hayward, perhaps the only writer of credit who has left us any glimpse of the character of his mind, was "in his nature circumspect and slow," as well as of undoubted probity. Scarcely three months had passed, when the Earl was suddenly deprived of his post, and of his seat in the Privy Council, and strange accusations, which have been most obscurely recorded, were preferred against him, and some other great men. All that we can learn on this head is that he was charged with "having taken away bolts and locks at Westminster" (probably meaning from the palace, where Edward was in a manner imprisoned) and that he "had given away the King's stuff." The tribunal, probably the packed remains of Warwick's Council, which affected to take cognizance of these alledged offences, committed him for a time to the Tower, fined him in twelve thousand pounds, to be paid at the rate of one thousand pounds yearly, and afterwards banished him to one of his country seats. "Doubtless," says Hayward on this head, "the Earl of Warwick had good reason to suspect that they who had the honesty not to approve his purpose would not want the heart to oppose against it."

The Earl of Arundel retired accordingly, and lived in privacy till the King's death, soon after which he appeared among the foremost of the supporters of Mary's title to the Crown; yet Jane Grey, under the advice of her father-in-law, Dudley, now Duke of Northumberland, who was perhaps willing to magnify her strength by concealing her weakness, charged those to whom she wrote to levy forces for the furtherance of her claim to make no application to the servants and tenants of Arundel, "relying on them otherwise for her service." The Earl, however, appeared presently after at the great meeting of Mary's friends at Baynard's Castle, and addressed them with a fervour of eloquence and reasoning which has preserved at least the substance of his speech from oblivion. "In this assembly," says Hayward, "the Earl of Arundel fell foul upon Northumberland with the utmost severity. He ran over the history of the late times, and, reckoning up every act of mismanagement, cruelty, and injustice, committed in King Edward the sixth's reign, threw the odium of all upon him only. Then he made expostulating complaints that the children of Henry the eighth should, contrary to all right, be thrust from the succession, and professed himself amazed to think how Northumberland had brought such great and noble persons, meaning those present, to so mean servitude as to be made the tools of his wicked designs; for it was by their consent and assistance that the Crown was put upon the daughter of Suffolk; the same Northumberland's daughter-in-law, the sovereignty in fact remaining in

him of exercising the most uncontroulable rage and tyranny over their lives and fortunes. To accomplish this usurpation indeed the cause of religion was pretended; but, though they had forgot the Apostle's advice, 'not to do evil that good may follow; and to obey even bad Princes, not out of fear, but for conscience' sake;' yet who, he asked, had seen cause to think that in matters of religion Queen Mary intended any alteration? for, when she was lately addressed about this in Suffolk, she had (which indeed was true) given a very fair satisfactory answer; and 'what a madness is it,' says he, 'for men to throw themselves into certain destruction, to avoid uncertain danger. I heartily wish there had been no such transgression; but, since there has, the best remedy for a past error is a timely repentance; wherefore it is my advice that we all join our utmost endeavours, that so, by our authority, Mary, the rightful and undoubted heiress of these kingdoms, may be proclaimed Queen."

The accession of that Princess to the throne without bloodshed may perhaps be reasonably ascribed to this well-timed harangue, and to the vigour and good judgement with which the Earl pursued the course which he had so warmly advised. The assembly, wound up to a pitch of enthusiasm, rose, and instantly accompanied him into the city, where, having obtained the attendance of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, they proclaimed Mary with universal applause. This done, he took horse the same evening; rode into Suffolk, where she was then awaiting the issue of the contest, to communicate the tidings, and receive her commands; and, on the following day, personally arrested the Duke of Northumberland at Cambridge, and led him, a prisoner, towards the Tower of London. It is astonishing that such mighty measures should have been proposed and executed in the space of three days; but the whole was actually accomplished on the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first, of July, 1553.

Mary acknowledged these eminent services with becoming gratitude; distinguished him during her short reign by the most perfect confidence; and bestowed on him the offices of President of her Council, and Steward of her Household. He was also elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford soon after her accession, a dignity which he of course resigned on the re-establishment of the Protestant Church by Elizabeth. He was not less favoured however by that Princess, who continued him in the post of Lord Steward, and complimented the high antiquity of his name and titles with the exalted appointments of High Constable, and High Steward, of England, at her coronation. He was even one among the few of her eminent subjects who flattered themselves, and had in all probability been flattered by her, with the hope of gaining her hand. It should seem indeed that he had explicitly offered himself, and been rejected; for Dugdale, quoting, I believe erroneously, Camden, says, "having fed himself with hopes of obtaining Queen Elizabeth for his wife, and failing therein, after he had spent much upon these vain imaginations, his friends in Court failing him, he grew troubled in mind, and thereupon, to wear off the grief, got leave to travel." This happened in 1561. How long he now remained abroad does not appear, but he was in London in December 1565, when he again obtained a licence to leave England, and went soon after into Italy, where he seems to have sojourned for four years. In his long absence from his own country he contracted a great fondness for foreign fashions, several of which, on his return, he introduced here, particularly the use of coaches, the first of which ever seen in England was kept by himself.

He seems to have been entirely disengaged from public affairs till the year 1569, when he was appointed one of the Commissioners to enquire into the murther of Henry, King of Scotland, of which he avowed his opinion that Mary was innocent. His generous nature loathed the snares with which Elizabeth and her ministers surrounded that unhappy Princess, and, in a debate in the Privy Council on the suggestion of some new artifice against her, he had the boldness to say, in the Queen's presence, that "the wisdom of the former age was so provident that it needed not, and so plain that it endured not, such shifts." That which was called Mary's party now reckoned on his uniform support, but his sense of loyalty and justice was as pure as his frankness and impartiality, and when Leicester imparted to him the plan secretly formed for a marriage between the Queen of Scots and

the Duke of Norfolk, whose first lady was Arundel's daughter, he declared that he would oppose it to the utmost, unless it were previously sanctioned by Elizabeth's consent. His intercourse, however, with Mary's friends rendered him an object of suspicion, and in 1572 he suffered a short imprisonment in the Tower, after which he sunk gradually in his mistress's favour, and at length wholly lost it by his determined opposition to her matrimonial treaty with the Duke of Anjou. From that time to his death he remained in retirement. "About the beginning of this year," says Camden, in his annals of Elizabeth, 1580, "Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, rendered his soul to God, in whom was extinct the surname of this most noble family, which had flourished with great honour for three hundred years, and more, from the time of Richard Fitzalan, who, being descended from the Albeneys, ancient Earls of Arundel and Sussex in the reign of Edward the first, received the title of Earl, without any creation, in regard of his being possessed of the Castle and Honour of Arundel." He married, first, Catherine, daughter of Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset, by whom he had three children, all of whom he outlived; Henry, who died at Brussels, young, and unmarried; Joan, married to John, Lord Lumley; and Mary, to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, in right of descent from whose son, Philip, first Earl of Arundel of the Howards, the present Duke of Norfolk enjoys that remarkable Earldom, under the tenure so clearly stated by Camden in the foregoing passage, which I have inserted for the sake of elucidating a frequently disputed point. His second lady was Mary, daughter of Sir John Arundel, of Lanherne, in Cornwall, and widow of Robert Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, by whom he had no issue.

MARY STUART,

QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

THE writer of these memoirs having formerly been the humble instrument of discovering and promulgating many very curious particulars of Mary's eventful story, it might perhaps be expected that he should be more inclined, and even better qualified, than many others, now to treat of it somewhat at large; neither of those motives however, were he sensible of such, could tempt him to assume the task. All the stores of history and tradition, of public records and private collections, have been already ransacked; argument and reasonable conjecture have been exhausted; the fields even of imagination and fancy have been traversed in search of bright or hideous visions to enhance the charms of her person and her wit, and to aggravate the horror of her sufferings. Nay, while in the fear of saying too much I am thus apologising for saying so little, appears a complete "Life of Mary, Queen of Scots," from the ever employed and ever instructive pen of Mr. George Chalmers, who has once more journeyed over the whole of this interesting ground, and seems to have left no stone unturned which might by possibility have concealed any novel object of his research. The whole result is surely now before the public. It comprehends a tale which the heart has eagerly accepted from all the passions, and fixed irrevocably in the memory. To repeat it would be impertinent; to enlarge it, till new discoveries shall be made, is impossible.

The only object then of the few following lines is to give some account of the picture an engraving from which accompanies them. The numerous portraits hitherto ascribed to this Princess are as various and as dissimilar as the circumstances of her life, or the features of her character, agreeing only in the single fact of representing her as eminently beautiful. No strong internal presumption, no inveterate tradition, tends to distinguish the authenticity of any one of them: the several professed resemblances of her countenance have excited almost as much doubt and controversy as the disputed points of her history; and thus a genuine likeness of this celebrated lady may be reckoned among the first of the elegant and tasteful desiderata of the present age. How far the beautiful specimen of two arts which is before us may tend to decide the question must rest in great measure on the degree of credit that may be esteemed due to a report which has been regularly handed down in the family of the noble owner of the picture, and which must necessarily be here prefaced by the brief recital of a small portion of Mary's history.

In the year 1567, which is well known to have been distinguished, fatally for her reputation, by the murder of her husband, and her marriage to the infamous Bothwell, the most powerful among the nobility of Scotland associated for the declared purposes of separating her from that wretch, and protecting the person of the young Prince, her son. With the usual fate of such combinations, they went much further: they made their Queen a captive; led her triumphantly through the army with which they had strengthened themselves; and, having imprisoned her closely in the Castle of Lochleven, deposed her, and crowned her son. The owner of the castle was a Douglas, nearly related to the celebrated Earl of Morton, the most considerable person of the confederates, and who had been commissioned by them to accept her surrender. Here she remained nearly twelve months. At length, after the failure of various plans to liberate her, formed by those who still remained true to her interest, she accomplished it herself, by gaining over George Douglas, brother of her keeper. On this young man, under the age of twenty, and

already a slave to that beauty the magic of which no one could wholly resist, she employed all the graces of mind and manners with which nature and art had so abundantly furnished her, and, to leave no passion of his heart unassailed which might be rendered subservient to her view, is said to have tempted his ambition by giving him hopes that he might obtain her hand. When she had completed her charm, she besought him to aid her escape. He instantly complied, for who could have hesitated? and, by means which, however curious and interesting, it is not to the present purpose to recapitulate, restored her to freedom.

The picture which has furnished the plate before us has been preserved with the greatest care from time immemorial in the mansion of Dalmahoy, the principal seat in Scotland of the Earl of Morton; on the upper part of it is inscribed, with a modesty of assertion which tends to favour the report of its originality, "Mary, Queen of Scots, said to have been painted during her confinement in Lochleven Castle;" and the noble Earl who at present possesses it, has enhanced the value of his permission to place an engraving from it among the chief ornaments of this work, by condescending to state that, according to an invariable tradition in his lordship's family, it was once the property of George Douglas, the liberator of Mary, and that it passed from him, together with other curious relics of that unhappy Princess, to his eminent relation, James, fourth Earl of Morton, who has been mentioned above, in whose posterity it has remained to the present day.

From the same picture also professes to have been engraved a plate which supplies the frontispiece to the first volume of Mr. Chalmers's new work, and its striking dissimilitude to the portrait here presented renders some reluctant remarks on it highly necessary in this place. It is scarcely too much to say that neither the features, nor the general character of countenance, given in the two engravings, bear even the slightest resemblance to each other, and this variance between two copies taken from the same original, which is allowed to possess stronger claims to authenticity than any other painting, is the more distressing, as it was hoped that the engraving before us would have done much towards putting to rest the long disputed question as to Mary's features, and the skill and talents of the painter who copied the original, together with the clear opinion of its correctness, after actual comparison with the painting, expressed by the noble Earl who possesses the picture, may be received as pledges for its exact fidelity. Having thus established the claim of the engraving here presented, to be considered as the genuine representation of Mary's portrait, the failure in that of Mr. Chalmers's alone remains to be accounted for.

That gentleman discloses to us in his preface a new and most extraordinary discovery by which he has been enabled, with the aid of an artist, of whom he expresses a high opinion, to produce, de novo, a correct portrait of Mary; and one of the most singular features of the invention is that the distracting variety of those which have hitherto individually pretended to originality constitutes the very source which gives undoubted authenticity to his. Having spoken of those perplexities of which no one before had known how to take the advantage, Mr. Chalmers says, "in this state of uncertainty with regard to the person of the Scottish Queen, I employed a very ingenious artist to paint that celebrated Queen from such sketches, pictures, and other materials, as might be laid before his intelligent eyes: at the same time I presumed to think that her features might be settled by ascertaining the facts relating to her person like other matters of history." In other words, that the artist was to copy from one picture a pair of eyes, justified by the authority of Melvil; a nose from another, corroborated by the report of Keith; from a coin, a smile which had been cursed by Knox; and from a figure on a tomb, a frown which Buchanan had recorded to have been levelled at him; and the like; and from the combination of these pictorial and historical tesseræ Mr. Chalmers's hopes were at length fulfilled by the acquisition of a portrait which, to use his own words, "has been very generally admired for its truth, and its elegance." From this picture was engraved the plate which is prefixed to the second volume of his work.

Now, to speak seriously, Mr. Chalmers, whose kindness and candour I know too well to expect his displeasure at these remarks, has left, fortunately for us, to the idle and the

careless those lighter studies which employ the mind without fatigue, and gratify the fancy without informing the understanding. A votary to history, his affection for it has led him to give too large a credit to its descriptive powers, while a negligence of the more delicate and less important theory of the human face divine has left him at liberty to suppose the impossibility, that a mere junction of features, however correctly each may have been individually represented and copied, should produce what we commonly call a likeness. The artist who could propose or encourage such a suggestion merits not so mild a judgment.

To conclude, the fact seems to be that the picture which assumes to have been so whimsically composed (vol. 2.) was ill copied from that which is stated to be a copy from the Douglas picture, (vol. 1.) to which it has scarcely any resemblance (except in the dress, in which the artist condescendingly tells us in Mr. Chalmers's preface he " did not chuse to make any fanciful alteration") or vice versa: in short, that the artist judged it necessary to produce somehow an evident agreement between the two. It need only be added that the sole view of these observations is to record a caveat against any inference adverse to the authenticity of the portrait here presented, which might possibly be drawn from a careless comparison of it with either of the two engravings in Mr. Chalmers's history of Mary; and this is rendered the more necessary by an anticipation of the respect which will undoubtedly and justly be paid to that work. A jealousy of fair reputation, and a regard to weighty interests, equally excusable, have demanded this explanation.

Cardinal Beatoun.

From the original, in the Collection at

Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh.

Drawn by W.m Hilton, A.R.A.y Engraved (with Permission) by C. Picart.

London, Published Nov.r 1818 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor, & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

CARDINAL BEATOUN.

DAVID BEATOUN, for his talents, for the loftiness of his spirit, for his complete monopoly of royal favour, and his unbounded power in the government both of Church and State, may be not unaptly called the Wolsey of Scotland; but he was not, like that great man, the child of obscurity, nor the builder, from the foundation, of his own fortunes. His family was even illustrious, for he was descended from the old French house of Bethune, connected by more than one marriage with the ancient Earls of Flanders, and celebrated for having produced, among other branches dignified with the same rank, that of the ever-memorable Maximilian, Duke of Sully. The credit of his name had been raised in Scotland, where his peculiar line had existed for more than two centuries in the character of respectable country gentlemen, by his uncle James Beatoun, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lord Chancellor, a statesman of great parts and power, and he was the son of John Beatoun, of Balfour, elder brother to that Prelate, by Isabel, daughter of David Moneypenny, of Pitmilly, in the county of Fife. He was born in 1494, and received an admirable education at home, and in the university of St. Andrews, under the eye of his uncle, who sent him, when approaching manhood, to France, with the double view of completely qualifying him in the university of Paris for the ecclesiastical profession, and of introducing him advantageously to the Duke of Albany, who resided in that country, and who was then about to accept the office of Regent of Scotland during the minority of his great nephew, James the fifth. Both objects were attained. David gained the highest credit by the success of his studies, and the Duke employed him, even while he was prosecuting them, in several affairs at the Court of France in which the public interests of Scotland were involved, and, upon the death in 1519 of the Scottish resident minister in Paris, appointed him to that office. His uncle in the mean time laboured with the most affectionate zeal to advance him at home, and, on being translated in 1523 from the Archbishopric of Glasgow to the Primacy, resigned the rich and mitred abbey of Aberbrothock; prevailed on the Regent to give it to his nephew; and on the Pope to grant him for two years a dispensation, waving the forms of acceptance required by the Church, in order that he might perform without interruption his diplomatic duties at Paris.

He returned, and took his seat in the Parliament, in 1525. During his mission important changes had occurred in the government: the Regent had been displaced, and the Primate deprived of the office of Chancellor, and driven into retirement by the party headed by the Earl of Angus, husband of the Queen Mother, but Beatoun's prospects seem to have been in no degree clouded by those circumstances, for he had not been many weeks in Scotland when he was appointed by the Parliament one of the six members from that body to whom the charge of the King's person and education was specially committed. Younger, more polite, and perhaps more artful, than his colleagues it is not strange that the youthful James should have selected him from them for his companion and confident. As the mind of the King advanced to maturity, to these lighter impressions was added the weight of Beatoun's splendid and commanding abilities, and motives of policy soon after intervened on either side to consummate the ascendancy which he at length gained. In the mean time Angus, who had governed not only the realm but the King with a controul too sharp and haughty to be lasting, was overthrown by one of those sudden turns at that time so frequent in his country; the Primate returned, not to resume his former power in the State, but to endeavour to obtain it for his nephew, whom he now named as his coadjutor, and whom the King presently after placed in the office of Lord Privy Seal. That appointment, which

under the Scottish monarchy actually invested him who held it with all the confidence which its denomination implies, was conferred on Beatoun in 1528, and from that period he was considered to be, as in fact he was, the King's chief minister and favourite.

Scotland was then divided into two powerful and furious factions; the French, which included nearly all the clergy, and consequently a great majority of those of the common people who were not subject to the bond of clanship; and the English, consisting of a formidable number of the nobility, some of whom were actuated by personal enmity to individuals of the Court or Council; others by an habitual jealousy of foreigners; and not a few by the bribes of Henry the eighth. The young King and Beatoun became mutually attached to the former party; the one, from his sincere devotion to the ancient faith, and the horror with which he regarded the efforts directed against it by his uncle King Henry, to which seems to have been added an earnest desire to marry a Princess of France; the other, because he had entered into secret engagements with Francis the first, to secure to him a lasting alliance with Scotland, and had received from that Prince in return the most solemn assurances of friendship and favour. With these predispositions both in master and servant, James in 1533 dispatched him to Paris, professedly to demand in marriage the Princess Magdalen, sister to the King, but he was privately charged with business of higher importance, and seems in this mission to have negotiated and concluded a secret treaty with Francis, and in some measure with the Emperor, and the Pope, for the protection of the Catholic religion, and necessarily therefore in opposition to all the views then entertained by our Henry. He returned fully successful in all that he had undertaken, but the marriage was postponed in consequence of the ill state of health of the Princess at that time, nor was it celebrated till 1536, when James, attended by Beatoun, made a long visit to the Court of France, and wedded her in person.

The young Queen died within two months after her arrival in Scotland, and the King, anxious to avoid reiterated offers from Henry and the Emperor of the hand of the Princess Mary of England, sent Beatoun again to the French Court, with proposals to Mary of Lorraine, daughter to the Duke of Guise. During this negotiation, which seems to have occupied some considerable time, he received at length publicly the strongest marks of Francis's partiality. In November 1537 that Prince signed an ordinance permitting him to hold benefices, and purchase estates, in France, and presently after bestowed on him the rich Bishopric of Mirepoix, in Upper Languedoc. He returned in the following July, bringing with him the new Queen. His uncle, the Archbishop, who had become infirm, timid, and indolent, had for some years privately delegated to him almost the whole authority of the Primacy, but the natural mildness of that Prelate sometimes interposed to moderate the zeal of the Coadjutor: the reigning Pope, Paul the third, on the other hand, determined to encourage it. Hoping yet to retain to the Holy See the allegiance of Scotland, and anxious therefore to place without delay at the head of her Church a man at once wise, resolute, and active, as well as sincerely devoted to the Papacy, he selected Beatoun for that service. Willing however to leave to so ancient and faithful a son as the Primate at least the name of his dignity, the Pontiff devised the means of giving him a superior without depriving him of his See, by raising his nephew to the dignity of a Cardinal. He was elected to the Purple on the twentieth of December, 1538, and within a few months after succeeded, on the death of his uncle, to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews.

He now pressed for a special legantine commission, but the Pope answered that the Primacy annexed to his See constituted him what in the language of the Church was termed "Legatus natus," and invested him with sufficient ecclesiastical authority in Scotland. James, who had at first seconded with earnestness his suit for that distinction, seems to have desisted at the instance of Henry. That Prince, who now considered Beatoun as a formidable adversary, had lately dispatched to Scotland Sir Ralph Sadleir, a minister not less remarkable for fidelity than acuteness, for the sole purpose of effecting his ruin, and James, though he refused, with a laudable firmness, to listen to insinuations against a favourite servant which were not only malicious but ungrounded, perhaps yet deemed it prudent to concede in this single instance to the angry feelings of his uncle. A most exact

and curious recital of Sadleir's conversations with James on the subjects of his mission, highly creditable as well to the heart as to the understanding of the Scottish Prince, may be found in a letter of great length from the Ambassador to his master, in the publication of "Sadleir's State Papers."

The conduct of Beatoun under this disappointment amply proved that his attachment to the Romish Church, and to its head, was not to be shaken by any selfish considerations. He determined to prove the degree of that power which the Pope had decided to be sufficient, and in the spring of 1540 went to St. Andrews with a pomp and splendor which had never before been used by any Primate of Scotland, attended by a numerous train of the first nobility and gentry; by the Archbishop of Glasgow, Lord Chancellor; many other Prelates; and nearly the whole body of the clergy. Having arrived there, he convened them in a sort of general ecclesiastical council, under his presidency, in the cathedral; represented to them the imminent perils which threatened the Church; and laid before them the measures which he had devised for its defence. His suggestions were received with unanimous approbation, and processes were not only instituted, even in their first sitting, against several of the reformers, but a sentence of confiscation and the stake was passed on a Sir John Borthwick, one of the most distinguished among them, who, on having been previously cited to appear before this assembly, had fled into England, where he was gladly received by Henry, and soon after employed by that Prince in a mission on the affairs of the reformation to the Protestant Courts of Germany. Borthwick was burned in effigy, his goods seized, and all intercourse with him prohibited under pain of excommunication. The Cardinal, thus encouraged, proceeded with vigour against the enemies of his Church, and, naturally enough, incurred from them the denomination and odium of a persecutor, which those who may take the trouble to disentangle the truth from the jarring and obscure historical accounts of that time, will find to have been very unjustly cast on him. The most romantic tales have been told of his furious severity. The celebrated Buchanan, who had been charged with heresy, and confined, and who, as a grave writer ridiculously observes, "would certainly have been put to death, had he not escaped out of prison," tells us that Beatoun had presented to the King a roll of three hundred and sixty of the principal nobility and gentry of Scotland as proper objects of prosecution; and in another part of his history cites a circumstance which will be presently mentioned, to shew the enormous cruelty of his natural disposition. Neither of these reports are in any degree supported by any other writer of that time; but the best apology for Beatoun's memory with respect to such charges is in the historical fact that only four or five persons suffered death on the score of religious difference during his long government of the Church of Scotland.

Certain too it is that as his influence over the mind of the King, his master, was unbounded, so was his choice of means by which to stem the torrent of the reformation wholly uncontrouled. In all political as well as religious affairs James obeyed him with the subserviency of a pupil. When Henry the eighth proposed a conference with that Prince, early in his reign, at York, James, anxious to maintain peace with his uncle, and curious to behold the splendid novelties of the English Court, eagerly accepted the invitation. The time for the meeting was fixed, and all arrangements made for his journey, when Beatoun suddenly interposed his authority, and compelled the King, to the great offence of Henry, to break the appointment, and prepare for war. With yet more facility he induced his master to that invasion of England in 1542, which ended in the terrible overthrow of the Scots on Solway Moss. James, who survived that great misfortune but for a few weeks, is said by most historians to have died of a broken heart, occasioned by his bitter reflections on it, while a few obscure writers have insinuated that the Cardinal destroyed him by poison, a slander invented in the blindness of malice, and utterly rejected by the sobriety of common sense. His influence over James subsisted to the last hour of that Prince's life. Beatoun persuaded him, a few hours before his dissolution, to sign a will, nominating himself, and the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, and Arran, a Council of Regency, to govern the Kingdom in the name of the infant Mary. The validity of this instrument, which had been solemnly

proclaimed in Edinburgh, was presently questioned by the English faction, and soon after annulled, on the coarse and ready pretence that it had been forged by the Cardinal. No steps were taken to prove this charge, and indeed it seems to have been a mere invention, to apologise for depriving him of that power which was now to fall for a time into the hands of his enemies. He was stripped accordingly of all authority in the government, and in a manner banished to his diocese, and James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, who was presumptive heir to the Crown, was, in the spring of 1543, chosen by the Parliament sole Regent.

The first step made by the party which had thus gained the ascendancy was to entertain a proposal made by Henry for the marriage of his son, Edward, to Mary, then in her cradle. To this, of all public measures, it was known that Beatoun would be most averse. It was determined therefore, before it came to be discussed in Parliament, to prevent his attendance in that assembly, and he was suddenly seized, and imprisoned in the castle of Blackness. His conduct now unveiled the seemingly magical power which he had so long exercised, the simple result of transcendent faculties of mind, and of a courageous heart. This superiority had ensured to him, in an age comparatively artless, the attachment of many of the first men in Scotland, who bowed instinctively to his mighty talents, and were now ready to obey his mandates, though issued through the grates of a prison. To these natural means was added the weight of his ecclesiastical influence. Arran, a weak and irresolute man, terrified at the boldness of the measure which he had been made the instrument of executing, was easily prevailed on to connive at the Cardinal's removal to St. Andrews by the Lord Seaton, to whose custody he had been committed, and whom he had gained to his interest. There, still in some measure in the character of a prisoner, he summoned a meeting of the clergy; vehemently excited their opposition to the English marriage, as the only means of preserving the Church; and, with little difficulty, engaged them to raise money for the equipment of troops, should force become necessary for the attainment of their object. Meanwhile he concerted measures with the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Bothwell, and Murray, for gaining possession of the persons of the young Queen, and the Queen Dowager, who were accordingly carried off by those noblemen from Linlithgow to Stirling, and for preventing the meeting of the Parliament, in which they failed. It was convened on the 25th of August, 1543, and ratified under the great seal the treaties with England for a peace, and for the marriage, in concert with the Regent, who set out on the following day to St. Andrews, where he proclaimed the Cardinal a rebel, and in the same week met him privately, received absolution at his hands, and surrendered himself implicitly to his direction.

Beatoun, for the short remainder of his life, swayed the will of the Regent with a power even more unlimited than that to which the late King had submitted. Very soon after their reconciliation, Gawen Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, who had held the office of Chancellor for seventeen years with the highest reputation, was compelled to relinquish it to the Cardinal, who resigned that of the Privy Seal, in favour of John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, to whose influence over Arran, his natural brother, he had been much indebted in the late singular political revolution. A single step remained at once to fulfil the dearest wish of his heart, and to crown the triumph of his ambition. He demanded of the Regent to solicit for him at the Court of Rome the appointment of Legate à latère. The request was made, and seems to have been granted, without hesitation, and he was raised to that superb ecclesiastical station on the thirtieth of January, 1543, O. S. by the same Pope who had formerly denied it to him. He commenced without delay the exercise of the extensive faculties with which it had invested him; held a solemn visitation to his own diocese, attended by the Regent, and others of the highest public functions in the realm, to enquire into the state of religious opinions and practices; endeavoured to reclaim the moderate reformers by arguments and threats; and proceeded with severity against a few self-devoted zealots whose furious demeanour had left him no choice but to abandon them or his Church to inevitable destruction. At Perth five persons, of the lowest order, were put to death, not for espousing the doctrines of the reformation, but for having insulted by the grossest indecencies the established worship of the land. On his return, he convened an

assembly of the Clergy at Edinburgh, which he opened with a speech of distinguished impartiality. Christianity, he said, laboured under the greatest peril, for which he knew but two remedies, each of which he had resolved to administer; the one, a vigorous prosecution of those who professed or encouraged the new modes of faith; the other, a reformation of the scandalous and immoral lives of the catholic clergy, which had furnished an ample pretext for separation.

Had he proceeded no further he might have escaped the censure of persecution from the many protestant writers, for we have no account of him from the pens of those of his own Church, who have given that colour to his character; but he now determined to attack the leader of the Scottish reformers, and it was for his prosecution of George Wishart that they consigned his name to the most lasting odium. Wishart was a person of considerable talents and learning, a persuasive and indefatigable preacher, and a man of the most exemplary morals. His conduct exhibited, together with the most overheated zeal, a mildness and patience of temper, and an innocency of manners and conversation that not only recommended, but endeared, him to all with whom he could obtain intercourse. The Church of Rome could not have had a more formidable enemy, nor could there perhaps have been found among its opponents any other man so certain of deriving from extremity of punishment the title of martyr. Beatoun, who had long beheld his progress with increasing uneasiness, at length prevailed with the Regent to issue an order for his apprehension, and is said to have accompanied the Earl of Bothwell into East Lothian, of which county that nobleman was hereditary sheriff, to ensure its success. Wishart was conducted to the Castle of Edinburgh, from whence, at the request of the Queen Dowager, who always adhered to the Cardinal, the Regent directed that he should be transferred to St. Andrews, where Beatoun immediately prepared for his trial, and summoned the Prelates of the realm to assemble there for that purpose on the twenty-seventh of February, 1545, O. S. It was suggested at their first meeting, to lessen the responsibility of the clergy, that application should be made to the Regent to grant a special commission constituting some eminent layman to preside, to which the Cardinal agreed. Arran was at first willing to concede this point, but, on the advice of a zealous protestant, to which persuasion indeed he was himself inclined, he returned, to use the words of Spotswood, this answer. "That the Cardinal would do well not to precipitate the man's trial, but to delay it until his coming; for, as to himself, he would not consent to his death before the cause were well examined; and if the Cardinal should do otherwise, he would make protestation that the man's blood should be required at his hands." Beatoun, enraged at this perhaps first instance of the Regent's resistance to any dictate of his, rejoined, adds Spotswood, "that he wrote not unto the Governor as though he depended in any matter upon his authority, but out of a desire he had that the heretic's condemnation might proceed with a shew of public consent, which since he could not obtain, he would be doing himself that which he held most fitting." Wishart was accordingly tried on eighteen articles by the Prelates, and condemned to be burned. The sentence was executed at St. Andrews on the second of March, in the presence, says Buchanan, of the Cardinal, "who sat opposite to the stake, in a balcony hung with tapestry and silk hangings, to behold and take pleasure in the joyful sight;" while the sufferer cried, from the midst of the flames, "he who now so proudly looks down on me from yonder lofty place shall ere long be as ignominiously thrown down as now he proudly lolls at his ease." These circumstances, so memorable, are not mentioned by any writers except Buchanan, and those who have copied from or quoted him, and there is little doubt that the barbarous triumph of the Cardinal, and the prophecy of the martyr, are mere creatures of his invention.

The Cardinal's death indeed occurred so speedily after that of Wishart, and from circumstances so strange and unexpected, that, had such a prognostication really been uttered, all Europe, in an age so fond and credulous of wonders, would have rung with the fame of it's accomplishment. Beatoun, universally envied for his greatness; constantly detested by a powerful party in the State; by another not less formidable in the Church; and by a neighbouring Potentate as remarkable for a vindictive spirit as for his freedom from all

scruples of conscience with regard to the means of gratifying it; was destined to fall by the hands of assassins, actuated by motives of anger for private causes. On the twenty-ninth of May, 1546, five gentlemen, Norman Lesley, eldest son, and John Lesley, brother, to the Earl of Rothes; William Kirkaldy of Grange, Peter Carmichael of Fife, and James Melville; having previously concerted their plan with great circumspection, entered the castle of St. Andrews, early in the morning, with very few followers. Having secured the porter, by whom, as he well knew all of them, they had been readily admitted within the walls, they appointed, says Spotswood, "four of their company to watch the chamber where the Cardinal lay, that no advertisement should go unto him, and then went to the several chambers in which the servants lay asleep, and, calling them by their names, for they were all known unto them, they put fifty of his ordinary servants, besides the workmen, masons, and wrights, who were reckoned above a hundred (for he was then fortifying the castle) to the gate, permitting none to stay within but the Governor's eldest son, whom they thought best to detain upon all adventures. This was performed with so little noise as the Cardinal did not hear till they knocked at his chamber. Then he asked who was there? John Lesley answered 'my name is Lesley.' 'Which Lesley,' said the Cardinal, 'is that, Norman?' It was answered that he must open to those that were there. The answer gave him notice that they were no friends, therefore, making the door fast, he refused to open. They calling to bring fire, whilst it was in fetching he began to commune with them, and, after some speeches, upon their promise to use no violence, he opened the door, but they, rushing in with their swords drawn, did most inhumanly kill him, he not making any resistance."

Thus fell perhaps the greatest man, in almost every point of consideration, that his country ever produced. His vast talents and his consequent power have combined to preserve that regular chain of the circumstances of his public life of which I have here attempted to give an abstract, while the history of many of his contemporaries who held high offices in the State is almost unknown. In the story of one of whom so much has been told, and that too by his enemies, it is at all events unlikely that any just dispraise should have been omitted, and it must be confessed that, with the exception of some religious severities, his public conduct has been left free of blame. Of his private character less is known. He publicly indulged in a licentiousness not uncommon with the eminent clergy of his time, and lived in open concubinage with a lady of a noble family, Marian Ogilvie, by whom he had six children, of which his eldest daughter was married a few weeks before his death to the heir of the then Earl of Crawford, and respectable descendants from some of the others yet remain in Scotland. Some Latin works of his pen are said to remain in manuscript. An Account of his Negotiations with the King of France, and the Pope; a Treatise of the Supremacy of St. Peter over the other Apostles; and a Collection of his Speeches and Discourses on several occasions.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

William Cecil Lord Burghley.

From the original of Mark Gerards, in the Collection of

The Most Noble The Marquis of Exeter.

Drawn by Wm. Hilton, A.R.A. & Engraved (with Permission) by J. J. Agar.

London, Published Decr. 1.1818, by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

WILLIAM CECIL,

LORD BURGHLEY.

No one can expect in this place a regular and digested detail even of the most prominent facts of this great man's life. The history of his country, and indeed of Europe, teem with the particulars of his political conduct, and though these have been repeatedly condensed, and embodied with much skill and labour, in forms of biography confined exclusively to his story, yet so abundant are the materials, and the theme of such mighty interest, that a life of this minister, combining on an ample scale authentic facts and judicious reasonings, with grace of style, and with that warmth of interest which only a real affection to the subject can bestow, would supply perhaps the most important deficiency in the whole circle of our historical literature. Little more can properly be done here than to collect some fleeting circumstances of his private and domestic conduct: to gather from obscure and neglected sources such as may be obtained of those smaller lights and shadows of character which the affected dignity of history has deemed unworthy of notice.

He descended from an ancient and respectable family of country gentlemen which had been long seated in the county of Hereford, a branch of which removed from thence into Lincolnshire, and settled there, in the neighbourhood of Stamford, on considerable estates, purchased by his grandfather, David Siselt, Sitsilt, or Cyssell, for thus variously does his name seem to have been spelled by this individual person. Numerous attempts were formerly made to trace the origin of his house to remote antiquity, for Burghley's foible, and perhaps he had no other, was to assume a credit for splendid ancestry, and he spared no pains in endeavouring to establish the justice of his claim. So predominant in him was this disposition that he could not help beginning an answer which he penned to some malignant libels on Elizabeth and her ministers with a diffuse account of his own family. It may be readily conceived that genealogists and antiquaries were not eager to dispute this point with a prime minister. Verstegan, the first of the latter class in the Treasurer's time, taking an ingenious advantage of the classical aspect of the surname "Cecil," an orthography by the way, which seems to have been first used by Burghley himself, gravely derives him from a patrician stock of ancient Rome; and others, of less note, who preceded and followed Verstegan, have been even more complaisant. Burghley's genealogical researches however were not confined to his own views. He loved the study, and probably devoted to it most of the little time that he could snatch from his great avocations. I once possessed many manuscript pedigrees, written entirely by himself, which a nobleman, lineally descended from him, did me the honour some years since to accept at my hands. Several of them had been compiled with the evident view of discovering illustrious alliances with his own blood. Others were miscellaneous, comprising many families of nobility and gentry in various parts of the kingdom with whom he sought not for such connexion.

He was born on the thirteenth of September, 1520, in the house of his grandfather, at Bourne, in Lincolnshire, of which parish his mother, Jane, daughter and heir of William Hickington, was a native. His father, Richard Cecil, was master of the robes to Henry the eighth. He gained the rudiments of his education at the free school of Grantham, and afterwards at Stamford, and at the age of fifteen went to St. John's College, in Cambridge. The cool and sober mind, and the disposition for almost unremitting application, which distinguished his public life were equally conspicuous in his childhood: in his college he rose always at four, and could scarcely be prevailed on to quit his studies during the whole

of the day. We are told that he suffered much there from a defluxion on his legs, which was ascribed to his sedentary habit, and was cured with difficulty; but this was probably his first attack of that inveterate gout which so cruelly afflicted his maturer years. His father having destined him to the profession of the law, he was entered of Gray's Inn in his twenty-first year, and, about three months after, married Mary, sister of the celebrated scholar Sir John Cheke. A casual disputation with two priests of the Romish church on some points of doctrine, and of pontifical authority, is said to have introduced him a little before this period to the notice of Henry, who bestowed on him the reversion of an office in one of the courts of law; and the interest of his brother-in-law, who was preceptor to Edward the sixth, brought him early in the reign of that Prince into the favour of the Protector. He was appointed Master of Requests, and promoted soon after to the office of Secretary of State; was displaced, with the rest of Somerset's friends, and committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner for some months; and not long before the King's death was restored by Dudley, who had discovered in him that cool wisdom of which his own intemperate counsels stood so much in need.

Cecil has been taxed with ingratitude, and indeed treachery, to his great patron Somerset, but the charge, which seems to have been grounded on his sudden acquisition of the favour of Northumberland, acquired little credit. Some suspicion, it is true, to that effect might probably have been built on the cold consolation which he offered to the Protector when that great man was tottering on the brink of final ruin. He solicited an interview with Cecil, then attached to the faction of Dudley; communicated to him his apprehensions of the impending blow; and asked his friendly advice. Cecil is said to have contented himself with answering that "if he were innocent, he might trust to that: if he were otherwise, he could but pity him." This anecdote, if it be genuine, furnishes no presumption of treachery. It savours only of the frigid caution which must necessarily attend him who successfully endeavours to rise amidst a conflict of parties. Pure gratitude belongs, almost exclusively, to the intercourse of private society, and Cecil was a statesman by profession; almost by nature.

Aided by the same useful, however narrow, prudence, he steered with safety through the frightful difficulties which arose on the questionable succession to the Crown upon the death of Edward. When directed by that Prince to prepare the instrument for settling it on Jane Grey, he excused himself with admirable address, and shifted the performance of the office on the judges; and, when it was to be signed by the King, and the Privy Council, contrived, though himself a member of that body, that his name should appear on the face of it only as that of a witness to the royal signature. So, when Northumberland, on the King's demise, called on him to draw the proclamation declaring Jane's accession, and asserting her right to the throne, he excused himself by declining to invade the province of the Attorney and Solicitor General; and, shortly after, when the fortunes of that rash nobleman and his family were becoming desperate, positively denied his request to compose an argument in support of her title, and of the dispositions made by Henry for the exclusion of Mary. Armed with these pleas, from which at the best little could be inferred beyond a mere neutrality, he presented himself to that Princess in the very hour which had finally crushed the hopes of Jane, and was graciously received. He prudently took this opportunity to secure himself by a general pardon.

Reserved, mysterious, and perhaps too selfish, in his political views, he preserved however a noble integrity in his affection to the religious faith in which he had been bred. When Mary, on her accession, offered to continue him in the post of Secretary if he would conform to the Church of Rome, he stedfastly refused. In a manuscript account of his life, professed to have been written by one of his servants, which possesses much internal evidence of authenticity, we are told that he answered the noble emissary who conveyed to him the Queen's pleasure on that occasion, "that he thought himself bound to serve God first, and next the Queen, but if her service should put him out of God's service, he hoped her Majesty would give him leave to chuse an everlasting rather than a momentary service; and, as for the Queen, she had been his so gracious lady, that he would ever serve

and pray for her in his heart, and with his body and goods be as ready to serve in her defence as any of her loyal subjects, so she would please to grant him leave to use his conscience to himself, and serve her at large, as a private man, which he chose rather than to be her greatest counsellor." The same authority informs us that he now commenced a correspondence with Elizabeth, in her captivity; communicated to her from time to time all public events in which her interests were concerned; assisted her with his counsels; and thus laid the foundation for that future exalted station in her favour which certainly seems to have rested little less on her personal regard for him than on her conviction of his wisdom and his fidelity.

He was the first person on whom she called for advice, for on the very day of her accession he presented to her minutes of twelve particular matters which required her instant attention, and the first appointment of her reign was to replace him in the office of Secretary. To this, three years after, she added that of Master of the Court of Wards, a post of considerable profit and patronage; on the 25th of February 1570, O. S. created him Baron of Burghley in Lincolnshire; in 1572 gave him the Order of the Garter; and in the autumn of that year he succeeded the old Marquis of Winchester as Lord High Treasurer, and so remained till his death, on the fourth of August, 1598, having presided uninterruptedly in the administration of public measures for thirty of the most glorious and happy years that England has ever known.

In every feature of this very eminent person's character we trace some one or more of the qualifications for a great statesman, and in every particular of his public conduct we discover their fruition. He burst forth therefore in his youth upon public observation in the possession, almost intuitively, of those rare faculties which deride the slow march of experience, and scarcely need the protection of power; a fact almost incredible, had we not ourselves of late years witnessed a similar phenomenon. In a remarkable letter of Roger Ascham's, in the year 1530, chiefly on the learning of the English ladies, having spoken largely in the praise of the erudite Mildred Coke, who had then become the second wife of Cecil, he digresses to her husband, at that time in his thirtieth year, and a minister of some years standing—"It may be doubted," says the translator of Ascham, "whether she is most happy in the possession of this surprizing degree of knowledge; or in having had for her preceptor and father Sir Anthony Coke, whose singular erudition caused him to be joined with John Cheke in the office of tutor to the King; or, finally, in having become the wife of William Cecil, lately appointed Secretary of State; a young man indeed, but mature in wisdom, and so deeply skilled both in letters and affairs, and endued with such moderation in the exercise of public offices, that to him would be awarded by the consenting voice of Englishmen the four-fold praise attributed to Pericles by his rival Thucydides —to know all that is fitting; to be able to apply what he knows; to be a lover of his country; and to be superior to money."

Perhaps no better proof of his profound sagacity could be found than in the fact of his having, throughout the unusually protracted term of his administration, enjoyed the uninterrupted confidence and esteem of a Princess whom, if we can for a moment forget our own prejudices and her glory, we shall find little less capricious than her father, and almost as unprincipled. One solitary instance of an apparent suspension of her favour towards him accompanied the ridiculous disavowal of her intention to sign the death warrant of the unhappy Mary, and the infamous sacrifice of Davison, through which she sought to conceal one crime by the commission of another; but this was mere affectation and artifice; he is said to have besought her pardon with a shew of the most humble contrition, and received it so speedily that the sincerity of her anger was even at that time doubted.

Burghley, a favourite without the name, was ever an overmatch for the unworthy Leicester, on whom that odious title was always bestowed. The fair fame which followed the one unsought was vainly pursued by the other, and thus will the steady and straightforward step of wisdom and rectitude always outstrip the eager and irregular efforts of cunning and deceit. Flattery seems to have had no share in procuring or maintaining to him the unbounded grace of his mistress, nor can an instance be found of his having

used artifice to cultivate that popularity which he so largely enjoyed. He chastened with so just a judgment a naturally high spirit, and an ample consciousness of the dignity of his rank and place, as to obtain the reverence of many, and the esteem of the whole body, of the nobility, with the exception of a very few, the impotency of whose factious endeavours against him served but to increase the splendor of his reputation, and to strengthen the grasp with which he upheld the honour of the Crown, and the interests of the nation. Though Elizabeth is said to have ruled by the dexterous opposition of parties, she ever abstained from involving him in the collision. Indeed there is good reason to suppose that he joined her in the prosecution of this policy, and, by affecting a careless neutrality, increased the vain hopes of faction, and encouraged it to disclose its views. In the long course of his ministry, history records not a single instance of erroneous judgment; of persecution, or even severity, for any public or private cause; of indecorous ambition, or thirst of wealth; of haughty insolence, or mean submission. In a word, moderation, the visible sign of a moral sense critically just, was the guide of all his actions; decorated the purity of his religious faith with charity to its opponents, and tempered the sincere warmth of his affection to the Crown with a due regard to all the civil institutions of the realm; it has been therefore happily said of him, that "he loved to wrap the prerogatives in the laws of the land."

The same fine principle coloured the whole conduct of his private life. Without remarkable fondness or indulgence, he was the kindest husband, father, and master, among the great men of his time; with few professions of regard, a warm friend; a steady enemy, with passive resentment; a cheerful, and even jocose companion, with cautious familiarity; just in all his dealings, without ostentation; magnificent in his establishments, without profusion; tenacious of the powers and privileges of his own high station, and tenderly careful of the rights of others. His two marriages, in both of which he was singularly fortunate, have been already mentioned. It is scarcely necessary to say that the Marquis of Exeter is lineally descended from the first, and the Marquis of Salisbury from the second. His second lady brought him likewise two daughters; Anne, who became the wife of Edward de Vere, eighteenth Earl of Oxford; and Elizabeth, married to William, eldest son of Thomas Lord Wentworth.

James Butler, First Duke of Ormond.

From the original of Kneller, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Strathmore.

Drawn by W.m Hilton A.R.A. & Engraved (with Permission) by E. Scriven.

London. Published Nov.r 5th 1817 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mayor & Jones; and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

JAMES BUTLER,

FIRST DUKE OF ORMOND.

A MEMOIR of the extent necessarily prescribed to these can furnish but a very imperfect sketch of such a life as that on which I am now required to treat. The Duke of Ormond was perhaps the best as well as the greatest of the eminent men of his time: a just representation of his moral character would comprehend almost all the features of a pure system of ethics, and a regular detail of his public conduct nearly the whole story of his country, from the period of his first appearance on the theatre of public affairs to his death. Little therefore can be expected here beyond a mere common-place narrative of the circumstances of a life the due celebration of which might justly demand all the dignity, as well as all the diligence of history.

Of his descent from one of the most ancient and illustrious families of Ireland it is almost needless to speak. His predecessors had encountered strange vicissitudes; had been attainted, and restored; had been forced by Henry the eighth to relinquish their Earldom, under the name of a voluntary surrender, to the father of Anne Boleyn, and, after the downfall of her family, re-obtained it from that Prince; and were at length stripped of their estates, under colour of law, by James the first, that they might fall, with the shew of an inheritance, into the hands of one of his Scottish favourites, Sir Richard Preston, lately created Viscount Dingwall, who had married the only daughter and heir of the tenth Earl. On the death of the latter, Sir Walter Butler, of Killcash, a collateral kinsman who became the object of that injustice, succeeded to the titles, and the subject of this memoir was the first born child of his eldest son, Thomas, Viscount Thurles, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Poyntz, of Iron Acton, in Gloucestershire.

He was born in 1610, and passed his youth under the most inauspicious circumstances. While yet in his infancy his grandfather was committed to the Fleet prison for having murmured at the award which had deprived him of his estates, and remained there till the King died; and in 1619 his father was lost at sea in passing over from Ireland, leaving a widow, and seven children, nearly destitute. His education was almost wholly neglected. He was placed for some years under the care of a carpenter's wife at Hatfield in Hertfordshire, and removed from thence to Finchley, where he received some very ordinary instruction by a Mr. Conyers, a Roman Catholic priest, from whom he was taken by the King's order, and sent to Lambeth, that he might be bred under the inspection of Archbishop Abbot in the Protestant faith. Abbot seems to have abided strictly by the letter of his instructions, for the young Lord Thurles certainly was converted to the Church of England, of which he remained ever after a zealous son, but was otherwise treated with such carelessness that it was not till the age of twenty, after he had married, that he began to study the Latin language, and then in a manner accidentally, by the aid of the domestic chaplain of his uncle Poyntz, in a visit which he made to that gentleman's country seat, for the purpose of introducing his bride.

His marriage terminated the series of misfortune and persecution which had assailed him almost from the hour of his birth, and was the result of very singular circumstances. Lord Dingwall had an only daughter, heir of course to the Ormond estates which her father had so unjustly acquired. The favourite Buckingham, ever bent on aggrandizing his family, had obtained the promise of her hand for his nephew, George Fielding, second son to the Earl of Denbigh, and, among other arrangements regarding the marriage,

Dingwall was created Viscount Callan, and Earl of Desmond, in Ireland, with remainder to George Fielding, on whom also was immediately conferred the title of Lord Fielding. To remove more effectually any chance of obstruction to this treaty, James suffered himself to be persuaded to put the heir male of the House of Ormond wholly into the hands of his adversary, and most iniquitously granted the wardship and marriage of Lord Thurles to the Earl of Desmond. A special interference of providence seems to have defeated the plan. Just as it was at the point of accomplishment Buckingham was assassinated, and Desmond drowned on his passage between Dublin and Holyhead, and his widow, who it will be recollected was heir to the Earls of Ormond of the elder line, dying about the same time, with her last breath conjured her daughter to put an end to the miseries of the family by uniting herself to her kinsman. On the eighth of September, 1629, Charles the first, who had now succeeded to the throne, signed a licence for their marriage, which was immediately after celebrated.

In 1632 he succeeded, on the death of his grandfather, to the dignities of his family, and in the following year went to Ireland, to the government of which the Earl of Strafford had then lately been appointed. It is said that on his first visit to that great man, Strafford, who viewed him from a window as he crossed the castle yard, said to those about him—"if my skill in physiognomy fail me not, that young nobleman will make the greatest man of his family." A circumstance soon after occurred which might have caused a lasting breach between men of minds less noble. Strafford had issued an order that at the meeting of Parliament the members should not enter either House wearing swords: all obeyed except the Earl of Ormond, who, on his sword being demanded at the door by the usher of the black rod, answered "you shall have no sword of mine but in your body;" nor was this merely the intemperate sally of a rash young man, for, on his being summoned to answer for it on the rising of the House, he shewed the King's writ, calling him to Parliament "cinctus cum gladio." The Deputy admitted the justification, and is said to have been charmed by his high spirit and acuteness. How far this single occurrence might have operated to unite two persons of congenial dispositions can scarcely be supposed, but certain it is that from this period they conceived a mutual friendship, which on Strafford's part was presently considerably enhanced by his growing experience of Ormond's splendid talents. In a long letter to the Secretary of State, dated on the sixteenth of December, 1634, when the young Earl had been not many months in Ireland, Strafford, in giving a general view of the state of that country, says—"In the higher House there is my Lord of Ormond, that hath as much advantage of the rest in judgement and parts as he hath in estate and blood, and one who, upon my observation since I came hither, expresseth very good affections to the Crown and government, so as I hold him a person of consequence, and fit to receive some mark of his Majesty's favour, and humbly offer it to his Majesty's wisdom whether it were not seasonable to make him a Counsellor. He is young, but, take it from me, a very staid head." The Secretary's answer, which, together with the letter just now cited, are published in the Strafford Papers, conveys the King's warrant for his admission into the Privy Council.

He became now Strafford's confidential adviser, and shared with him the cares of his government, neither receiving nor requiring any reward beyond the hope of a happy issue of his labours. In the following Parliament, which met in 1640, he acted with equal zeal and discretion as the chief manager of all business in the House of Lords on the part of the Crown, and when the breaking out of the Scottish rebellion rendered it necessary to raise an armed force in Ireland, the levy was intrusted to his care, and the army afterwards placed under his command. The storm which had for some time threatened Strafford at home began now to break over his head, and in Ireland the same Parliament which had lately offered their public thanks to the King for having given them so worthy a Governor readily joined that of England in his prosecution: The Commons voted a long and bitter remonstrance against him, and a powerful party in the House of Peers was preparing to follow their example, but were prevented by the forcible arguments of Ormond, and the earnest opposition of a band which the force of his talents, and the example of his recti-

tude, had united in the defence of the Crown and the laws. It was, however, presently evident that Strafford was devoted to utter ruin. Many proofs remain that his attachment to Ormond subsisted unimpaired to his last hour. Two letters written while he was imprisoned in the Tower to this nobleman have been preserved: in the first, dated on the seventeenth of December, 1640, he tells him that he had recommended him to the King for the office of Lord Deputy of Ireland; and begins the second, on the third of the following February, with these passionate expressions—"There is so little rest given me, my noble Lord, as I have not scarce time to eat my bread. I trust to have more quietness after a while. Your Lordship's favours towards me in these afflictions are such as have, and shall, level my heart at your foot so long as I live, or else let me be infamous to all men." On the evening before he suffered death, he intrusted to Archbishop Usher a few requests to be delivered to his royal master, one of which was that his blue ribbon should be given to the Earl of Ormond. Charles offered it accordingly, but Ormond replied "that his own loyalty stood in no need of rewards to confirm it, and that such an honour might probably be employed more for his Majesty's service."

On the breaking out of the Irish rebellion, in the winter of 1641, the King would have appointed him Lord Deputy, but the Parliament had determined on the Earl of Leicester. The important post, however, of Commander in Chief of the army was intrusted to him by the Lords Justices, and, with that felicitous application of talents to new objects which belongs only to the greatest minds, he presently appeared in the character of an able and experienced general. He determined to attack the rebels in every quarter with unceasing vigour, and was uniformly victorious during the whole of the next year's campaign, though his measures were frequently impeded by enemies in the Council more formidable than those in the field. The Justices, Borlace and Parsons, became jealous of his favour with the King, and inclined, from party motives, to weaken the effect of those services the success of which would certainly have placed him at the head of the government. They soon endeavoured to thwart all his plans, and the arrival of Leicester, by whom they had been secretly encouraged, aggravated the evil. Calumnies arising from the same quarters were spread against him in England, but it may be presumed with little effect, since the House of Commons in that year voted him their thanks, and presented him with a rich jewel; while the King, desirous to remove the inconveniences under which he laboured, and to confer on him a special mark of the royal approbation, renewed his appointment of Commander in Chief by a commission from himself, under the Great Seal, and presently after created him Marquis of Ormond. The Irish government could now no longer controul his measures, but new and more serious difficulties began to present themselves in the state of the country at large. Even the loyalists of Ireland, since the commencement of the rebellion, had been gradually dividing themselves into five factions of various views and interests, abounding in rancour and hatred towards each other. The uncertainty and the scantiness of supplies drawn from such discordant sources crippled the sinews of war, and the increasing fury of the fanatical party in the English Parliament blinded that assembly to the necessities of the sister country. These disadvantages, till they could be no longer encountered, seemed but to inspire Ormond with increased zeal and vigour, but he was at length obliged to cede to them. Soon after a signal victory, gained by a very inferior force under his command, near the town of Ross, he was under the cruel necessity of accepting proposals from the rebels, the issue of which was a cessation of arms for twelve months.

The news of this treaty, which was signed on the fifteenth of September, 1643, was received with much affected disapprobation by the English Parliament, and with real grief by the King, who was, however, so fully satisfied of the fidelity and capacity with which the measures preceding it had been conducted that he resolved to place the Marquis at the head of the government of Ireland, and he was accordingly sworn into the office of Lord Lieutenant in the spring of the following year. Ormond's great spirit shrunk for a moment from the difficulties of which his new station gave him a nearer and more comprehensive view, and he besought Charles to recal his appointment. To the discords by

which the country thus placed under his charge was already torn was now added the baleful influence of an incipient rebellion in England, emissaries from whose leaders were indefatigably employed in endeavouring to seduce the loyal Irish from their allegiance, while many of those who remained unshaken were intriguing against him in the Court, lately removed to Oxford, or importuning him for rewards and benefits which he was wholly unable to bestow. Charles however conjured him to stand firmly at his post, and he obeyed, but the necessities of his situation forced him immediately to conclude a peace with the rebels, which was signed at Dublin, on the thirtieth of July, 1646. The hopes founded on this agreement were blasted by strange intrigues which had commenced during its negotiation. The Roman Catholics, by far the most powerful party in Ireland, and from which all the captains of the rebellion had issued, had been unremittingly goaded on by the Pope's Nuncio to raise their own interest on the ruins of all others, while Charles, with the best motives, and the worst policy, had privately employed the fantastic Edward Somerset, Earl of Glamorgan, in a mysterious correspondence with the chiefs of that persuasion for the eventual benefit of the Protestant cause. Thus flattered and elated, they embarked in a new conspiracy, the leading feature of which was to seize the person of the Lord Lieutenant at Kilkenny, from whence he escaped, with much difficulty and danger, to Dublin, to which they immediately laid siege. Ormond long defended the capital with equal perseverance and skill, and chiefly at his own charge, till his means were wholly exhausted. In the mean time his royal master fell, a helpless prisoner, into the hands of his fanatical rebels at home, and the distraction of Ireland was increased by the arrival of commissioners from the English Parliament. Unable to hold the city longer, he had no alternative but to surrender it to them, or to the insurgents, and, preferring the former, signed a treaty with them to that effect on the nineteenth of June, 1647, and soon after embarked for England.

He obtained with some difficulty permission to wait on the King, then confined in Hampton Court, and laid before his Majesty an exact account of his conduct in the government of Ireland, and of the state in which he had left the country. Charles declared his perfect approbation and gratitude, and refused to receive the Marquis's commission, which he now once more begged leave to resign, saying that, "if it could ever be employed with success in that country, it must be by him." Doubtless in this interview between that unhappy Prince and his faithful servant new plans were laid, and fresh hopes inspired, as Ormond soon after embarked for France, where he remained for ten months, negotiating, as it should seem, with the Catholics on each side of the water, for at length the leaders of those of Ireland suddenly expelled the Nuncio, and invited the Marquis to return, which he did on the ninth of September, 1648, and immediately concluded with them a treaty of peace. He had brought with him neither men nor money; experience had taught him that his new friends were to be trusted with caution; the capital was in the hands of a rebel officer from England, and several other places of more importance for strength were garrisoned by that party; emissaries from Cromwell, who had been appointed commander in chief for the reduction of Ireland, were in perpetual activity there; and Prince Rupert, who lay on the coast with the fleet which had revolted from the Parliament, instead of assisting him, thwarted his measures, and took on himself to deal independently with the different factions, from a jealousy and vanity equally unpardonable.

Ormond, undaunted by these obstacles, resumed the helm with admirable coolness and intrepidity. The news of the murther of the King had excited universal horror in Ireland, and he strove to take advantage of that disposition. He lost no time in proclaiming Charles the second; made flattering proposals of treaty to O'Neill, who commanded that class of the rebels which had named itself the old Irish, and which was still in arms; and endeavoured to gain over the English commanders. All these steps proving ineffectual, he determined to put the success of the royal cause in Ireland upon one grand and desperate issue, and to besiege the city of Dublin. His force scarcely exceeded in number that of the garrison, and he was proceeding in his enterprise with equal caution and resolution, when a strong reinforcement to the enemy arrived from England, and encouraged the

besieged to make a general sally. An action, which the Irish writers call the battle of Rathmines, ensued, in which his little army was totally routed, and while he was devising the means to resume at least a posture of defence, Oliver Cromwell landed at Dublin, with an army of twelve thousand men, and finally extinguished all his hopes of success. He now resolved to quit a country in which his hopes of service were blasted, and his life in danger, and, having asserted the dying authority of his commission in the appointment of the Earl of Clanricarde to the office of Lord Deputy, embarked, on the fifth of September, 1650, for France, to partake with Charles the second in a union of desperate fortunes.

Charles, dissipated, indolent, and unprincipled, as he was, admired talents, and respected virtues. He had lately bestowed on the Marquis of Ormond one of the very few rewards in his power by sending to him in Ireland the Order of the Garter, and now received him into the utmost favour and confidence. He remained, however, at Paris during the King's absence in that unfortunate expedition which terminated in the battle of Worcester, assisting with his counsel the Queen mother and her family. In the mean time his finances became totally exhausted, and, the Marchioness, who was in England, employed in negotiating with the Parliament to save some part of his estates from confiscation, being unable to send him any assistance, he was for a long time compelled to depend on the generous hospitality of the French nobility for support. Soon after the King's return, he accepted a commission of peculiar delicacy—to detach the Duke of Gloucester from the Queen mother, who had obstinately determined to breed him in the Romish persuasion. This he effected with so much address as not only to maintain himself in the Queen's favour but to become afterwards the sole instrument of appeasing the quarrel which it had caused between her and the King. He was now for a considerable time employed in endeavouring to gain over the Court of Spain to his master's interests, through the means of Don John of Austria, Governor of the Low Countries, by whom he was held in high consideration; and, having discovered that false and unfavourable representations had been made to that Prince by Cardenas, the Spanish minister to Cromwell, of the degree of influence possessed by Charles in England, he nobly determined to go thither in disguise, and to collect such proofs as might remove all doubt on the subject. The story of this expedition, which occupied a month, and of the dangers which he encountered in it, is full of curiosity, but its results seem to have been insignificant. The loyalty and courage which he had displayed in it fixed him more firmly than ever in the King's esteem: he became Charles's most favoured companion and adviser; was consulted on all the secret steps which led to the restoration; and had no small share in the accomplishment of that great event.

His services were now acknowledged with becoming gratitude. He was sworn of the Privy Council; appointed Steward of the Household; and created a Peer of England by the title of Earl of Brecknock. The Chancellorship of the University of Dublin, which he had held for some years before the death of the late King, was restored to him, and he was re-possessed not only of the great estates of which he had been stripped during the usurpation, but of all others which had at any time been forfeited to the Crown by his ancestors, the preamble to the patent by which that extraordinary boon was conferred containing perhaps a larger acknowledgement of services than any subject had ever before received from his Prince. He was created Lord High Steward of England for the occasion of the coronation, and was raised, a few days before that ceremony took place, to the dignity of Duke of Ormond, in Ireland: at length, on the fourth of October, 1662, he was again appointed Lord Lieutenant of that island, an event so welcome to the best judgements of the country that the Parliament immediately voted to him a present of thirty thousand pounds. Ireland however was yet in a state of considerable ferment, and indeed some necessary measures which had been taken since the restoration had created new discontents. The act of settlement was odious to the military, and the act of uniformity to the sectaries: those regulations were ascribed chiefly to the Duke, and a few of the most daring of each party joined, soon after his arrival, in a plot, contrived with infinite

subtlety, chiefly by the notorious Colonel Blood, then a Lieutenant, for surprising the Castle of Dublin, and seizing his person, as the prelude to a general insurrection.

This conspiracy having been happily rendered abortive by a timely discovery, Ormond applied himself to the affairs of his government with an equal attention to the interests of the monarchy and the welfare of the Irish, but was presently interrupted by the profligate class of ministers who then infested Charles's heterogeneous Cabinet. It should seem that their aversion to him arose simply from that almost instinctive antipathy which knaves bear towards honest and honourable men. Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, and the Duke of Buckingham, endeavoured to thwart all his measures, and easily persuaded the Queen mother, whom he had offended by refusing some favour to the Marquis of Antrim, who was patronized by her, and the King's mistress, the Countess of Castlemaine, whom he had uprightly and wisely prevented from having a grant of the Phœnix park and mansion, in Dublin, to undermine him in that Prince's affections. In the mean time, which aggravated their malice, he lived in the strictest intimacy and confidence with the great and virtuous Earl of Clarendon, whom they detested; and, when they contrived soon after to compass the political ruin of that admirable statesman, great pains were taken to discover matter whereon to ground an impeachment against Ormond, and rumours were industriously spread, both in England and Ireland, to teach the people to expect it. Charles, rather from kindness than suspicion, recalled him in May, 1668, to give an account of his conduct, and received him with the grace to which he had been accustomed. He told the King that "though it would never trouble him to be undone for his Majesty, it would be an insupportable affliction to be undone by him;" challenged and obtained the strictest enquiry, and was declared wholly blameless. Buckingham, however, who had determined to displace him, commenced a series of intrigue and artifice which rendered his public situation insupportable, and he resigned it in the spring of the following year; nor did that sacrifice abate the rancour of his enemies, who now insinuated that he had derived immense wealth during his administration from the miseries of Ireland. This report was diffused with such effect that he thought himself bound to refute it by a second explanation, and is said to have shewn satisfactorily that the public had become indebted to him during the term of his services in the enormous balance of between eight and nine hundred thousand pounds.

Ormond retired with unabated loyalty, and dignified patience. The party by which he had been persecuted could not prevail on Charles to dismiss him from the office of Lord Steward of the Household, which he, on his part, condescended to retain from motives of respect to that Prince; the University of Oxford, immediately after his removal from the government of Ireland, unanimously elected him Chancellor; the wise, the good, and the great, seemed united in one common sentiment of esteem for him; when those who had in vain endeavoured to destroy his character determined to attack his life. On the sixth of December, 1670, having been to dine in the city, on the occasion of an entertainment given by the corporation to the Prince of Orange, he was beset on his return, in St. James's Street, by a few armed desperadoes, commanded by his old enemy Blood, who himself forced the Duke out of his coach; bound him on a horse, behind one of the party; and was hurrying him to Tyburn, intending to have hanged him there on the common gallows, when he was by a surprizing good fortune rescued. Buckingham was strongly suspected of having planned this outrageous enterprize, and Blood's concern in it was totally unknown till he voluntarily confessed it in his examination by the King, after his well known attempt to carry off the Regalia in the following year. Charles, whose mysterious conduct on that remarkable occasion has been so frequently the subject of historical conjecture, sent Arlington to the Duke of Ormond to request that he would forgive Blood, "for reasons which he had orders to disclose to him;" but the Duke answered, says Sir Gilbert Talbot, in his narrative, that "if the King could forgive him for stealing his crown, he" (the Duke) "might easily forgive his attempt upon his life; and if such was his Majesty's pleasure, that was a sufficient reason for him, and his Lordship might spare the rest."

He now remained for seven years unemployed in the State, and personally slighted by the King, when, in the month of April, 1677, he suddenly received a message that his

Majesty would sup with him. The occasion of Charles's visit was to communicate his determination to appoint him once more Lord Lieutenant, a step to which the Duke of York, as it afterwards appeared, had prompted the King, to prevent Monmouth from succeeding to that office. His third administration was marked by a degree of patriotism and wisdom even higher than either of the former. Ireland was now somewhat tranquillized, but the overweening influence of the Papists threatened the extinction of the established religion, and disturbed the conduct of the State. He opposed it with a firmness so happily moderated as to have wholly escaped the charge of persecution; seized and imprisoned Talbot, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, who had meditated a dangerous design against his person; swept away the other titular dignitaries by a single proclamation; gradually rendered the army completely protestant; and left the common people of the contrary persuasion to the quiet exercise of their faith and worship. Meanwhile he encouraged agriculture, arts, and manufactures, by regulations full of discretion, and sought the civilization and comfort of his countrymen with the most affectionate zeal. Still, however, he was opposed in England, with unremitting industry, by the party which had so long molested him. Charles, to escape from their importunities, found himself obliged to declare, with an oath, that " while the Duke of Ormond lived he should never be put out of that government;" yet he was obliged so far to submit as to call again upon his Grace for an explanation and defence of his ministry, which having been given, to the full satisfaction of the whole of both countries, the King invited him to London in 1682, and, on the ninth of November in that year, raised his Dukedom to an English dignity. He took advantage of this tide of favour to reiterate with earnestness the arguments which he had for several years been vainly pressing on the King's attention to induce him to call a Parliament in Ireland, and gave offence. He was commanded to return to his government, from which indeed he had been long absent, and Charles, forgetting his oath, dispatched after him an order to deprive him of it, but did not live to receive his resignation.

From James he had less courteousness to expect than he experienced. The sword indeed was taken from him at Dublin with little ceremony, but the King, on his arrival in London, received him graciously; left him in possession of his ancient office of Lord Steward; and paid him the compliment of giving him the crown to carry at the coronation. Little of interest now remained to fill up the measure of a long and unblemished life. Ormond, a pattern of loyalty, but not more devoted to the monarchy than to the Protestant establishment, lent his last endeavours in the public service at once to save his Prince from the ruin to which he seemed to have devoted himself, and the Church of England from injuries which the work of an age might not have repaired; while James, to crown the absurdities into which his zeal had betrayed him, disturbed the tranquillity with which the Duke declined towards the grave by ridiculous efforts to induce him to abandon that system of faith which had been the guide of his youth and maturity, and was now the hope and comfort of his old age. He died of a gradual decay, at Kingston Hall, a house which he had hired in Dorsetshire, on the twenty-first of July, 1688, and was buried on the fourth of the next month in Westminster Abbey.

This great person married, as has been before partly observed, his cousin, Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir to Richard Preston, Earl of Desmond, by whom he had eight sons, all of whom he survived, and two daughters. Of the former, the first, third, fourth, sixth, and eighth; Thomas, James, James, Walter, and James, died very young: Thomas, the second son, was the admirable Earl of Ossory, whose memory has been embalmed by the pen of Lord Clarendon; the fifth, Richard, was created Viscount of Tullough, &c. in Ireland, and Lord Butler of Weston, in England, by Charles the second; John, the seventh son, was also advanced by the same Prince to the peerage of Ireland, by the titles of Baron of Aghrim, Viscount Clonmore, and Earl of Gowran. The daughters were Elizabeth, wife of Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield; and Mary, married to William Lord Cavendish, afterwards the first Duke of Devonshire.

Sir William Maitland,

Of Lethington.

From the original, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Lauderdale.

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London. Published Ro.d 1 Bd. by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mayor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

SIR WILLIAM MAITLAND,

OF LETHINGTON.

THIS was the eminent person whom Camden, and several other writers, in treating of the affairs of Scotland in his time, designate by the appellation of "Lidington," a corruption of "Lethington," the denomination of his estate, by which, according to the usage of his country, he was commonly called. In an age when his native realm was not more distinguished by bravery in war than by ignorance of the arts of government he stood alone a most profound and subtle politician. He was the eldest son of Sir Richard Maitland, of Lethington, by Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Cranstoun, and was heir to a large patrimony, but the peculiar character of his mind unfitted him for the enjoyment not only of the simple comforts but of the proudest distinctions of private life. Stratagem and secrecy were the darling objects of his study, nor was ambition wanting to spur him on to the constant exertion of those inclinations. He had appeared at an early age in the Court of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, widow of James the fifth, where he gave such proofs of his talents for the management of public affairs that in 1558 she chose him for her principal secretary. It was towards the close of that year that she declared her resolution to oppose the progress of the reformation in Scotland, and in the winter of the following, Maitland, who, in addition to being a protestant, had disgusted her by contradicting the counsels of the French by whom she was surrounded, withdrew himself from her service, and joined the Lords of the Congregation, as the leaders of the reformers began now to be called, by whom he was dispatched to London to implore the aid of Elizabeth to a cause which they were endeavouring, with various success, to support by force of arms. The request was gladly granted: the Duke of Norfolk was deputed to Berwick, to negotiate on the part of his mistress with the congregation; and a treaty, for which Maitland was a commissioner, was concluded in that town on the twenty-seventh of February, 1559, O. S. In the ensuing spring Elizabeth sent a fleet and army to Scotland, and her interference presently turned the scale in favour of the reformers. The remarkable siege of Leith; the consequent treaty of Edinburgh; and the death of the Queen Regent; were events which succeeded within a very few months: they were speedily followed by the departure of Francis the second of France, and the arrival of his widow, the beauteous and ill-fated Mary Stuart, to mount the throne of her ancestors.

The commencement of her reign was distinguished by studied concessions to the protestants. She restored Maitland to the post of secretary; but the favour which perhaps was thus bestowed on him through policy soon found stronger motives in her discovery of the perfection of his talents for that office, and in the effect of an infinite address with which he had successfully sought to cultivate her personal esteem. He became a favourite, and had for a long time the singular good fortune to enjoy at once the unlimited confidence of the crown and of the people. The difficulty of Mary's affairs with England was necessarily the first object of her attention, and to him alone she entrusted the management of them. Soon after her accession she sent him ambassador to Elizabeth, with whom he had to treat on that most delicate subject the pretensions of his mistress to the inheritance of the English throne. To those who have studied Elizabeth's character it is needless to say that such a mission must have been unsuccessful, but the ability which he displayed in it, and the penetration of his views of the policy and characters of her ministers, convinced Mary that she had not erred in her choice. She dispatched him therefore again, in 1563, to press Elizabeth to a personal interview with her, in the North of England, and he again failed. On his return he found the Queen persecuted by a

church more intolerant, and more perilous to the interests of Princes who denied its doctrines, than that of Rome. The leaders of that infant schism which had then assumed the name of the Kirk not only sought to deny to Mary the private exercise of her own religion, but were inculcating with vehemence the right of the people to resist their rulers. Maitland, artfully avoiding the former topic, attacked the succeeding position in the general assembly with admirable skill and eloquence, and concluded by accusing the notorious Knox of sedition. A debate ensued the reputation of which is yet cherished by the Scots of either persuasion: "It admirably displayed," says the accurate and elegant Robertson, "the talents and character of both the disputants; the acuteness of Maitland, embellished with learning, but prone to subtlety; the vigorous understanding of Knox, delighting in bold sentiments, and superior to all fear."

In the spring of 1565 he was once more sent to London, to solicit the consent of Elizabeth to Mary's marriage with Darnley. It was refused, and he returned to Scotland with Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, whom Elizabeth instantly dispatched thither to protest against it in her name. Mary, enraged at this answer to a message which she had intended as little more than a compliment, sent orders to Maitland, when on his way to her court, to return without delay to London; to reproach Elizabeth with malice and duplicity; and to declare that his mistress was now determined that she would suffer no opinion but that of her own subjects to interfere with her choice. Maitland disobeyed, and repaired to her presence; convinced her of the evils likely to arise from so rude and rash a defiance; and received her pardon and her thanks. At this period commenced the follies, the crimes, and the miseries, of the unhappy Mary. In the deliberations on her future fate, held during her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, in 1567, he exerted himself to the utmost to save to her, under certain restrictions, the possession of the Crown; and when the Earl of Murray, lately appointed Regent, was summoned by Elizabeth in the following year to meet her commissioners at York, and justify the deposition of his Sovereign, Maitland, who was too firm a friend to her cause to be left with safety in Scotland, was unwillingly admitted by him into the number of his assistants.

The Duke of Norfolk was placed at the head of Elizabeth's commission, and it was during the progress of this mighty enquiry that the first steps were taken in that project for his marriage with the Queen of Scots which in the end cost him his life. To Maitland, as the most firm adherent to Mary, and perhaps the most acute man in Scotland, he first opened his design. The secretary received it with the warmest approbation, and presently invested it with the form and substance of a profound plan of policy. It was communicated with caution to the Regent; negotiations were privately commenced in England to secure to it the countenance of the most powerful among the nobility; the great business at York was interrupted, and its method changed, by means unknown to the rest of those intrusted to conduct it; and Elizabeth for a time saw herself in danger of disappointment, without being able to divine the cause. A matter however divulged to so many could not be long concealed from her. Murray, to whom of all others it was least likely to be beneficial, probably betrayed it to her soon after his return to Scotland, where Maitland, undismayed by the failure of one plan to undermine the Regent's authority, and weaken his party, now struck out with renewed vigour into the execution of others. No longer employed in the government, and odious to the ruling faction, he retired into Perth, to the seat of the Earl of Athol, a devoted supporter of Mary's interests, from whence he negotiated, by his emissaries, with Murray's friends, and seduced several from their adherence to him. The Regent at length foresaw in Maitland's liberty the extinction of his own power, and, having decoyed him to Stirling, procured a retainer of the Earl of Lenox to accuse him to the Privy Council of being a party in the murder of Darnley. He was sent in the autumn of 1569 a prisoner to Edinburgh, where Kirkaldy of Grange, who was governor of the castle, a person deeply concerned in the most remarkable public transactions of his time, and one of those whom Maitland had secretly gained over to the Queen's party, detached him, as it is said by counterfeiting Murray's signature to a warrant, from the persons to whose charge he had been committed, and took him into his

own custody in the castle. This friendly aid prevented his being brought to an immediate trial, the fatal issue to him of which was evident; and Murray, who for some private reasons suffered Kirkaldy's conduct to pass unresented, was within a few weeks after assassinated by a private enemy.

Maitland was acquitted by a provisional council of nobles who had assembled to elect a Regent, and, on regaining his freedom, again plunged instantly into the political confusion of the state. He now laboured to accomplish a junction of the two contending factions, and at length, hopeless of restoring Mary to the plenitude of her regal power, proposed that she should be admitted to the sovereignty jointly with her infant son, who, on her deposition, had been placed on the vacant throne. To this end he, in concert with Kirkaldy, procured a conference between the leaders of the hostile parties, which broke up in tumultuous indecision. It was a critical hour for Maitland. He found himself obliged to declare openly for the Queen, or for her son, and, with little deliberation, because the circumstances of the time scarcely allowed room for any, at length appeared publicly for the former, and joined in issuing a proclamation, asserting her authority in bold and explicit terms. In the mean time the Earl of Lenox, father of the murthered Darnley, was chosen Regent by the opposite party, aided by the influence of Elizabeth, and one of the first acts of his authority was to deprive Maitland of the office of secretary, and to proclaim him a traitor. The rage of contention was now at the highest pitch: each party had an army under the walls of Edinburgh, and each, at the same time, held a Parliament, the one in that city, the other at Stirling: the assembly which acted under that title on the behalf of the King, in spite of Kirkaldy, who was not only governor of the castle, but provost of the town, passed an act of attainder against many of its opponents, in which Maitland was included.

These matters occurred in 1570, and the succeeding year, towards the close of which the Regent Lenox was killed at Stirling in a furious and romantic surprise of that town by Kirkaldy. The Earl of Mar, a nobleman of excellent character, whose endeavours to promote concord had procured him universal esteem, was chosen by the King's adherents to succeed him. In that spirit he opened a treaty with Maitland and Kirkaldy, in which all the parties seem to have been actuated by a sincere desire to heal the wounds of their country, and it was on the point of conclusion when the subtle and unprincipled ambition of the Earl of Morton rendered it abortive. Morton, a bitter enemy to Mary, a purchased friend to Elizabeth, and a disappointed candidate for the regency, at length obtained that office on the twenty-ninth of October, 1572, on the demise of Mar, who is said to have died of a broken heart. He held Maitland in the utmost abhorrence, but a secret wish to separate more widely the Queen's party, which was already somewhat disunited, induced him to renew with Maitland and his friends the negotiation which himself had interrupted with Mar. Maitland was then deeply engaged in forming a plan for the escape of his mistress from the captivity in which the fears and the injustice of Elizabeth had so long retained her. He agreed to the treaty with the view of making it subservient to his design, but Morton, his rival in subtlety and penetration, as well as in the love of political rule, discovered his motive, and determined on his ruin. Maitland now shut himself up with Kirkaldy in the castle of Edinburgh, to which Morton, with the aid of English troops, laid close siege, and, after prodigies of valour performed by the gallant defenders, reduced it on the twenty-ninth of May, 1573. Kirkaldy and Maitland surrendered to Sir William Drury, who commanded Elizabeth's troops, under a solemn engagement that their lives should be spared; but the former was shortly after hanged at the Cross in Edinburgh, and Maitland, who could found no hope of mercy but on his share in a promise already so scandalously broken, is said to have died by his own hand on the ninth of the succeeding month.

The political conduct of this extraordinary person has usually been taxed, it is difficult to discover on what grounds, with a selfish and sordid versatility. He appears, on the contrary, to have been the only public man of his country who remained invariably attached to the interests of Mary. Archbishop Spotswood, a warm friend to the contrary

party, says, " a man he was of deep wit, great experience, and one whose counsels were held in that time for oracles; but variable and inconstant; turning and changing from one faction to another, as he thought it to make for his standing. This did greatly diminish his reputation, and failed him at last, &c." Dr. Robertson, in the following passage, gives us his character probably with more candour—" Maitland had early applied to public business admirable natural talents, improved by an acquaintance with the liberal arts; and at a time of life when his countrymen of the same quality were following the pleasures of the chace, or serving as adventurers in the armies of France, he was admitted into all the secrets of the cabinet, and put upon a level with persons of the most consummate experience in the management of affairs. He possessed in an eminent degree that intrepid spirit which delights in pursuing bold designs, and was no less master of that political dexterity which is necessary for carrying them on with success: but these qualities were deeply tinctured with the neighbouring vices: his address degenerated sometimes into cunning; his acuteness bordered upon excess; his invention, over fertile, suggested to him on some occasions chimerical systems of policy too refined for the genius of his age or country; and his enterprising spirit engaged him in projects vast and splendid, but beyond his utmost power to execute. All the cotemporary writers, to whatever faction they belong, mention him with an admiration which nothing could have excited but the greatest superiority of penetration and abilities."

Sir William Maitland was twice married; first, to Janet Menteth, by whom he had no issue; secondly, to Mary, daughter of Malcolm, third Lord Fleming, who brought him an only son, James, in whom this line of the family became extinct. From Sir John Maitland, next and younger brother to the subject of the preceding sketch, who attained to the office of High Chancellor of Scotland, and was created Lord Maitland by James the sixth, the Earls of Lauderdale are descended.

Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham.

From the original, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Verulam.

Drawn by R.W. Satchwell. Engraved (with Permission) by C. Picart.

London, Published Nov.r 1.1818 by Harrington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

CHARLES HOWARD,

FIRST EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

OF his illustrious house, distinguished through the whole of an uncommonly long life by the unlimited favour and confidence of two sovereigns, and yet more by the most spotless honour and integrity, was the eldest son and heir of William, first Baron Howard of Effingham, (a younger son of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk), by his second wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage, of Coyty, in Glamorganshire. He was born in the year 1536. His father, who, among other great employments, had held those of Lord High Admiral under Mary, and Lord High Chamberlain to Elizabeth, initiated him when very young in naval service, and then brought him to the court. He possessed every qualification likely to gain the partiality of the virgin Queen; an eminently fine person and countenance; a sweet and frank temper; and a deportment at once elegant and dignified; and, in addition to these powerful recommendations, he was a Howard. They had their full effect; but Elizabeth, whose affections, violent, even to folly, as they might often seem, seldom interfered with her policy because both were grounded in self-love, for a long time distinguished him only by a gracious familiarity: he was yet too young to be trusted, and remained without public employment for ten years after her accession, save a ceremonious embassy in 1559 to congratulate Charles the ninth on his succeeding to the throne of France. At length in 1569 he was sent into the north, with the appointment of General of the Horse in the force then led by Dudley, Earl of Warwick, against the rebellious Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and behaved with much bravery, and in the following year commanded a squadron in the Mediterranean. He was soon after elected knight of the shire for Surrey, and in 1573 succeeded to the peerage, and to his family estates, on the death of his father, who was at that time Lord Privy Seal, which office Elizabeth immediately bestowed on him, and before the close of that year appointed him Lord Steward of the Household, and gave him the order of the Garter. Several writers who affect to look deeply into the political motives of that time insist that he was thus suddenly exalted to counterpoise the enormous power of Leicester; but it is needless to seek further for the ground of his favour than to the Queen's personal regard, and entire conviction of his honesty and fidelity.

On the death of the Earl of Lincoln, in 1585, he was raised to the post which he most desired, and for which the whole character of his nature seems to have best qualified him, and became Lord High Admiral. The great design of the Spanish invasion was already suspected, and was soon after clearly ascertained, and it was in contemplation of the arduous conflict which seemed approaching that Elizabeth reposed in him this weighty trust. "She had," says Camden, "a very great persuasion of his fortunate conduct, and she knew him, by the sweetness of his behaviour, and bravery of his conduct, to be skilful in sea matters, wary and provident, valiant and courageous, industrious and active, and of great authority and esteem amongst the seamen of her navy." He applied himself to the vast preparations which had become necessary with a vigour and minuteness of attention which the whole kingdom applauded, and put to sea early in the spring of 1588. The Armada sailed about the same time, and, as is well known, was scattered by a tempest which Elizabeth's ministers believed had rendered the expedition hopeless: Walsingham therefore, to spare expence, dispatched an express to recal four of the largest ships, which

the Lord Admiral ventured to refuse, requesting that he might be allowed to retain them at his own private charge. He then sailed to the coast of Spain, and having satisfied himself of the actual state of the enemy's fleet, returned to Plymouth, where he remained till the nineteenth of July, when, on the approach once more of the Armada, he again put to sea in haste, animating his officers by the cheerfulness of his courage, and his men by partaking with them in the bodily labour which the urgency of the moment demanded. The celebrated victory which followed may be honestly ascribed in a great measure to his zeal, his bravery, and his good judgment.

Elizabeth, always sparing of grateful acknowledgments, rewarded this service by the grant of a pension, which, as the amount has not been recorded, we may conclude was not extravagant, and the Admiral now remained for a long interval unemployed. The expedition to Cadiz in 1596, a favourite theme of English history, again called him into action, and was committed jointly to himself and the Earl of Essex. It was eminently successful; but Essex, admirable in all but coolness and prudence, blamed Howard for that caution in the conduct of it which his own rashness had rendered necessary. The Admiral, on the other hand, in a spirit of candour and benignity which always distinguished him, bestowed praises on Essex which perhaps were scarcely merited. He begins a letter to Lord Hunsdon, giving a full account of the proceedings of the army and the fleet, by saying, "I can assure you there is not a braver man in the world than the Earl is; and I protest, in my simple poor judgment, a grave soldier, for what he doth is in great order and good discipline performed." Essex's censure was disregarded by Elizabeth, and not resented by the Admiral, on whom, in the autumn of the following year, the Queen conferred the dignity of Earl of Nottingham. Essex, who was at that time absent on what has usually been called "the island voyage," returned in a flame, because the new Earl, uniting to that title the high offices which he held, had acquired the precedency; and Elizabeth, to restore it to her angry favourite, conferred on him the office of Earl Marshal: Nottingham, in his turn, now became disgusted; retired from the court, and resigned his white staff, which, however, he was soon prevailed on to resume; while the Queen at once separated the rivals, and bestowed a further gratification on Essex, by placing him in the arduous post of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

These circumstances occurred in the years 1598 and 1599, a period if not of danger at least of considerable apprehension. Elizabeth, ever anxious to prove the affection of her subjects, assisted in exciting their fears for the safety of her person, and witnessed them with complacency. In the furtherance of this object she called on the city of London to reinforce her navy with sixteen ships, and her army with six thousand men, an order which is said to have been completely executed in the space of a fortnight; and, to give an air of greater solemnity to her preparations, invested Nottingham with the supreme command of all her forces by land and sea, and with the rare and superb title of Lord Lieutenant General of all England. The return of Essex from Ireland, and his mad insurrection in London just about this time, gave the colour of an almost prophetic policy to her caution. Nottingham commanded in person the troops which surrounded Essex-house, and it was to him that the unhappy Earl surrendered, and was received with that urbanity and kind consideration which noble hearts ever bestow on fallen enemies. The gallant and sensitive Essex, charmed with this generosity, seems for the short remnant of his days to have taken his adversary even into his confidence: Nottingham frequently visited him in the Tower; consoled him with the affectionate zeal of a friend; and received from him in return a contrite acknowledgment of the injustice of his former enmity. He sat in judgment with the Peers, and evinced an earnest anxiety for truth and justice on the trial of Essex, and ministered gratefully to his departed spirit by procuring from the Queen first the reprieve, and then the pardon, of his beloved friend, and fellow offender, the Earl of Southampton. Elizabeth's health soon after declined. In the singular aberrations of temper which preceded her dissolution Nottingham alone is said to have possessed any influence over her conduct. She submitted at his persuasion to take nourishment and medicine, and to relinquish a strange resolution which she had made to sit continually in

her clothes on the floor of her apartment. It was to him, in her last moments, that she uttered the expressions so often quoted concerning the succession to her throne.

James, to whom the family of Howard was even more dear than it had been to Elizabeth, retained him in the great offices of High Admiral and Lord Steward; placed him in the renewed commission for exercising the office of Earl Marshal, in which he had sat in the late reign; and appointed him Great Steward of England for the solemnity of the coronation. That Prince had mounted the throne with a determination to make peace with Spain, and the Lord Admiral was selected to act the part of ambassador extraordinary for that unpopular service. He had little experience in state affairs, but his age, his rank, his fine person and manners, and his magnificent profusion, peculiarly qualified him for a mission of ceremony to the most ceremonious court in Europe, for he had little to do beyond the ratification of the treaty. It has been said, that he solicited on this occasion for a Dukedom, but could not prevail, the dignity of his posts being esteemed sufficient to satisfy the Spanish pride. The equipment of his embassy was unusually splendid: he was attended by five hundred persons, exclusive of six young noblemen, and fifty knights; had an allowance of fifteen thousand pounds for his expences; and received presents on quitting the court of Madrid to the value of twenty thousand, together with a pension of twelve thousand crowns; yet his charges in this excursion, which did not occupy quite three months of the spring of 1604, so far exceeded those various supplies as to require a large additional sum from his own purse. His estate was moderate; his expenditure had been always enormous; and this last sacrifice to the honour of his country had painfully embarrassed his affairs. To add to his vexation, James received him coldly at his return, and at length expressly blamed him for having used that state and magnificence in his embassy which had increased his private difficulties; but this umbrage soon blew over.

He was now grown old, and desirous of ease, and his own native good humour, together with the solicitations of a young wife (for he had lately taken a second, when in his sixty-eighth year), easily converted him into a mere courtier. We find him no more in any public service, unless the convoying the Princess Elizabeth and her bridegroom, the Elector Palatine, to Flushing in 1612, may be esteemed such. At length, in 1619, he was prevailed on to resign his office of High Admiral to the aspiring Buckingham. This concession seems to have been extorted partly from his necessities, and partly from his pride. It was purchased from him by an annuity of one thousand pounds; the remission of a debt due from him to the crown of eighteen hundred; and by a patent of precedency, giving him place according to the date of a grant of the Earldom of Nottingham by Richard the second to his ancestors the Mowbrays; and Buckingham presented the Countess with three thousand pounds. That favourite acknowledged his obligation too by peculiar marks of respect and flattery: he ever after called the Earl "father," and bent the knee on coming into his presence; but the whole affair was esteemed, even at that time, when such bargains were not unusual, very disgraceful to all parties, and most of all to the King, who ought to have prevented it.

This excellent old man survived till 1624, on the fourteenth of December in which year he died, at the age of eighty-seven, at his house of Haling, near Croydon, in Surrey, and was buried in the vault of his branch of the Howards at Reigate, in that county. He was twice married; first to Catherine, daughter of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, by whom he had two sons; William, who died before him, leaving an only daughter, the wife of John Mordaunt, first Earl of Peterborough; and Charles, who succeeded to the honours and estates; and three daughters; Elizabeth, wife first of Sir Robert Southwell, of Woodrising, in Norfolk, secondly of John Stuart, Earl of Carrick, in Scotland; Frances, married first to Henry Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, afterwards to Henry Brook, Lord Cobham; and Margaret, to Sir Richard Levison, of Trentham, in Staffordshire, Vice Admiral of England. His second Countess was Margaret, daughter of James Stuart, Earl of Murray, in Scotland. It is of this lady that we have the well known romantic story of the Earl of Essex and the ring, a tale which might have enlivened the dulness of this memoir, and which should have

been here inserted had it not been long since falsified by circumstantial proof of which no doubt can be entertained. By her, who survived him, and re-married to William Monson, Viscount Castlemain, in Ireland, he had two sons; James, who died young, and Charles, who succeeded to the dignities on the death of his half-brother, Charles, without issue, and in whom, himself dying also childless in 1681, the Earldom of Nottingham became extinct.

JAMES, FIRST DUKE OF HAMILTON.

THIS nobleman, whose invariable fidelity, and untimely sacrifice, atoned in some measure for the detestable treachery of a wretched few of his countrymen toward his royal master, was the eldest son of James, second Marquis of Hamilton, by Anne, daughter of James Conyngham, seventh Earl of Glencairn. He was born in the year 1606, and brought at an early age to England, where he completed his education in the University of Oxford, and was a student there, and in the eighteenth year of his age, when he succeeded to the titles and estates of his family, on the death of his father. His attachment to Charles the First, who was but few years older than himself, had commenced in his childhood. He had been one of the few of that Prince's chosen companions, originally perhaps on account of his propinquity in blood, but the sweetness and pliancy of his disposition soon furnished a stronger tie, and it was observed, contrary to the usual event of such exaltations, that Charles after mounting the throne manifested towards him an increasing affection. He went however towards the end of the first year of that reign into Scotland, where the magnificence of his father had produced heavy incumbrances on his estate, and resisted as long as he could with decency the repeated invitations of the King, who, with a familiarity which he seldom used to any, constantly corresponded with him during his absence. At length, in the winter of 1628, Charles sent the Earl of Denbigh, who was his father-in-law, expressly to hasten his return to the Court, and he obeyed, and on his arrival was sworn of the Privy Council, appointed a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and soon after Master of the Horse, which office had become vacant by the murther of the Duke of Buckingham.

He became presently an object of jealousy, for many of the courtiers suspected that he would succeed also to the unbounded favour which had been enjoyed by that nobleman; and it arose perhaps more from his own prudence than from the King's choice that a new destination, which might lessen their envy by removing him from their sight, was soon after allotted to him. The heroic Gustavus Adolphus was preparing to stem the torrent of the Emperor's unjust conquests in Germany, and Charles, the first desire of whose heart was to regain the Palatinate, which had been wrested from his sister's husband, was anxious to lend his best aid to the enterprise. Gustavus had solicited him to that end, but Charles, for some reasons of state now unknown, was desirous that the levies to be made for that purpose should appear to proceed from the voluntary inclination of his subjects, and Hamilton agreed to procure and command them as at his own charge, while the King of Sweden, on his part, condescended to sign a treaty with the Marquis, differing nothing in its language and forms from the accustomed usage on such occasions between brother Sovereigns. This negociation was not concluded till the spring of 1631, though Hamilton had employed several preceding months in raising troops, chiefly in his own country. In the mean time a private quarrel between two persons whom he had employed in Holland to forward the purposes of his plan, Mackay, Lord Reay, and David Ramsay, produced against him an accusation of high treason. Reay, in malice to his adversary, had informed Lord Ochiltree, a Scottish nobleman then in London, who entertained an hereditary hatred to Hamilton, that Ramsay had assured him that the Marquis's design in this armament was to assert his title to the crown of Scotland. Ochiltree gladly communicated the intelligence to the Lord Weston, then High Treasurer, adding an insinuation of the peril to which the King exposed himself by permitting Hamilton to sleep in his room, which, according to the custom of the time, was the Marquis's duty as a Gentleman of the Bedchamber;

Weston presently carried the news to the King; and the Marquis, on returning to London, for the purpose of ceremoniously taking his leave of the King, had from his Majesty the first intimation of this slander, accompanied by an assurance of his utter disbelief of it. Charles, with that cool magnanimity which his bitterest enemies have never denied to his character, commanded Hamilton to lie that night in his bedchamber, and the affair concluded in the award of a sentence of perpetual imprisonment against Lord Ochiltree, and in that appeal to single combat by Reay and Ramsay which has been largely treated of in a late admirable disquisition on the obsolete law of duel.

On the sixteenth of July, 1631, Hamilton, lately decorated with the order of the Garter, sailed, with about forty vessels, and six thousand men, and on the twenty-ninth reached the mouth of the Oder, where he received an order from Gustavus to march into Silesia. The Imperialists were panic-struck on his arrival, and the Protestants in an equal measure elated, for the reputation of Scottish valour stood very high in Germany, and rumour had magnified his numbers to twenty thousand, but a little time restored to the spirits of each party their former tone: he found himself in a country completely wasted by war, and frightfully infected by the plague, which carried off one third of his force within a few days in the neighbourhood of Frankfort; yet, undaunted by these calamities, he plunged with ardour and activity into the service that he had undertaken, relieved Crossen, and took Guben, two considerable garrison towns on the Silesian frontier, and marched from thence into Lower Saxony, to lay an ineffectual siege to Magdebourgh. His brave Scots were now reduced to fifteen hundred, and, with the German and Swedish troops which had been joined to them, too weak to undertake any exploit of importance; reinforcements which had been promised by Gustavus were delayed from time to time, and in fact never arrived; and he discovered, to his infinite mortification, that the success of the Palatinate cause was regarded by that Prince with indifference, if not with aversion. He now attached his force to the main army, and set out alone to seek the King of Sweden, by whom he was entertained for many months with fair words and expectations, till, weary and ashamed of the character of a mere volunteer, he returned to England, with the remnant of his little army, almost at the precise time that Gustavus fell at the battle of Lutzen.

Charles received him with all the kindness to which he had been accustomed, but we find him in no important employment in the State till 1638, when he was appointed Lord High Commissioner for the affairs of the Scottish church, an office always of great weight, and at that period involved in peculiar difficulties. It was the year which gave birth to the detestable covenant, and to the concomitant discord on points of ecclesiastical discipline which soon after blazed forth into open rebellion. The Marquis arrived in Edinburgh when the confusion was at its height, and left nothing undone that wisdom, humanity, and patriotism, could devise to restore order, and to satisfy sincere scruples of conscience. At length, after six months passed in calm persuasion, and reasonable concessions, on his part, and in subtle intrigue, and sturdy obstinacy, on that of the covenanters, he pronounced the dissolution of the general assembly, which, in utter contempt of his authority, continued its sittings, and published its decrees; abolished episcopacy; and assumed, without professing it, a complete independence in the government of the Church. Hamilton now issued a proclamation declaring those who continued to sit in the assembly traitors, and returned to England, while the covenanters threw off the mask, and proceeded to levy troops, and Charles, as is well known, went in person to York in the spring of 1639, at the head of an army, to endeavour to reduce them to obedience.

The Marquis remained for a few days in London, to superintend the embarkation of troops, with which he landed on the first of May in Leith Road. Here he received an insidious letter, signed by the Earls of Rothes and Argyll, and other noblemen of the covenant party, which, together with his answer, have fortunately been preserved. The concluding words of the latter may furnish for all such times and occasions, a salutary lesson to the senseless herd on whose credulity faction always builds its strength—" Whereas you desire me," says Hamilton, " to be a means that your supplications may have free access

to his Majesty's ears, it is a work of no difficulty, for his Majesty hath never stopt his ears to the supplications of any of his subjects when they have been presented to him in that humble and fitting way which became dutiful subjects; nor did I ever refuse any all the time I was among you, or conceal any part of them from his Majesty: so that your allegation of not being heard is grounded upon the same false foundations that your other actions are, and serves only for a means to delude the simple people, that by making them believe what you have a mind to possess them with they may become backers of your unwarrantable actions; which, as it is generally lamented by all his Majesty's good subjects, so it is more particularly by me, who have had the honour to be employed in this business with so bad success." He was now every hour assailed by insolent or hypocritical letters and messages from the chiefs of the covenanters, justifying their cause, and magnifying the force by which they threatened to defend it, but always concluding with offers of treaty. He had remained for nearly a month on board, impatiently expecting orders to march against the rebels, when he received a mortifying command from the King not to disembark without his Majesty's orders. Charles, confused by jarring counsels; ill-provided of money to bear the charges even of the shortest campaign; convinced by his own observation of the bitter obstinacy and strength of his opponents; and utterly hopeless of succour from England; already repented of his enterprise. After a few days however had passed, encouraged by some transient ground of hope, he recalled the prohibition. "All these things considered," says he, in a letter of the 2d of June from his camp at Berwick, "it were a shame I should be idle; wherefore now I set you loose, to do what mischief you can do to the rebels for my service with those men you have, for you cannot have one man from hence:" yet this resolution was no sooner made than revoked; for on the fourth of the same month the Marquis was commanded to make the best arrangement in his power for mere defence, and to repair without delay to the King, on his arrival at whose camp he found a treaty already commenced. It was concluded on the eighteenth, and conceded to the Scots almost all that they had required, and much more than they had expected.

Hamilton's conduct in the affairs of Scotland at this momentous period, faithful and loyal as it had been, incurred much censure. While he abhorred the rebellion he scarcely disapproved of the professed motives of its leaders, and incurred at once the hatred of the covenanters by his determined resistance to their violence, and of the rest of his countrymen for having at length advised Charles to purchase a peace by the sacrifice of the hierarchy. Conscious of this unpopularity, and of the ill effect to be expected from it on his future public services in Scotland, he steadily resisted the King's earnest inclination to continue him in the office of High Commissioner, which indeed by the terms of the treaty had now sunk nearly into an empty title, and contented himself with the character of a private counsellor, and his master's unimpaired favour and confidence. Charles, however, still committed his affairs in that country to his charge, and shewed little disposition to conceal that determination, having placed his brother, William Hamilton, then also created Earl of Lanerick, (Lanark) in the office of Secretary of State there. Thus matters stood with him when, in August 1640, the Scottish army invaded England; worsted the King's forces in the battle of Newburn; and compelled Charles in the end of the following month to a treaty at Ripon, for which he named as one of his three commissioners the Marquis, with whom the enemy positively refused to negociate. Every demand made by the covenanters was soon after complied with, and it was by his advice that the King made these bitter concessions.

He now for a time declined in his master's favour. The most industrious efforts had been made to prejudice Charles against him by insinuations, if not of direct treachery, at least of sacrificing the royal interest to his own. Charles however, among whose many virtues a constancy in friendship was peculiarly conspicuous, was soon reconciled to him. A most memorable letter from the unhappy monarch on that occasion, dispatched to him by his brother Lanerick, which, though it has long been in print, is little known, highly deserves to be here recalled to observation.

" Hamilton,

Though the trust of this bearer needs not a credential letter, yet the civility of a friend cannot but under his hand, as well as by word of mouth, express his kindness, and resentment of courtesies which of late have been such that you have given me just cause to give you better thanks than I will offer at in words. I shall not neglect the lazy use of so trusty a bearer by referring to him not only the estate of my affairs here, but likewise in what way you will be of most use to me; yet I cannot but tell you I have set up my rest upon the justice of my cause, being resolved that no extremity or misfortune shall make me yield; for I will either be a glorious King, or a patient martyr; and, as yet, not being the first, nor at this present apprehending the other, I think it now no unfit time to express this my resolution unto you. One thing more, which, but for the messenger, were too much to trust to paper—the failing to one friend hath indeed gone very near me; wherefore I am resolved that no consideration whatsoever shall ever make me do the like. Upon this ground I am certain that God hath either so totally forgiven me that he will still bless this good cause in my hands, or that all my punishment shall be in this world, which without performing what I have resolved I cannot flatter myself will end here. This accustomed freedom will I am confident add cheerfulness to your honest resolutions, seeing, beside generosity, to which I pretend a little, my conscience will make me stick to my friends, assuring you I have none if I am not

Your most assured constant friend,

CHARLES R."

Oxford,
2d Decemb. 1642.

Within very few weeks after the date of this letter the King's affection for him was declared to the world by a patent creating him Duke of Hamilton, and this grace seems to have highly aggravated the malice of his numerous enemies. He had remained in Scotland for more than two years without any ostensible public character, combating or soothing the fury of parties by promoting coalitions, sowing jealousies, threatening vengeance to some, and offering rewards to others, while at home loyalists and rebels, episcopalians and covenanters, joined in endeavouring to ruin him in the King's opinion. Charles, thus perpetually besieged, perhaps began to doubt his fidelity, and the Marquis of Montrose, who had lately quitted the popular party of his country, and attached himself to the royal cause, and whose candour, zeal, and courage, had rendered him a universal favourite, was his bitter foe. The representations of Montrose at length turned the scale against him. He had remonstrated with the King on the aspersions which had been cast on his conduct, and was consoled by the following letter, dated at Oxford, on the twenty-eighth of September, 1643.

" Hamilton,

Having much to say, and little time to write, I have commanded this trusty bearer to supply the shortness of this letter, which, though it be chiefly to give trust to what he shall say to you in my name, yet I cannot but assure you by my own hand that no ill offices have had the power to lessen my confidence in you, or my estimation of you, for you shall find me

Your most assured, real, constant, friend,

CHARLES R."

Emboldened by these kind expressions, and every day more clearly informed of the activity of his adversaries, he now determined to justify himself personally to the King, and on the sixteenth of December arrived at Oxford; but they had employed the short interval so successfully that he was arrested, together with his brother Lanerick, on entering the town. The matters charged against him, couched in eight articles of great length, were delivered to him, and if we are to give them credit the whole of his long administration of the affairs of Scotland was a continued tissue of disloyalty and selfishness. He answered

them however severally with great clearness and plausibility, and besought for a speedy trial, but his accusers replied that till the public commotions should be quieted it would not be possible for them to procure the attendance of their witnesses. His complaints of this injustice were disregarded, and he was sent, a close prisoner, to Pendennis Castle, in Cornwall, with Lanerick, who soon after availed himself of a less rigorous confinement to make his escape; and the Duke's place of captivity was changed within a few months to St. Michael's Mount, in the same county, where he remained till the latter end of April, 1646, when he was liberated by the surrender of that fortress to the rebels. He is said now to have determined to retire from public affairs, but that the unhappy resolution taken just at that time by Charles to throw himself into the hands of the Scots drew him again into action. He waited, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in the succeeding July, on the King, who not only received him with kindness, but apologized to him for having given the order for his imprisonment, saying that "it was extorted from him much against his heart, and that he had stood out against all the importunities of the Duke's enemies till the very morning he came to Oxford, on which most of the whole Court came about him, and said they would all desert him if he yielded not to their desires." The nineteen bitter propositions by which the English Parliament, in concert with the Scottish commissioners, sought to destroy the ecclesiastical establishment, and to strip the Crown of most of its authority, were now delivered to the King; Hamilton pressed him with earnestness to accede to them, and, on his steady refusal, asked and obtained leave to quit the little shadow of a Court which still surrounded him. The Duke departed with a degree of disgust which however did not prevent him from exerting his vain endeavours in the country against the fury of the rebellion by various devices on which he constantly corresponded with Charles, whose friendship for him seemed unalterable, and he was so engaged when that miserable Prince was sold by his countrymen to the English, and led into captivity.

Scotland now vainly employed to retrieve its disgrace the means which had they been lately exerted in defence of the King would have redounded to its lasting honour. An army was raised for the purpose of rescuing Charles, and replacing him on his throne, and the Duke of Hamilton was appointed Commander in Chief. In spite of vehement opposition from the fanatic clergy, extensive levies were made, and the troops, ten thousand infantry, and four thousand horse, ill provided, ill accoutred, and without artillery, marched into England in July, 1648. The rebel force in the north retreated before them, and, having on their way into Lancashire reduced Appleby Castle, they proceeded to Kendal, where they were joined by the Scottish regiments which had for some time served in Ireland, and had now left that country to attach themselves to the Royal cause. Almost destitute of intelligence, they reached Preston before they discovered that the troops under Lambert, which they had expected to meet, had been lately joined by a force yet superior, commanded by Cromwell, whose very name was now a host. The rebel army was so near that Hamilton had no choice but to engage, and the result of a short action left him no chance of avoiding ruin but in a hasty retreat towards Scotland. He marched precipitately into Staffordshire, and reached Utoxeter, where the misery and confusion of the remnant of his troops having been completed by a mutiny among them, he was on the point of surrendering to the Governor of Stafford, and the militia of the county, when he was spared that ignominy by the appearance of Lambert, with whom, in the last week of August, 1648, he signed articles of capitulation, one of which expressly provided for the security of the lives of himself and those who were captured with him. He was now conducted to Ashby de la Zouch, in Leicestershire, where he remained a close prisoner in the castle till the beginning of December, when he was removed to Windsor, where he had the melancholy gratification of seeing once more his unfortunate Prince. On the twenty-first of the month the King was led through that town to the place of his approaching sacrifice, and Hamilton obtained leave to speak to him for a moment. It was a pathetic moment. The Duke knelt on the road as the royal victim passed, and, kissing his hand, exclaimed "my dear master!" Charles embraced him with tenderness, and said "I have indeed been so to you." They were then hastily separated.

During his confinement at Windsor Cromwell repeatedly visited him, in the vain hope of tempting him to discover the persons in England with whom he had concerted his late ill-fated enterprise, and in their conversations let fall some expressions, which, together with the diabolical fury that marked the proceeding then carrying on against the King, left him no room to hope either for justice or mercy. He resolved therefore to attempt an escape, and, having planned the means with a Mr. Cole, one of his faithful retainers, and bribed his keeper, left his prison on the night of the memorable thirtieth of January, and rode towards London, where, through an alteration imprudently made by himself as to the appointed place of meeting with Cole, he fell into the hands of some rebel soldiers in Southwark, and was immediately committed to strict custody. On the sixth of the following month he was brought to a trial before the same persons who, under the assumed denomination of the high court of justice, had a few days before decreed the murther of their King. It was extended to eleven days, in a hypocritical affectation of solemn and candid enquiry, of which there needs no better proof than the determination of his judges that the engagement in the treaty at Utoxeter for the safety of his life had no further meaning than that he should be protected at the time from the vengeance of the soldiery. At length on the sixth of March they pronounced him guilty, and sentenced him to be beheaded, and on the ninth he suffered in New Palace Yard, with admirable patience and heroism, in company with the Earl of Holland, and the gallant Lord Capel. His death was little regretted, for he had been the constant object of envy in the English Court and State, and of doubt and jealousy in his own country. The true nature of his public services was correctly known only by the King and himself, and a discovery of it would probably have exposed him to the bitterest hatred. Flattering, dividing, balancing, and betraying, factions, it may perhaps be no injustice to his memory to consider him as an over zealous partizan, who not unfrequently sacrificed the exactness of honour and truth to personal affection, and profound loyalty. That such a character should have provoked much obloquy might fairly be expected, but that a writer so wise, so well-informed, and so candid, as Lord Clarendon, should have so repeatedly and severely arraigned it, without adducing a single fact of sinister conduct whereon to ground his multifarious censures, is altogether astonishing.

The Duke married Mary, daughter of William Fielding, first Earl of Denbigh, by whom he had three sons, Charles, James, and William, all of whom died children; and three daughters, of whom Mary, the eldest, died also young. The second, Anne, inherited, under a special intail, the title of Duchess of Hamilton, on the death of her uncle, mentioned here as Earl of Lanerick, who was her father's immediate successor: she married William Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, eldest son of William, Marquis of Douglas, and obtained for him, soon after the Restoration, the title of Duke of Hamilton. The youngest, Susannah, married John Kennedy, seventh Earl of Cassilis.

WILLIAM, SECOND DUKE OF HAMILTON,

Was the second of the two sons of James, second Marquis of Hamilton, by Anne, daughter of James Conyngham, seventh Earl of Glencairn, and was brother to James, the first Duke, a sketch of whose life may be found in this work. He was born on the fourteenth of December, 1616, ten years after that nobleman, and, having made some stay in the University of Glasgow, completed in a long residence on the continent an education in which we are told that erudition was less considered than that observation of men, and manners, and systems, so necessary to all whose views are directed to the higher orders of public employment. It is evident that he was so designed by his family, and his success could have been scarcely doubtful, for he was of the royal blood; and, while he was yet a child, his brother had gained the entire affection of Charles the first: in the mean time he was distinguished by the most promising talents. He returned from his travels in his twenty-first year, and with such confidence of immediate promotion, that on being shortly after refused the appointment of Master of the Horse to the Queen, because it had been promised to another, he prepared, with all the anger of a man who had been really ill used, to retire to France, and was dissuaded solely by an unsolicited promise from the King of instant preferment. Accordingly on the thirty-first of March, 1639, he was created Baron Polmont, and Macanshire, and Earl of Lanerick, (Lanark) and in the following year was appointed Secretary of State for Scotland. These circumstances sufficiently prove not only the high degree of favour which he suddenly acquired, but the resolute and ardent temper which is said to have been the ruling feature in his character.

It is scarcely necessary to say that he was nearly unacquainted with the affairs of that country, then peculiarly critical. To his brother therefore, a man not only well experienced in them, but of considerable ability, and so many years older than himself, he naturally looked for direction. Among the various misfortunes which at that period combined to undermine the regal power in Scotland perhaps the most evident was Charles's partiality to the House of Hamilton. The mother of these noblemen, a woman of powerful understanding, and of masculine spirit and activity, whose father was one of the fathers of the covenant, had implanted in the mind of her heir, even from his earliest infancy, an enthusiastic attachment to the new fanaticism, and he communicated the infection to his brother. They conceived between them the utterly impracticable project of uniting to a Monarchy of high pretensions a Calvinistic church. The Duke remained stedfast in his error to the last moment of his life, but Lanerick at length retracted; not however till he had considerably injured the royal cause, to which notwithstanding he was most loyally devoted.

Thus for more than two years after his entrance into his office he was alternately occupied in beseeching the King to bend to the humiliating demands of the covenanters, and in endeavouring to dissuade them from active rebellion, and failed in both. At length, in the spring of 1643, the Scottish Privy Council determined on calling, without the King's necessary warrant, a Parliament, under the denomination of a Convention of the Estates. A large correspondence on this subject between Charles, the Duke of Hamilton, and Lanerick, is extant, and closes with a letter from the King to the Secretary, concluding with this clear direction—" If, notwithstanding our refusal, and the endeavours of our well-affected subjects and servants to hinder it, there shall be a convention of the Estates, then we wish that all those who are right-affected to us should be present at it; but to do nothing there, but only protest against their meeting and actions." On the twenty-second of June, this convention, which in the end overthrew the royal authority in Scotland,

assembled. Lanerick, at their first sitting, presented a letter from the King, excusing them for meeting without his concurrence, and limiting their deliberations to certain subjects; and Hamilton, in a speech of studied ambiguity, instead of simply protesting, as the King had requested, obscurely threatened it. The assembly however, confident in its strength, and pre-determined on its course, insisted on his making an explicit declaration, when Lanerick stood up, and said for his brother, as Lord Clarendon reports, that "he hoped that noble Lord's affections to his country were better known than that any man could imagine he would protest against the Parliament of the kingdom." They contented themselves with making a verbal declaration that it was not in their opinion a free Convention, the King's sanction being wanting. Those who had pledged themselves to support in it the royal cause became discouraged, and many of them retired to their respective countries: Lanerick and Hamilton continued to sit in silence occasionally in the Convention; and when that body, shortly after, following the example of their brethren of the English Parliament, resolved to make war on the King with an army raised by them in his name, Lanerick actually put the royal signet, which in right of his office was in his custody, to the proclamation for the general levy.

The loyal nobility of Scotland were highly incensed by this conduct, and Montrose, whose devotion to the royal cause was equalled only by the courage with which he always defended it, set out privately to accuse the brothers to the King; but they soon discovered his intention; followed him to Oxford, where Charles then was, apparently in the hope of averting the storm which threatened them; and were immediately made prisoners. Lanerick, by the aid of a Mr. Cunningham, a gentleman of the privy chamber, presently found means to escape, and went to London, and soon after into Scotland, where he again applied himself, still, however, under the influence of that temporising and suspicious policy which he had imbibed from the lessons and the example of his brother, to the King's service. Of the conduct of a partisan so circumstanced it is natural that little should have transpired. The only fact of which we are clearly informed is that he was in 1645 actively engaged with the covenanters in endeavouring to resist the progress of Montrose's victorious arms; and it may be reasonably inferred that he had Charles's secret consent to this, since that Prince almost immediately after received him again into the office of Secretary, from which he had been dismissed on his arrest at Oxford, and indeed into the fullest confidence. In the spring of the following year he was appointed, together with the Earls of Loudon and Lauderdale, by the rebel government sitting at Edinburgh under the name of the Committee of Estates, a commissioner to treat with the King, then in the hands of the Scottish army, as well as with such commissioners as might arrive from the English Parliament, and seemed to join heartily in the persecution which they were deputed to inflict on that unhappy Prince. Just at that period, the Duke, his brother, who had been for nearly three years in apparent disgrace, and a prisoner in the Castle of Pendennis, in Cornwall, from whence he was liberated merely by the fortune of war, arrived at Newcastle, and presented himself to the King, who received him with a countenance which implied a complete oblivion of all former causes of offence. The secret understanding which undoubtedly subsisted between Charles and these brothers is enveloped in a cloud of mystery, towards the dispelling of which history has left us even without tolerable presumptions.

The close of this year, 1646, was distinguished by the fruitless negotiation at Newcastle between the King and the Scottish Parliament. Lanerick, who was almost the sole instrument of their intercourse, exhorted Charles without intermission to submit to all the bitter conditions propounded to him, but found his magnanimity immoveable. At length the Parliament resolved to put him into the hands of the English commissioners. When that detestable measure was proposed in the House, Lanerick prefaced his negative voice with these words:—"As God shall have mercy upon my soul at the great day I would choose rather to have my head struck off at the market cross of Edinburgh than give my consent to this vote." Charles for the most part of his succeeding captivity found means to correspond with him, and held him to the last in unabated confidence. In December,

1647, he concluded with the King, in the Isle of Wight, in concert with Loudon and Lauderdale, still acting under the authority of the commission granted to them two years before, that remarkable secret treaty which they had lately commenced with his Majesty at Hampton Court. Charles, to whom at this period almost any change of circumstances would have been desirable, now conceded all that he had refused at Newcastle; and the Scots, on their part, engaged to raise a powerful army for the invasion of England, and to do their utmost to re-establish his authority. The army was levied accordingly, by authority of the Parliament; placed under the command of the Duke of Hamilton; and totally overthrown within few weeks after it left Scotland. Lanerick, who in the mean time had been exerting himself to the utmost in that country in promoting the views of those who had joined in support of the stipulations of the treaty, and who were therefore called "The Lords of the Engagement," was now deprived of his office of Secretary of State, and proscribed, by the same Parliament which had so lately authorized those measures his activity and zeal in the execution of which were the only faults alledged against him.

He fled to Holland so nearly at the time when Hamilton was beheaded in London, which was on the sixth of March, 1649, that Lord Clarendon says "he did not know till he arrived there that he was Duke of Hamilton, by the slaughter of his elder brother." Charles the second, who had taken refuge in that country, and who had been deprived of his royal father by a similar stroke only five weeks before, received him with a grace and kindness, heightened no doubt by melancholy sympathy. The Duke, whose entire affection, and indeed veneration, for his brother had never allowed him to reason on the dictates of one to whom in all matters he submitted with delight, or to seek for motives in his own breast, after some little time looked back with deep regret to many things that he had done, and more that he had omitted. He declared, as Lord Clarendon tells us, "that his condition had been very hard; for that having been always bred up in the Church of England, for which he had a great reverence, he was forced to comply with the covenant, which he perfectly detested, and looked upon it as the ruin of his nation, and would be as glad as any man to declare against it." He added, that "he had been driven into rebellion by the calumnies and persecution of Montrose," (who was indeed his brother's bitter enemy), "which nothing else could have done; and for that he always asked God forgiveness from his heart, and desired nothing more than to repair his fault by losing his life for the King." Unhappily that expiation was near at hand.

He presently acquired the young King's esteem. The Order of the Garter, all that Charles then had to give, was conferred on him soon after his arrival. He was of the number which attended that Prince in his voyage to Scotland in June 1650; but was not at first permitted by the ruling party there to approach the capital, and retired therefore to the Isle of Arran, where he remained till the succeeding January, when he was again suffered to wait on the King. Cromwell was then in Scotland, at the head of the army which had lately won the battle of Dunbar, and the Duke, now first a soldier, raised a body of troops, and led them with distinguished gallantry in several enterprises. In the mean time the Scots formed an army destined to march into England under the command of the King, who appointed Hamilton his Lieutenant-General. He entered on this great service with melancholy forebodings, not the result of any superstitious impressions, but of a just and enlarged review of all the considerations which the enterprize involved. On the march he earnestly recommended in more than one council that the army should proceed directly to London, but his opinion was over-ruled by the English. They arrived at length at Worcester, and Cromwell, who had therefore left Scotland, advanced to meet them with an overwhelming force. Hamilton, who had passed the night preceding the battle in devout meditation, the fruits of which have been published by Bishop Burnet from the Duke's original manuscript, was in the morning at his proper post, when, early in the action, seeing his own regiment retreating, he flew alone to rally it; and, after performing prodigies of valour, received a shot which shattered the bone of his leg. He survived eight days, and expired on the eleventh of September, 1651, amidst the debates of surgeons, who could not agree on the question of amputation.

Lord Clarendon, who has repeatedly eulogized his character, tells us, that "he was in all respects to be preferred to his brother. A much wiser, though, it may be, a less cunning man; for he did not affect dissimulation, which was the other's masterpiece. He had unquestionable courage. He was in truth a very accomplished person; of an excellent judgement, and clear and ready expressions; and, though he had been driven into some unwarrantable actions, he made it very evident he had not been led by any inclinations of his own, and passionately and heartily ran to all opportunities of redeeming it; and in the very article of his death he expressed a marvellous cheerfulness that he had the honour to lose his life in the King's service, and thereby to wipe out the memory of his former transgressions, which he always professed were odious to himself." Burnet tells us that "his youth discovered, with an extraordinary capacity, so much ingenuity that candour seemed in him not so much the effect of virtue as nature, since from a child he could never upon any temptation be made to lie." The Bishop adds that "he was of a middle stature; his complexion black, but very agreeable; and his whole mien was noble and sprightful."

William, second Duke of Hamilton, married, in 1638, Elizabeth, eldest daughter and co-heir of James Maxwell, Earl of Dirleton in Scotland, and had by her one son, James, Lord Polmont, who died an infant, and five daughters; Anne, wife of Robert Carnegy, third Earl of Southesk; Elizabeth, married first to James Conyngham, Lord Kilmaurs, eldest son of William, ninth Earl of Glencairn; secondly, to Sir David Cunningham, of Robertland; Mary, married to Alexander Livingstone, second Earl of Calendar; secondly, to Sir James Livingstone, of Westquarter; thirdly, to James Ogilvie, Earl of Findlater; Margaret, to William Blair, of Blair; and Diana, who died young.

JAMES GRAHAM,

FIRST MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

JAMES, fifth Earl of Montrose, a nobleman whose admirable heroism and loyalty at once threw the highest blaze of splendor on his many other great qualities, and left his faults, if he had any, in total shadow, was the only son of John, the fourth Earl, President of the Session in Scotland, by Margaret, daughter of William Ruthven, Earl of Gowrie. He was born in 1612, and having received the best education that his country could give, passed several of the early years of his maturity in France, where he became passionately attached to the military profession, and accepted a commission of Captain in the royal guard of Louis the thirteenth. At length, in 1637, he visited the Court of his master, invited, as is said, by the Marquis of Hamilton, but Charles, for some cause now unknown, conceived a distaste to him, and he presently retired, mortified and enraged, into Scotland, where he attached himself to the covenanting malcontents. It may be reasonably conjectured that Hamilton himself, who possessed a great influence over the mind of the King, and who, with a temper much inclined to jealousy and envy, possessed all the refined arts of a courtier, had infused this disgust, since from that period Montrose held him in a bitter enmity, for the origin of which no cause has been assigned.

The purity and nobleness of his heart soon withdrew him from a party which had deceived him for a time by the warmth of its professions, and the reasonableness and simplicity of its declared views. Though mere anger had induced him to embark with the covenanters, he became a sincere convert to their pretended principles, and his unaffected zeal, joined to their observation of his great qualifications, and their knowledge of his personal influence in the country, induced them to receive him into their secret councils. He now discovered that their latent design was to overthrow the monarchy, and, abandoning his private resentments, resolved to oppose it to his utmost; engaged in the royal cause such of the nobility as he could trust; and laid a plan to carry over to the King a force of two thousand foot and five hundred horse, which the covenanters, when they appeared in arms in the spring of 1639, had intrusted to his command. A treaty, however, soon after ensued, during which he found means to convey to the King an earnest proffer of his services, in a letter which, as afterwards appeared, was purloined from his Majesty's person by an attendant who transmitted it to the covenanters. It is needless to say that he was now held by them in fear and abhorrence, but as their resistance had commenced, according to the cautious custom of rebellions, with professions of attachment to the person of the King, they were withheld for a time from prosecuting one whose only crime was loyalty. Montrose, on his part, well aware of their discovery, but regardless of their vengeance, availed himself of the opportunity of the truce, to institute, with several of the first men in the country, a sort of counter-covenant, by which they vowed to defend the Crown, and its lawful prerogatives, against all enemies, foreign or domestic. This was not to be endured. He was seized, on an indirect charge of having conspired against the religion and government of Scotland, and imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh; on the meeting of the Parliament, which was then just at hand, he earnestly solicited a trial by his peers, but the request was evaded; and when the King left Scotland in 1641 was set at liberty.

Shortly after that period the Scots, as is well known, resolved to march their army into England, to the aid of the Parliament. With that narrow policy, and ignorance of noble spirit, which almost always belong to those who combine for wicked purposes, they now

addressed themselves to Montrose's ambition, and love of military distinction, and offered to him the appointment of Lieutenant General of their forces, with concessions of power and profit never before attached to that station. He returned no answer, but immediately passed into England, and met the Queen, on her arrival at Burlington from Holland, whom he earnestly besought to move her royal consort instantly to raise an army in Scotland. Henrietta Maria listened with pleasure and approbation to his arguments, when the persuasions of the Marquis of Hamilton, who immediately after appeared to congratulate her on her arrival, awakened her fears, and chilled her resolution. That nobleman, by a strange error, at least in judgment, seems to have been equally attached to the King and to the covenant, and Montrose, perhaps somewhat prejudiced, had from the commencement of the disorders in Scotland anticipated the most fatal consequences from his counsels. He had indeed, with the usual openness of his nature, denounced Hamilton and Argyll to the King as traitors, and, in one of the few interviews which he had in Scotland with Charles, "offered," says Lord Clarendon, "to make proof of their treasons in the Parliament, but rather desired to have them both made away, which he frankly undertook to do, but the King, abhorring that expedient, though for his own security, advised that the proofs might be prepared for the Parliament." Let not Montrose be branded with the name of assassin for this proposal. Inveterate national habit extenuates, though it cannot sanction crime, and they who are moderately read in the history of Scotland well know that an attack on the life of an enemy, if made in the form of military enterprise, incurred not at that time either the appellation or the odium of murther. Montrose prepared his proofs, but Charles durst not institute the enquiry, and was soon after compelled, by means which it is not to our present purpose to state, to create Hamilton a Duke, and Argyll a Marquis.

In the mean time the Parliament of Scotland having taken on itself to sit without the King's authority, and in spite of his prorogations, Montrose and his friends refused to appear in it, unless Hamilton, who held the great office of High Commissioner, would pledge his honour to oppose, should it become necessary, the evils which it was known to meditate, even with force of arms. Hamilton refused, and Montrose retired to his country seat, with the air of a man to whom public affairs had become indifferent. It was now rumoured that he had received some cause of disgust from the King, as well as from Hamilton, and the covenanters once more sought to allure him to their interest by the most magnificent offers. He affected to listen with complacency; received with courtesy Alexander Henderson, a person not less admired by them as a preacher than trusted as a counsellor, whom they had deputed to treat with him; and, having artfully contrived to obtain from that minister, subtle as he was, an explicit declaration of the most secret designs of the party, flew with his intelligence to the King, who was then besieging Gloucester in person. From this indubitable authority he demonstrated to Charles that the covenanters had now bound themselves by the strictest ties to the English rebels, and besought his instant permission to levy in Scotland in his name an army formidable enough to furnish them with employment at home. He reiterated his former charges against Hamilton and Argyll. Charles gave way to all his representations. Hamilton was soon after arrested: Montrose was impowered to raise troops in his own country, whither the Earl of Antrim undertook to send a force from Ireland to serve as the foundation of his army; and in the autumn of 1643 he set out towards Scotland, dignified with the new title of Marquis.

With the aid of a small party furnished by the Marquis of Newcastle, who commanded for the King in the north of England, he set up the royal standard at Dumfries, but was presently obliged to retreat to Carlisle, where finding no means which might enable him to carry on active operations, he resolved to return at all events into Scotland. The outset of his journey was completely chivalrous. He left Carlisle, attended by a number of his friends, who had determined to share the fortune of his hazardous expedition; but having reflected that so numerous an escort would be ill-suited to the secresy which he was anxious to maintain, he determined to quit them silently on the road. Accordingly, when arrived near the border he withdrew himself in the night, not only, says Lord Clarendon,

quite alone, but on foot, and so, with equal address and fatigue, passed through the whole country in the hands of the enemy, and reached the Highlands in safety. Here he lay quietly for many weeks till the arrival of the Irish, consisting only of fifteen hundred, whom he met, still on foot, and in the habit of a peasant, in Athol, a province entirely devoted to him. On the following day he found himself at the head of between two and three thousand undisciplined men, and instantly attacked the enemy, whose force in that part of the country consisted of thrice his number.

The series of conquests which now rewarded his loyal and generous exertions affords one of the finest instances extant of the prodigies which may, I had almost said must, be wrought by an enthusiastic fidelity in a leader to the cause for which he fights—a sentiment which with electric certainty and rapidity communicates its mysterious warmth through thousands who never could be taught to comprehend its motives. Montrose thus fascinated his handful of almost unarmed men, to more than the half of whom he was an utter stranger. On the third of September, 1644, he gained a complete victory, called the battle of Tippermoor, over the forces of the covenanters, commanded by Lord Elcho, in the neighbourhood of Perth. Having reduced the town of that name, he marched to Dundee, which also surrendered to him. Joined there by some powerful men of the country, the rebel government, already seriously alarmed, issued a commission to the Marquis of Argyll to raise an army with all expedition. Montrose, in the mean time, flew through the shire of Angus to Aberdeen, strengthening as he went, and being met near that town by the rallied remains of the troops which he had lately vanquished, reinforced by the clans of Fraser and Forbes, gave them battle, and totally routed them. The gallantry of the soldier now gave place to the caution and dexterity of the experienced general. He called in his scattered posts, and retreated with great skill before the increasing force of Argyll, who, soon weary of a fruitless pursuit, and apprehensive of an attack on his own domains, resigned his command to Sir John Urry, and shut himself up with a strong garrison in his Castle of Inverary. Such were the events of the first month after Montrose had appeared in arms.

He kept the field during the whole of the winter, increasing his numbers, and laying waste, as had been anticipated, the Campbell country: in the mean time the rebel Parliament met at Edinburgh, and in the month of January passed against him an act of forfeiture and degradation, and seized his estates accordingly. Argyll at length again appeared, at the head of a powerful body, and the army under the command of Urry advancing towards him on the other side, Montrose, in danger of being hemmed in, resolved to attack the former, and, after a forced march, which occupied the whole of a night, totally overthrew Argyll, near Inverness, on the second of February, with great slaughter, the Marquis himself escaping alone, and with difficulty, in a boat which he found on the neighbouring river. He now marched southward, and obtained considerable reinforcements; was busily engaged in a correspondence with the King, who had about this time formed a resolution to join Montrose in Scotland with his army; and on the unfortunate abandonment of that plan, again sought the enemy. On the fourth of May, 1645, he completely routed the troops under the command of Urry, and, on the second of July, gained a signal victory over a select and very powerful force, led by Colonel Baillie, a distinguished officer, from whose skill and courage the covenanters had anticipated the most ample success. These actions received the names of the battles of Old Earn, and of Alford.

The rebel government, now seriously alarmed, issued a proclamation for the raising within ten days a new array of ten thousand, which was promptly obeyed. Montrose as instantly advanced to meet them, but they refused at first to accept his challenge. At length on the fifteenth of August he attacked them with the greatest fury, and, after a most unequal contest, his troops not exceeding the number of five thousand, gained the most glorious of his victories in the battle of Kilsyth, in which six thousand of the enemy were slain. Submissions and addresses now poured in on him from all quarters. He took possession of the capital, and released the loyal nobility who were imprisoned there, many of whom were under sentence of death, while Argyll, and several others of the chief

leaders of the rebels, fled to Berwick, and other places in the north of England, to await the final event of these wonders. He was now in fact master of the kingdom, and at this juncture received from the forlorn Charles a commission constituting him Captain General and Governor of Scotland, with powers almost unlimited, which he caused to be proclaimed in Edinburgh, Stirling, Linlithgow and Glasgow, and immediately summoned a Parliament to meet in the last of those towns on the twentieth of the following October.

An unhappy reverse, however, was at hand. Several powerful noblemen who though known to side with the covenanters had not engaged actively in the war, now joined his standard, with earnest protestations of assistance and fidelity. Even those who stood aloof sent their congratulations on his successes, and professed to court a pacification. They pressed him earnestly to march his army southward, and offered to place their broken forces under his orders. Montrose was hesitating between his doubts of their sincerity and his unwillingness to suspect such exalted persons of rank treachery, when a messenger arrived from the King, ordering him to hasten to the Tweed, and to embrace the proffered accord, and promising to secure him from all danger by a powerful reinforcement. The Marquis obeyed, and the traitors, on hearing that he was in motion, dispatched an express to the General who commanded their army in England, the famous David Leslie, requiring him instantly to march circuitously into the heart of Scotland; to cut off the retreat of Montrose to the Highlands; and to force him to an action. The Marquis, on receiving an imperfect report of Leslie's unexpected motion, resolved to retrace his steps, but it was too late. Leslie, at the head of troops comparatively veteran, and abounding in horse, with which Montrose had always been but indifferently furnished, attacked him suddenly at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, and gained a complete victory.

Montrose, whose spirit was utterly invincible, instantly applied his attention to the recruiting his shattered army. He retired to the Highlands, and presently raised a numerous but irregular force. In the mean time the covenanters wreaked a dreadful vengeance on such of his friends as the fortune of war had thrown into their hands; most of the nobility who had of late joined him withdrew to their homes; and the powerful Marquis of Huntly, who, though sincerely attached to the royal cause, held him in an incurable jealousy, not only refused to co-operate with him, but even actively thwarted his plans. Amidst these formidable impediments, he marched to Glasgow, to shew at least his readiness to keep his engagement of holding a Parliament in that city, which was then in the hands of the rebels. Unprovided of the means to drive them from it, he sought in vain for several days to tempt them to sally forth, and to give him battle. The winter was now far advanced, and he was in no condition to commence offensive operations; Charles had engaged in an indirect and worse than useless treaty with the covenanters; and Montrose retired for a time to await the event, and to prepare himself for any kind of service that the royal cause might require.

Early in the spring of 1646 that unhappy Prince became a voluntary prisoner to his Scottish rebels. Among the first concessions which they demanded of him was the disbanding of Montrose's army, and the Marquis presently received his command to that effect. Montrose hesitated. He found means of opening a private communication with the King, proposing to disobey the order, should it appear to have been unduly extorted from him. Charles repeated the command, accompanying it by a secret letter in which he stated to Montrose the reasons which seemed to him to render it necessary. The Marquis still paused, and at length a third messenger arrived, not only charging him, under pain of high treason, to disband, but also to transport himself to France before the first of September. He now submitted; took a pathetic leave of his troops; and on the third of that month, hastily and in disguise, embarked in a small vessel of Norway, and was landed at Bergen, from whence he soon after sailed for France. At Paris he found little encouragement, and abundant cause for disgust. The Queen of England, who had retired thither, received him with coldness. Henrietta Maria, not liberal in her prosperity, was now more than ever inclined to make new friends than to acknowledge past services; and Montrose, who had brought with him many whom he loved, with little to support

them, perhaps expected from her supplies which she was unable to grant. Cardinal Mazarin, to whom he applied to raise an army to serve for Charles in Scotland, entertained his request with a caution and ambiguity intolerable to the warmth and generosity of his nature. He removed into Germany, and, soon after the murther of the King, his master, received an invitation from Charles the second to join him at the Hague, where he found two parties of his countrymen, the Commissioners of the Kirk, who came to bargain with the young King for his admission on their terms into Scotland, and the more moderate covenanters, headed by the Duke of Hamilton; enemies to each other, and agreeing only in their mutual aversion to himself, and in a settled resolution to avoid all intercourse with him.

Amidst these impediments to any service that he might have hoped to render to the King near his person, he gladly availed himself of the sanction of a commission which he had not long before received from Charles, authorising him to treat with some of the northern Potentates for the raising troops in their dominions, to serve under his command in Scotland. He now passed with that view into Germany; commenced his negotiations; and appointed Hamburgh as the rendez-vous for his expected levies. The project however proved nearly abortive. At the end of some months his numbers very little exceeded five hundred men, whom he had obtained from the Duke of Holstein, and with these, pressed by the repeated solicitations of his friends in the Highlands, he determined to prosecute his enterprise. He embarked them in the depth of the winter of 1650, and, speedily following, landed on the Isles of Orkney, and, crossing into Caithness, lodged his troops, with their necessaries, in an old castle, from whence he issued a spirited, but moderate declaration, and presently received communications from many of the neighbouring chiefs, requesting him to advance further into the country, and engaging to bring large re-inforcements. He now hoisted his standard, whereon he had caused to be painted the portrait of his murthered master, with the motto "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord." The rebel Parliament, then sitting at Edinburgh, and wholly swayed by his mortal enemy the Marquis of Argyll, had speedy notice of his arrival. Colonel Strachan, a favourite officer, was instantly dispatched to meet him, with a choice party of cavalry, and such was the dread of the hero, that Leslie himself within a few days followed with a formidable force. Montrose had marched forward, with his usual ardour, and, being wholly without horse, gained no intelligence of the approach of the enemy till he was almost in sight. His promised aids, some from fear, others from treachery, had wholly failed him. Indeed a body of fifteen hundred, under the Earl of Sutherland, which was advancing to support him, joined Strachan on his march. The straggling Highlanders whom he had incorporated fled without waiting for the attack, and Montrose, left only with his few foreigners, was in a moment overwhelmed by Strachan's horse. Having barely gained time to throw away the ribband and George which he had lately received from the King, and to change dresses with a peasant, he gained on foot the house of a country gentleman in his confidence, who engaged to conceal him.

It has been almost generally asserted that he was betrayed to the enemy by his host, Macleod, Laird of Assyn, whose name I mention because some writers have incautiously cast a groundless blemish on another of the greatest purity by calling him "the Lord Aston." Montrose was a prisoner before the arrival of Leslie, to whom he was delivered, and who led him in triumph with brutal insolence, not suffering him to change the mean garb in which he was seized, to Edinburgh. The Parliament before his arrival there had passed its sentence on him, which I insert in the words of a very respectable historian, who gives it from the original, lest the ordinary narration of a proceeding so horribly blackened by a mean and savage malice might be suspected of exaggeration. The report of the committee employed to form it was "that so soon as he should come to town, he should be met at the Water Gate by the magistrates and hangman; that he should be tied with cords upon a chair, bare-headed, and the hangman to ride upon the horse that drew the cart, covered, before him; and so be brought through the town to the Tolbooth, from whence he should be carried to the Cross of Edinburgh, and hanged on a gibbet thirty feet

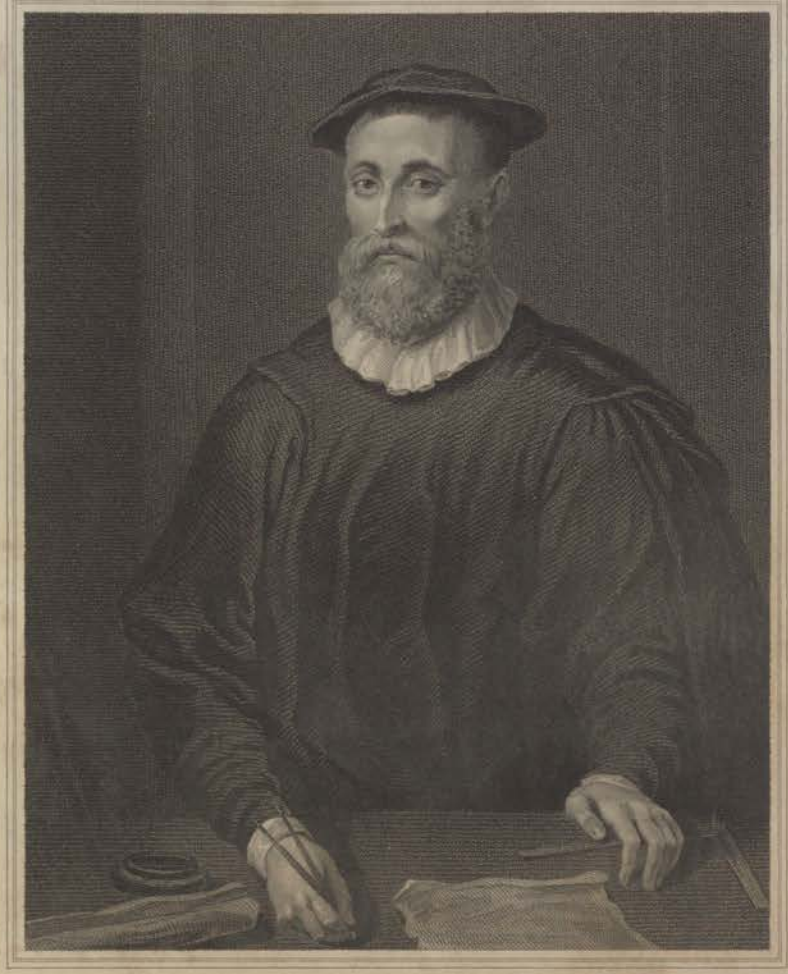
high, with his declaration about his neck; and so hang three hours in public view; after which he should be beheaded, and quartered; his head to be fixed upon the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and his legs and arms over the gates of Aberdeen, Perth, Stirling, and Glasgow; and, in case he repented, and was absolved of the sentence of excommunication, his body should be buried in the Grey Friars; if not, to be buried in the Borrowmuir."

It was thought fit however to add yet another feature to the barbarous triumph before it's consummation. He was brought before the Parliament, to be insulted by the Chancellor Loudon, and to hear his sentence read. Here, as indeed throughout his whole life, he displayed an almost supernatural magnanimity. Being allowed to address the assembly, he commenced a short justificatory speech, in which it was difficult to say whether the language of an elegant scholar, the politeness of a finished gentleman, or the firmness of a soldier, shone most conspicuously, by telling them that, "since the King had so far owned them as to treat with them, he had appeared before them with reverence, and bare-headed, which otherwise he would not have done." He was then informed that on the morrow he should suffer death, and the whole sentence, even with some aggravations, was accordingly executed on the twenty-first of May, 1650. Such was the vengeance of those who blasphemously professed to fight, and to judge as well as to preach, in the name of King Jesus.

Lord Clarendon alone has left us any insight, and that but superficially, into the private character of this celebrated nobleman. "Montrose," says he, "was in his nature fearless of danger, and never declined any enterprise for the difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly affected those which seemed desperate to other men, and did believe somewhat to be in himself above other men, which made him live more easily towards those who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him (towards whom he exercised wonderful civility and generosity) than with his superiors or equals. He was naturally jealous, and suspected those who did not concur with him in the way not to mean so well as he. He was not without vanity, but his virtues were much superior, and he well deserved to have his memory preserved and celebrated amongst the most illustrious persons of the age in which he lived." It may be truly added that he possessed an elegant genius; spoke eloquently, and wrote with a graceful and perspicuous turn of expression. A few of his small poetical pieces have been preserved, but the choicest relic of his muse is enshrined in those exquisite lines which he wrote on hearing of the murder of Charles, into which he may be said to have transferred the force, the keenness, and the polish, of the sword with which we are told they were written. They are well known, but no apology will be necessary for once more recording them.

Great, good, and just, could I but rate
My griefs, and thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world to such a strain
As it should deluge once again.
But, since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies
More from Briareus' hands than Argus' eyes,
I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet's sounds,
And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds.

The Marquis of Montrose married Magdalen, sixth daughter of David Carnegy, first Earl of Southesk, by whom he had two sons. The elder, whose name is unknown, died in 1645, in the sixteenth year of his age; and the younger, James, succeeded to his father's dignities. From him the present Duke of Montrose is lineally descended.



John Knox.

From the original in the Collection at

Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh.

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London, Pubd. 2nd. March 1813 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown

JOHN KNOX.

THE life of an ecclesiastical reformer, a title always bestowed on those whose endeavours to overthrow a religious establishment have been crowned by success, requires many episodes to render it interesting to any others than those of his own profession. The journeyings, and preachings, and mortifications, and weepings, and raptures of such a person; nay, his very prophecies, unless some one of them should chance to be verified, which, for the best of all reasons, scarcely ever happens; can never attract general attention. To bespeak our regard he must have raised armies by the magic of his eloquence, hurled Kings from their thrones, annihilated civil systems, burned multitudes of persons, or must at least himself have been burned. Knox had none of these recommendations. He was a busy instrument in the propagation of a schism which would have worked its way, perhaps not quite so speedily, if he had never had existence. He was deputed to undermine by coarse and vulgar declamation a monarchy the honour of pulling down which his employers intended to reserve to themselves. His brutal insolence to the Sovereigns under whom he lived never exalted itself to active rebellion; he suffered no punishment which could be deemed persecution, nor did his station afford him the power of persecuting others. His secret transactions and engagements with the eminent persons whom he joined in disturbing the peace of their country have never been discovered, and his history is almost wholly confined to the ravings of fanaticism and sedition.

Who were his parents is unknown, yet the fact of his having been descended from the ancient and respectable family of Knox of Renfarleigh, in the shire of Renfrew, is supported by such strong presumptions that it cannot be doubted. He was born in 1505, at a village called Giffard, in East Lothian, and having received his first instructions for the clerical profession at the grammar-school of the neighbouring town of Haddington, was removed to the University of St. Andrews, where he studied under the tuition of John Mair, an eminent teacher of the theology then in vogue, with such application and activity that he is said to have obtained the degree of Master of Arts while yet a youth, and to have been admitted into priest's orders before the age prescribed by ecclesiastical law. The subtilties however of school divinity were ill suited to the bold and inquisitive character of his mind, and he soon abandoned them for the study of the primitive fathers, in which he passed several years of severe application. At length the doctrines of the reformation reached Scotland; he attached himself to a priest of the name of Williams, provincial of the Scottish Benedictines, who had not only translated the New Testament, but had publicly decried in his sermons the Pope's authority; and soon after, in 1544, renounced in form the Roman Catholic faith, and became the regular disciple of the famous George Wishart. He attended that more moderate pastor in his spiritual progresses till the commencement of the year 1546, when Wishart was put to death, and celebrated his memory in the usual strain which such writers apply to such subjects.

From his connexion with Wishart he derived considerable fame among the reformers, who began to consider and treat him as the head of their infant church. The Lairds of Ormeston and Langniddry, powerful men, who were then the chief temporal patrons of the new persuasion, appointed him tutor to their children, and he lived in their houses. Processes were at length issued against him, and he had resolved to fly to Germany, but those gentlemen persuaded him to take refuge in St. Andrews, where the castle was then held by the persons who had lately assassinated in it Cardinal Beatoun, its owner. Knox, who had called that murther "a godly thing," which he repeats in his history, was received

by them with joy. He expounded and catechised so hopefully that they declared "the gift of God to be in him," and called on him with one voice to assume the office of a public preacher, which, after long persuasion, he accepted, and presently after signalised himself by a sermon so furious that the new Primate instantly took measures to silence him. These however were prevented by the party in the castle, which in fact ruled the town, and the Catholics could do little beyond summoning Knox to a public disputation, to which he gladly agreed, and in which, as might be expected, we are told that he was completely successful. The whole city now embraced his doctrines; the church relinquished an opposition which in that place was utterly fruitless; and he remained there, with the merit at least of indefatigable application to his object, till July, 1547, when the castle was reduced by a French force, and he was put on board one of the gallies which brought it over, in which he remained on the coast of France a prisoner for two years.

In 1549 he was liberated, and came to London, where he obtained a licence to preach at Berwick, and soon after at Newcastle on Tyne, and repaired for that purpose into the north. During his residence there he received the appointment of a chaplain in ordinary to Edward the sixth, as well as some rebukes for the extravagancy of certain of his tenets, and returned to London in the spring of 1553, where he refused to accept a living which the Privy Council had moved Archbishop Cranmer to bestow on him, and vilified the King's ministers in his sermons, under the names of Achitophel, Judas, &c. To have prosecuted him specifically for that insolence might have been then very injurious to the progress of the reformation; they endeavoured therefore to curb him by another method: he was cited before the Council to assign his reasons for refusing the benefice, with the view, probably, of provoking him into unlawful invectives against the new establishment in England. His answers, though sufficiently proving his dissatisfaction with that system, were uttered with such caution that no safe ground could be taken whereon to institute any further proceeding against him, but he was dismissed with an admonition which, however gently delivered, determined him to exercise his vocation in the country, and he was preaching in the towns and villages of Buckinghamshire, to large congregations, probably attracted by the novelty of a dialect which must have been unintelligible to them, when the accession of Mary rendered it prudent for him to quit the kingdom. He embarked for Dieppe in February, 1554, N. S. and travelled from thence to Geneva, where he placed himself in the presence, and under the orders, of his great spiritual principal, John Calvin.

Calvin presently deputed him to Frankfort, to minister to the English protestants who had fled from the violence of Mary, and settled in great numbers in that city; but his doctrines were even more offensive to these good people than those of the Church of Rome. Unwilling to engage in endless controversy with him, and unable to prevail on him to use the English Liturgy, they took a short method to disencumber themselves of him, accusing him of treason to the magistrates of the city, both against their sovereign, the Emperor, and against Queen Mary; upon which the magistrates, aware that they could not avoid surrendering him to either of those Potentates who might demand his person, secretly apprised him of his danger, and he returned precipitately to Geneva, where he remained from March, 1555, till the following August, when he determined to visit again his native land. His transactions there, during the abode of a year, present little beyond the usual contents of the journal of any other itinerant preacher. It is true that the Scottish secession from Popery had assumed, during his long absence, the character of an important political implement, and his consequence had necessarily increased. The nobility of the Kirk, as it now began to be called, were the regular opponents of the Court and government of the Queen Regent; Knox was too promising an agent to be neglected; and they courted his intimacy. They easily prevailed on him to affront that lady by addressing to her a letter, abusing the faith in which she had lived, and exhorting her to hear his sermons; and Mary, with great justice, called it a pasquinade. The Prelates at length cited him to answer for his conduct, and he obeyed by repairing to Edinburgh on the appointed day, and preaching there to the largest congregation that he had ever drawn together. No further steps however were taken against him while he remained in Scotland; yet in July,

1556, he once more returned to Geneva, and had no sooner disappeared than the Bishops again cited him, and, on his non-appearance, condemned him to death for heresy, and his effigy was burned in Edinburgh. In all this there was much of the air of a compromise.

In the summer of the following year the discontented Lords, conceiving that they had now gained sufficient strength to protect him against the government, pressed him to return to Scotland, and Calvin told him that to refuse would be "rebellion against God, and cruelty to his country;" so he set out on his journey, but when he had reached Dieppe, and was about to embark, he received letters, informing him that some leading persons in the party had begun to waver, and recommending it to him to halt for a time on the continent. Knox appears to have been excited to great wrath by these intimations. He was prudent enough to take the advice of his friends, and returned to Geneva, doubtful of their sincerity, or their power, or both; but he answered the letters with denunciations of vengeance, uttered in a style of papal authority, against inconstancy in any of his disciples. He was sufficiently employed however in the good cause at Geneva, for he now wrote, and printed there, his invective against the sovereignty of females, with the aweful title of "The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regimen of Women," the most remarkable of his works, aimed at once against his own Queen, and our Mary. He was preparing a second Blast, when the last named Princess died, and the accession of Elizabeth, whose aversion to popery was well known, induced him to lay it aside. In contemplation of obtaining her furtherance he now determined to visit England, and wrote to Cecil for a licence to that end, which was peremptorily and scornfully refused. Knox discovered that his book had induced this repulse, and forced the Secretary into a correspondence on its merits, in which, however disgusting the insolence, and obstinacy, and mad fanaticism of the man, we cannot but admire his sincerity and courage.

To give one short extract from this most singular letter—"If any think me," says he, "either enemy to the person, or yet to the regimen, of her whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived of me; for the miraculous work of God, comforting his afflicted by an infirm vessel, I do acknowledge; and the power of his most potent hand (raising up whom best pleaseth his mercy to suppress such as fight against his glory) I will obey, albeit that both nature, and God's most perfect ordinance, repugn to such regimen. More plainly to speak, if Queen Elizabeth shall confess that the extraordinary dispensation of God's great mercy maketh that lawful unto her which both nature and God's law doth deny unto all women, then shall none in England be more willing to maintain her lawful authority than I shall be; but if, God's wondrous work set aside, she ground, as God forbid, the justness of her title upon consuetude, laws, or ordinances of men, then I am assured that as such foolish presumption doth highly offend God's supreme Majesty, so do I greatly fear that her ingratitude shall not long want punishment." Not content with writing thus to Cecil, he addressed a letter to Elizabeth herself, in which we find the following menacing passage—"If thus in God's presence you humble yourself, as in my heart I glorify God for that rest granted to his afflicted flock within England under you, a weak instrument, so will I with tongue and pen justify your authority and regimen, as the Holy Ghost hath justified the same in Deborah, that blessed mother in Israel: But, if the premises, as God forbid, neglected, you shall begin to brag of your birth, and to build your authority and regimen upon your own law, flatter you who so list, your felicity shall be short." Need it be asked whether this was the effect of inspiration or insanity?

Too much however in his senses to trust himself in Elizabeth's hands, and hopeless of converting her to puritanism, he now set out for Scotland, and arrived there in May, 1559. He was soon after nominated by the Lords of the Congregation, as they had for some time styled themselves, together with another preacher, to endeavour to obtain by negotiation that Princess's aid to the temporal views of the Kirk, which, as is well known, she most readily granted. The subversion of the ancient religion was now consummated. Knox composed a code of constitutions for the newly invented church, at great length, and digested with a clearness and precision of which, in spite of his ferocious wildness, he was very capable. One of the nine general heads which it comprised was intituled "Touching

the suppression of Idolatry," and contained this sweeping clause—" Idolatry, with all monuments and places of the same, as abbeys, chapels, monkeries, frieries, nunneries, chantries, cathedral churches, canonries, colleges, other than presently are parish churches or schools, to be utterly suppressed in all places of this realm; palaces, mansions, and dwelling houses, with their orchards and gardens, only excepted." The Estates, even before they had ratified these constitutions, became so enamoured of that peculiar article, that they passed an act specially for the execution of its provisions, and Knox aided their pious intention by simultaneously proclaiming in a sermon that " the sure way to banish the rooks was to pull down their nests." Instantly commenced that barbarous havoc, the disgrace of which to the land is still attested by so many magnificent relics. " Thereupon ensued," pathetically writes Archbishop Spotswood, who was no enemy to the prime author of the mischief, " a pitiful vastation of churches and church buildings throughout all the parts of the realm; for every one made bold to put too their hands, the meaner sort imitating the ensample of the greater, and those who were in authority. No difference was made, but all the churches either defaced, or pulled to the ground. The holy vessels, and whatsoever else men could make gain of, such as timber, lead, and bells, were put to sale. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared. The registers of the church, and bibliotheques, cast into the fire. In a word, all was ruined."

The ecclesiastical government was now committed to twelve persons; the kingdom divided into as many districts, to be placed under their care respectively; and that of Edinburgh was assigned to Knox. There the celebrated Mary found him, intoxicated by power and popularity, on her arrival from France to take possession of a crown of thorns, the first of which he planted. The private exercise in the chapel of her palace of the faith in which she had been born and bred was intolerable to him, and, in defiance of an act of the State by which the penalty of death was denounced against any one who should disturb such worship, he inveighed furiously against it in his pulpit on the very first Sunday after her coming; declaring that " one mass was more frightful to him than ten thousand armed enemies landed in any part of the realm." Mary, forced to temporize, attempted to move him in the courteousness of private conference, but he was inexorable. The only concessions, if they might be so called, which she could obtain from him, regarded his book lately mentioned. He declared that he had written it solely " against that wicked Jezabel of England;" and told her that as St. Paul could live under the government of Nero, so could he under her's. " She promised him access to her," says the most popular of the Scottish historians, quoting, in this instance, Knox's own authority, " whenever he demanded it: and she even desired him, if he found her blameable in any thing, to reprehend her freely in private, rather than vilify her in the pulpit before all the people; but he plainly told her that he had a public ministry entrusted to him; that if she would come to church she should there hear the gospel of truth; and that it was not his business to apply to every individual, nor had he leisure for such occupation." " This rustic apostle," adds the same writer, " scruples not in his history to inform us that he once treated her with such severity that she lost all command of her temper, and dissolved into tears before him. Yet, so far from being moved with youth, and beauty, and royal dignity, reduced to that condition, he persevered in his insolent reproofs, and when he relates this incident, he even discovers a visible pride and satisfaction in his own conduct." Innumerable instances of this savage insolence towards the fair Queen might be cited from Knox's own relation.

This singular person survived the date of the complete establishment of his church for ten years, a portion of his life which affords not a single circumstance worthy to be recorded. With some shew of reason indeed have his disciples asserted that Providence raised him up specially to perform that work, for certainly he was qualified for no other, and sunk, therefore, after he had accomplished it, into comparative insignificance. He died, after a gradual decay of three months, on the twenty-fourth of November, 1572, and was buried in the church-yard of the parish of St. Giles, in Edinburgh. Knox, amidst his pious cares, seems to have been by no means inattentive to his private interests: there is reason to believe that he died even wealthy. Certain it is that he was twice very respectably married;

first, to Margery Bowes, of the ancient family of that name in the county of Durham; secondly, to Margaret, daughter of Andrew Stuart, Lord Ochiltree. By his first wife he had two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar, who were educated in St. John's college, in the university of Cambridge, became Fellows of that house, and beneficed clergymen in England; and one daughter, married to Robert Pont, a Lord of Session. By the second, he had three daughters, two of whom became the wives of ministers of the Kirk, of the names of Welsh and Fleming.

Knox's writings, all, as might be expected, of the polemical class, were numerous. His "History of the Reformation within the realm of Scotland," a book on many accounts of considerable curiosity, is well known; for the rest, it is painful to enumerate works which no one in this time has read, or will read, and yet some mention of them may be expected here. The following are extant in print:—"A faithful Admonition to the true Professors of the Gospel of Christ within the Kingdom of England," 1554—"A Letter to Mary, Queen Regent of Scotland," 1556—"The Appellation of John Knox from the cruel and unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland, with a Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, Estates, and Commonalty of the same realm," 1558—"The First Blast," &c. already spoken of, 1558—"A Brief Exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of Christ's Gospel heretofore by the Tyranny of Mary suppressed and banished," 1559—"An Answer to a great number of blasphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptist, and Adversary of God's eternal Predestination," 1560—"A Reply to the Abbot of Crossragwell's" (Crossregal) "Faith, or Catechism, with his Conference with that Abbot," 1562—"A Sermon preached before the King," (Henry Darnley) 1566—"An Answer to a Letter written by James Tyria, a Jesuit," 1568. Other of his pieces are printed in Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, and several of his manuscripts existed about eighty years since in the hands of a Mr. Robert Woodrow, a Minister of the Kirk.

EDWARD SEYMOUR,

DUKE OF SOMERSET.

EVEN a faint sketch of the life of such a person as the Protector Somerset can scarcely be expected in a work like this. Inseparable from the history of all the great public transactions of a very important period, and enveloped in the mysteries of faction, it presents a theme not less for argumentative disquisition than for extended and exact narration. A treatise embracing both would be a great historical acquisition, but he who is bound to confine such a subject to the limits of a brief memoir must be content to restrict himself to a dry detail of facts, or to an imperfect series of conjectures and presumptions.

The Protector was the eldest of the six sons of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf Hall, in Wiltshire, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth, of Nettlested, in Suffolk. His father, who, though the heir of a long line of wealthy and powerful ancestors, had passed his life in the courts and armies of Henry the seventh and eighth, placed him, while yet a youth, in the view of the latter of those Princes, recommended as well by the best education of the time, for he had studied profitably in both Universities, as by a turn for military gallantry, and an eminent sweetness of temper. The King received him favourably, and permitted him to accompany the Duke of Suffolk in his expedition to the coast of France in August 1523, where his bravery in several actions was rewarded by that nobleman with the honour of knighthood, conferred in the field. He returned to distinguish himself in the warlike sports of the Court in which Henry so much delighted; was one of the chosen party which graced Wolsey's splendid embassy to Paris in 1527; and attended the King at his celebrated interview with Francis the first in 1532, holding at that time the honourable, but now obsolete, office of Esquire of the royal body.

Having thus slowly attained to that station, and perhaps indulging little hope of further preferment, an event occurred which ranked him suddenly among the highest in the realm. Henry became enamoured of his sister Jane, and, even before his passion for her was publicly known, raised her to the throne. On the fifth of June, 1536, a few days after the marriage, Seymour was raised to the dignity of Viscount Beauchamp, and on the eighteenth of October, in the ensuing year, created Earl of Hertford. The untimely death of the Queen, which occurred just at that period, caused no diminution of the royal favour towards him, but Henry, unwilling to expose her family to the envy of the Court, prudently delayed to advance him to high offices, nor was he placed in any but the comparatively insignificant posts of Chancellor and Chamberlain of North Wales, and Governor of Jersey, till 1540, when he was sent Ambassador to Paris, to settle some disputes as to the boundaries of the English territory in France. On his return, in the beginning of the following year, he received the Order of the Garter, and in 1542 was appointed Lord Great Chamberlain of England for life. In the mean time the King had sought to gratify his passion for military fame by giving him a command in the forces not long before sent into Scotland, under the Duke of Norfolk, in which he acquitted himself so well that on the declaration of war against the Scots in 1544 the first of the three divisions of the powerful army then dispatched into that country was intrusted wholly to his charge, together with the important office of Lieutenant General of the North. At home new marks of favour and confidence awaited him: Henry, who this year crossed the channel to the siege of Boulogne, named him one of the four counsellors by whose advice the Queen was to be directed, and commander in chief on any occasions of military service which might occur

during his absence. Amidst these ample engagements he pined for warlike enterprize; obtained the King's permission to join him before Boulogne; and distinguished himself there by the most signal skill and bravery in several actions after the reduction of the town, as well as by the sagacity which he displayed in the treaty of peace with Francis which presently followed. On his return from France he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and Henry, who died soon after, included him in the number of his executors, to whom, in the nature of a Council of Regency, he intrusted the guardianship of his son.

One of the first acts of that Council was to invest him with the supreme government, and the title of Protector of the realm, and Governor of the King's person; and one of the first purposes to which he applied his authority was to use the King's name in advancing himself to the dignity of Duke of Somerset. To remove the imputation of vanity so likely to attend such a step a curious expedient was devised. Some other eminent persons were at the same time raised to the Peerage, and others promoted in it, and each individually testified for all the rest that it was the declared intention of the late King to have bestowed on them the titles now conferred, which was done therefore but in obedience to his pleasure. The Protector assumed also, about the same time, the great office of Earl Marshal, for life.

Edward's reign commenced with a war against the Scots. A treaty for his marriage to their infant Queen had been earnestly agitated by Henry, who on his death-bed commanded that it should be carried on with all assiduity, and the Protector zealously resumed it, but was baffled by delays and evasions. Any pretext for an invasion of that country was in those days welcome. Twenty thousand men, admirably equipped, were marched into Scotland by Somerset in person, and gained a complete victory in the sanguinary and decisive battle of Musselborough, almost without loss. His return was hailed with marks of respect and love, amounting almost to adoration. Charmed by the fickle voice of the multitude, it was perhaps now that he conceived an unreasonable affection to popularity, and fondly sought to strengthen his authority by resting it on the ever doubtful basis of public esteem.

His vain endeavours to this end produced universal disgust. To ingratiate himself with the nobility, who as yet held the spoils of the ancient church but by a precarious tenure, he applied himself with vigour to destroy every vestige of its practice. Shortly after his arrival from Scotland he issued injunctions for the removal from churches of all images, and other visible objects of worship, and dispatched commissioners into every part of the kingdom to enforce the execution. The commonalty, with whom the march of the reformation had been more tardy, perhaps because it administered nothing to their temporal interests, highly resented this harsh and sudden subversion of their inveterate habits, which even Henry for the time had left undisturbed. On the other hand, he attempted to win the mass of the people by an ordinance as summary and unexpected, not only prohibiting the inclosure of commons, and waste lands, but charging those who had already made inclosures to lay them again open. It is needless to say that such persons were almost wholly of the higher order, and it will readily be conceived that they considered this regulation as a heinous injury. A fever of discontent presently raged throughout the realm. Insurrections burst forth in several counties on the score of religion. In others the people, impatient of the delay and unwillingness with which the inclosers restored to them a property their right to which had now acquired a new guarantee, rose in thousands, and having broken down the fences which had debarred them, proceeded, according to the invariable practice of mobs, to spoil the mansions and the goods of the offenders. In the mean time a powerful party was secretly formed against him in the Court.

At the head of this faction was his brother, Thomas Lord Seymour, of Sudeley, whom he had advanced at the commencement of Edward's reign to that dignity, and to the office of Lord Admiral of England. The conduct of that nobleman towards the Protector, and its motives, and the lenity, and even tenderness, which he experienced to the last at the hands of his injured brother, may be found treated of at large in this work, in a memoir appropriated to himself. The Admiral, after long delays, was put to death for repeated

treasons, but a more formidable adversary presently appeared. John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, a man of considerable talents, and equally ambitious and intrepid, was the Protector's secret enemy, and, from motives as well of anger as of envy, had determined to accomplish his ruin. Somerset, to gratify his brother, had deprived Warwick of the great office of Lord Admiral, which he had filled with abundant credit during the five concluding years of the late reign, and the offence was never forgiven. Warwick, however, dissembled till after the fall of Lord Seymour. He had privately encouraged that nobleman in his practices against the Protector, whom, on the other hand, he urged to resent them to the utmost. A majority of the Privy Council was now united against Somerset, and Warwick eagerly undertook to be their leader; they seceded suddenly from the main body, assuming the authority of the whole, and indeed the government of the realm; and this step was concerted with such secresy that the Protector seems to have been wholly unapprized of its approach. They humbly averred to the King, and indeed not untruly, that his uncle had on most occasions contemned their advice, and issued a proclamation to the same effect. Somerset abandoned his authority with pusillanimous precipitation. Articles of accusation were drawn up, and he acknowledged the justice of them on his knees at the Council table. He then signed a confession to the same purpose, which was presented to the Parliament, and that assembly, having first examined him by a committee, stripped him of all his offices, and, by way of fine, of estates to the annual value of two thousand pounds. Here his prosecution ceased for the time; he was released from the Tower, where he had suffered a very short imprisonment; and was soon after discharged of his fine. These matters occurred in the winter of 1549.

The plenitude of power of which he had been deprived now passed into the hands of Warwick, who seemed to be fully appeased by the sacrifice. A personal reconciliation between them, apparently sincere, was wrought through the mediation of the amiable Edward, who even prevailed on Warwick to give his eldest son in marriage to one of Somerset's daughters. The Duke, who possessed most of the qualities which bestow comfort and ornament on private life, laid down, perhaps with little regret, a burthen which neither his talents nor his temper had well fitted him to support; but Warwick, by whose ambitious and ardent spirit such moderation was utterly inconceivable, and who had injured Somerset too deeply ever to forgive him, still suspected and hated him. Popular affection had in some degree attended the Duke in his retirement, and, though wholly forsaken by the powerful, and possessing none of the qualities of a demagogue, his influence was yet dreaded. Warwick, now Duke of Northumberland, at length determined to deprive him of life, and he was arrested on the sixteenth of October, 1551, together with several of his intimates and retainers, among whom some through purchased treachery, and others from careless imprudence, had divulged to the spies of Northumberland the facts on which his accusation was to be formed, and which were to be proved by no other than their own evidence.

Northumberland's utmost influence seems to have been exerted to induce the Privy Council, servile as it was, to consent that he should be brought to a trial on charges which any grand jury of later days would have rejected with horror and disdain. After repeated examinations, that process, however, took place on the first of the succeeding December, twenty-seven peers forming the Court. It was alledged against him that he had meditated insurrections to subvert the government, and had conspired to assassinate certain noblemen at a banquet in the house of the Lord Paget, and, incredible as it may seem, three of these, Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke, had the effrontery to sit that day among his judges. On the first class of charges he was indicted of high treason; on the second, of felony; but no overt act tending to either was adduced, nor was any proof made but of some vague and uncertain speeches, uttered in the freedom of familiar conversation; neither was he allowed to confront the witnesses, for this wretched evidence was delivered in the form of written depositions. Spite of the vengeance of the prosecutor, and the gross partiality of the court, it should seem that he might have been saved by slight exertions on his own part of common prudence; but he made no defence;

uttered no clear denial of the charges; nor did he except with firmness against the palpable irregularities of the process; but wasted his time in unmeaning apologies, and sought to move the compassion of his judges by such plaints as usually result from the depression produced by conscious demerit. In the end, he was acquitted of treason, but convicted of the felony, and condemned to die. He suffered, on Tower Hill, on the twenty-second of January, N. S. with a deportment and a speech which had little in them to denote the man who had ruled kingdoms, and commanded armies, or to afford any clear inference either of his innocence or guilt.

The Protector was twice married. By his first lady, Catharine, daughter and coheir of Sir William Fillol, of Woodlands, in Dorsetshire, whom he repudiated, he had an only son, Edward. He married, secondly, Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope, of Rampton, in the county of Nottingham, to whose pride, insolence, intriguing spirit, and controul over his conduct, some writers have ascribed most of his misfortunes and errors. She brought him a numerous issue, of which Edward, the eldest son, was appointed his heir, under a special intail, created by act of Parliament (the only son by the first marriage being about the same time disinherited, as well of the titles as of the estates), and from this second son descended that line of Dukes of Somerset which failed in 1750. He had also by his Duchess, Anne Stanhope, two younger sons; Henry, and another Edward; and six daughters; Anne, first married, as has been already stated, to John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, eldest son to John, Duke of Northumberland; secondly, to Sir Edward Unton, of Wadley, in Oxfordshire, Knight of the Bath; Margaret, and Jane, who died unmarried, as did the fifth daughter, Catherine; Mary, married, first, Andrew, eldest son to Sir Richard Rogers, of Bryanstone, in the county of Dorset; secondly, to Sir Henry Peyton; and Elizabeth, wife to Sir Richard Knightley, of Fawsley, in Northamptonshire. On the extinction, alluded to above, of the male line from the eldest son of this second marriage, the Dukedom reverted at length to the heir male of Edward, the disinherited son of the first, from whom the present Duke of Somerset is lineally descended. The public and private history of these family affairs, of which as much has been here stated as is consistent with the views of this work, is little known, and of great curiosity.

John, First Lord Maitland,
of Thirlestane.

From the original, in the Collection of
The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Lauderdale.

Drawn by W.m Hilton R.A.r Engraved (with Permission) by R. Cooper.

London, Published March 1 1819, by Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown.

JOHN, FIRST LORD MAITLAND,

OF THIRLESTANE.

JOHN MAITLAND, perhaps in all respects the most eminent of a family in which great talents and elegant genius seem to have passed almost with the regularity of hereditary succession, was the second son of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland, and a Lord of Session, by Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Cranstoun. He was born, according to some accounts, about the year 1537, though the inscription on his tomb, in stating the age at which he died, fixes his birth to 1545. The latter date, however plausible the authority, is probably incorrect, for it can scarcely be believed that he should have succeeded to those offices of high trust in which we shall presently find him when he had scarcely attained to years of manhood. He was bred with much care in the study of the law, both in Scotland and on the continent, and we are told that he had passed some years in fruitless attendance at the Court when he was provided for by a grant of the Abbey of Kelso, which he afterward exchanged for the Priory of Coldingham, yet the date of the patent by which that exchange was ratified is so early as the seventh of February, 1566. On the twenty-sixth of August, in the following year, on the resignation of his father, the Privy Seal was given to him by the Regent Murray, and on the second of the succeeding June he was appointed a Lord of Session.

It is scarcely necessary to inform the reader of history that Maitland's admission into the ministry occurred at the most critical period of the reign of the celebrated Mary. She was then a prisoner in the Castle of Lochleven, and the questions of her deposition, and the advancement of her infant son to the throne, were under discussion. His elder brother, William, at that time Secretary of State, a sketch of whose life is also given in this work, opposed those measures with the most earnest zeal; and he naturally followed the example of one to whose experience he looked for instruction, and to whom he was bound as well by ties of gratitude as of blood. Younger, however, and less artful, he sunk under the vengeance of the contrary party, while that subtle and intriguing politician was left for a time at liberty to pursue his plans. He was deprived of his offices and his benefice, and fled for security to the Castle of Edinburgh, then under the command of Kirkaldy of Grange, a firm and able supporter of Mary's interests, with whom his brother also was at length obliged to seek refuge. Here he remained till that fortress surrendered to the troops of the Earl of Morton, now Regent, when he was sent to the Castle of Tantallon, and early in the following year was removed to a less rigorous custody in the house of Lord Somerville, where he remained a prisoner till the fall of Morton, in 1581, when he was released by an order of the Privy Council.

He came again to the Court with every claim to distinction. His abilities were of the highest class; the character of his mind generous, honourable, and candid; his loyalty pure and disinterested: it had subjected him to an imprisonment of many years, during which he had seen his brother fall a victim to the public principles on which they had mutually acted. James received him with becoming gratitude. On his arrival he was appointed a Senator of the College of Justice, and, on the eighteenth of May, 1584, knighted, and placed in the office of Secretary of State, which had been so long and ably held by his brother. He now became in fact first minister of Scotland, for James, whose ripening mind discovered that he had at last obtained a servant at once wise, faithful, and moderate, held him in the most perfect confidence, while the nobility, tired of parties, and unable to

subdue the storms which themselves had raised, beheld without jealousy the favour of one in whom they could discover no disposition to mix in their intrigues, or to rival their power. He had, however, enemies. James Stuart, the first, and the most worthless, of the long series of minions by whom the Crown of his master was tarnished, not only conceived a bitter hatred against him, but inspired most of the junior branches of the House of Stuart with the same sentiment. This man, with no apparent recommendation but illegitimate descent from the blood royal, James had promoted, as it should seem by an act of insanity, from the station of Captain of his Guard to that of Lord Chancellor, with an Earldom. His power became, even in a few months, unbounded, and his fall was as sudden. He fled with terror from one of those violent attacks which public vengeance then so often produced in Scotland, aided in this instance by the secret influence of Elizabeth, and would have been scarcely again heard of had he not from his retirement accused the Secretary of being accessary to the death of Mary, and of a design to deliver up the person of the King to the Queen of England. When cited to substantiate the charges, which were universally discredited, he neither appeared, or produced witnesses; and James, having kept the office of Chancellor virtually vacant for a considerable time, in the vain hope that his dastardly favourite might return, at length bestowed it on Maitland. His patent or commission for that post is dated on the thirty-first of May, 1587.

Stuart's accusation had been in fact addressed to the royal and the popular feelings of the moment, and failed for want of the support which he expected from them. Maitland, dispassionate, impartial, and consistent, endeavoured to the last to save the unhappy Mary; but, the fatal blow having been stricken, exerted his utmost powers of persuasion to save his master from the ruinous consequences of an impotent resentment, and succeeded; and on a misconstruction of this wise policy, which to ordinary and heated minds might seem to indicate at least an indifference to her tragical fate, had Stuart hoped to insinuate that he had been a party in accelerating it. The disposition of Maitland indeed was not less pacific than that of James, but the forbearance of the one arose from prudence; of the other from timidity. The King, therefore, was submissive only to his brother Sovereigns; the minister moderate towards all. In this spirit he undertook and accomplished the difficult task of reconciling James to the Lords who had been banished to England; and laboured incessantly, though with incomplete success, to compose the unhappy differences which, from private as well as public causes, agitated the great body of the Scottish nobility. In the same spirit too, though not without a secret affection to puritanism, he strove to persuade the King to let the monstrous insolences of the preachers of that sect to his Crown and person pass with impunity; advising him, says Spotswood, "to leave them to themselves, for they would render themselves ridiculous, by their actings, to the people; whereas his Majesty, by imprisoning of them for their undutiful speeches and behaviour, rendered them the object of their compassion." It is not surprising that James should have rejected advice at once so odious to his feelings, and of such doubtful policy.

In the memorable year, 1588, he opened the business of the Parliament which James had called to advise him on the great impending designs of Philip of Spain with a speech so wise and patriotic that some of the Scottish historians have preserved the substance of it much at large. He deprecated with warmth all correspondence with Philip; advised that Scotland should be put into the best state of defence; a faithful amity maintained with Elizabeth; and that the utmost military force which could be raised, and safely spared, might be sent to England, should she claim such aid. Among those, however, whom he addressed on that occasion were men not only envious of his power, but corrupted by the bribes and promises of Spain, and secretly engaged, should Philip find it convenient to his designs to land a force in Scotland, to do their best to secure a safe passage for it into the adjoining realm. At the head of these was another Stuart, the lately created Earl of Bothwell, a man of an intriguing and restless disposition, and a most determined enemy to Maitland. Combined with the Earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawfurd, he now laid a plan, if a design so extravagant can be properly so called, to seize the person of the King, or the

Chancellor, or both, even in the royal palace. The execution, or rather failure, of this enterprise, is very obscurely related by the Scottish writers. We are told that the conspirators, attended by several armed men, gained admission into an apartment in which the King was conferring with Maitland, few others being present. That James, having expressed to Huntley, who headed the party, his surprise at their presence, quitted the room, and was presently after followed by the Chancellor, the intruders remaining inactive. It is declared, however, that some resolute persons then with the King, who were earnest friends to Maitland, threw themselves about his person, and guarded his retreat; and it is probable that from this shew of defence the others inferred that their design had been disclosed, and preparations made to receive them. They left the palace, seemingly panic-struck; James, after some shew of displeasure, pardoned them for the insolence which they had offered; and they retired to meditate a better digested attack.

Nor was this long deferred. In the spring of 1589 the same noblemen, instigated, say the writers of the time, by the Roman Catholic party, assembled in open insurrection at Aberdeen, when they issued a proclamation, asserting "that the King was kept a prisoner by the Chancellor, and forced, against his mind, to use his nobility with that rigour to which he was naturally averse; and requiring all the lieges to concur with them, and assist them to set his person at liberty." James raised some troops, and marched to meet them. They submitted, without striking a blow; were arraigned of high treason, and found guilty; and, after a short restraint, the King, to flatter the Catholic party, whose protection he sought against the puritans, granted them a free pardon, Maitland, with a policy amiable in appearance, and prudent in fact, having interceded peculiarly for Bothwell.

While these matters were passing, James formed a resolution to offer his hand to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and on his return to his capital imparted it to his Privy Council, and met with a steady opposition. Elizabeth, determined to thwart every treaty of marriage that he might propose, had secretly gained over a majority of that body to her purpose, and it is impossible to remove from the character of the Chancellor a strong suspicion that he had engaged to forward her design. It is evident that James entertained that opinion, for his resentment fell on Maitland alone, and at length arose to such a height, that, having failed in all endeavours to obtain his concurrence, he condescended to employ secret agents to inflame the mob of Edinburgh against the Chancellor, and to induce them to threaten his life, should the marriage be prevented, or even delayed. In the mean time his enemies in the Court laboured incessantly in aggravating his offence, and renewing their former accusations; and he seems to have been on the point of ruin, when he extricated himself, apparently by an expedient so simple, and of such doubtful sincerity, that his restoration to favour may be more probably ascribed to the King's habitual regard for him. "The Chancellor," says Melvil, who was no friend to him, "being advertised of his Majesty's discontent and displeasure, caused it to come to his Majesty's ears that he would sail himself, and bring the Queen home with him. He forgot not to anoint the hands of some who were most familiar with his Majesty to interpret this his design so favourably that it made the King forget all by-gones; and by little and little he informed him so well of the said voyage, and the great charges he had bestowed upon a fair and swift sailing ship, that his Majesty was moved to take the voyage himself, and to sail in the same ship with the Chancellor, with great secresy, and short preparation, making no man privy thereto but such as the Chancellor pleased, and such as formerly had all been upon his faction."

They sailed on the twenty-second of October, 1589, and returned not till the twentieth of May. Maitland, who foresaw a storm rising against him at home, availed himself of this long leisure to suggest to James, for his own protection, several novelties in the form of the Scottish government, and in the usages of the Court; meanwhile his enemies in Scotland were not idle, nor had he been able to conceal from the Queen his aversion to her marriage. Anne, on her arrival, naturally enough attached herself to the party which sought his overthrow; and the remainder of his life was passed in fruitless endeavours, by alternate menaces and concessions, to avert the reverse of fortune which seemed to await

him. A faction was formed against him among the principal nobility, and the Privy Council charged him with abusing the influence which he had possessed over the King in the undue acquisition of important grants of wealth and power to himself, his family, and his adherents. James, still earnestly attached to him, had barely composed this difference with the Council, when his great enemy Bothwell, who had lately escaped from a confinement on the charge of conspiring to compass the King's death by witchcraft, again appeared in arms, and, having published a declaration of his profound loyalty, and that the removal of the Chancellor was the sole object of his enterprize, once more sought the life of that minister in the King's palace and presence. A curious detail of the minute circumstances of this attack, too long to be inserted here, may be found in the Memoirs of Sir James Melvil.

Amidst this warfare on the Chancellor, James raised him to the Peerage: On the eighteenth of May, 1590, he received the title of Baron Maitland of Thirlestane, in Berwickshire. Armed with this proof that he yet enjoyed no small share of royal favour, he seems now first to have courted popularity. He resigned the office of Secretary, his long occupation of which together with the great post of Chancellor had excited much disgust, and soon after prevailed on the King to pass that important statute by which the discipline and jurisdiction of the Kirk were finally legalized and confirmed in 1592. These conciliations had scarcely been offered when he gave a new offence to the Queen by retaining the possession of an estate which she claimed as a member of the Abbey of Dumfermline, presented to her by the King on their marriage, though Maitland had possessed the lands in question long before that marriage had been even meditated. She now raised a new faction against him in the Court, and he retired, broken down with vexations and disappointments, as well in his private as public affairs, to the country, where he remained most of the year 1593. At length, willing to make a final effort, he resigned the estate; was reconciled, and graciously received by her; and, in endeavouring to ensure her future good will, unfortunately lent his aid to an intrigue by which she sought to detach the Prince, her son, from the custody of the Earl of Mar, in which, by the single authority and special preference of the King, the infant had been placed. James, suddenly apprised of this scheme, fell into a transport of anger unusual to him. He reprehended the Chancellor with the utmost bitterness; charged him with treachery and ingratitude; and left him hopeless of pardon. He now retired, never to return. On arriving at his seat at Lauder, where he had built a magnificent mansion, he was seized by a fatal illness. James relented, and a letter from him, which the Chancellor received on his death bed, is still extant, and bears a pleasing testimony to the tenderness of the monarch's disposition. He died on the third of October, 1595, seemingly of the too common disease called a broken heart, and was buried at Haddington, under a magnificent tomb, which displays an epitaph in English verse, from the hand of his royal master.

The Chancellor Maitland occasionally relieved his severer studies by poetical composition, some specimens of which have been preserved. A satire written by him, "Aganis Sklanderous Toungis," has been published by Mr. Pinkerton; and several of his epigrams may be found in "Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum." He married Jane, only daughter and heir of James, fourth Lord Fleming, (who remarried John Kennedy, fifth Earl of Cassilis) and had issue by her John, who succeeded to his dignity, and was in 1624 created Viscount and Earl of Lauderdale; and a daughter, Anne, married to Robert Seton, second Earl of Wintoun.

MARGARET TUDOR,

QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

In all respects but one the character of this lady seems to have borne to that of her brother, Henry the eighth of England, a remarkable similarity. Haughty, magnificent, and luxurious; officiously active in affairs of state, and governing without a system; capricious in her politics, but obstinately impenetrable by persuasion; highly amorous, but totally insensible to the delicacies of the tender passion, and not less versatile in her amours than careless of the public opinion of her inconstancy; like him, she lived neither beloved nor respected, and died wholly unregretted. She was not however cruel. During twenty-eight years of power, sometimes nearly unlimited, sometimes abridged, but always in no small degree existing, not a drop of blood appears to have been shed by her order, or even with her connivance. Like her brother, she possessed an understanding at once solid and lively, with much of that mental refinement, nameless in her time, which has been since distinguished by the appellation of taste. There was a striking likeness too in their countenances. Those to whom the portraits of the youthful Henry are familiar cannot but perceive the resemblance.

It is scarcely necessary to say that she was the eldest daughter of Henry the seventh, by Elizabeth, daughter of Edward the fourth. There is some variance in the accounts of the date of her birth, but the best authorities fix it to the twenty-ninth of November, 1489. Her father, while she was yet in the cradle, meditated to offer her hand to James the fourth of Scotland, and, with a view of detaching that chivalrous prince from a treaty into which he had been tempted by the Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward the fourth, in favour of the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck, proposed the marriage in form when she had scarcely reached her sixth year. James refused; invaded the English border, accompanied by Perkin; and Henry, with the patient and persevering policy which usually marked his measures, contented himself with a steady defence, and, soon after the Scottish King had returned into his own dominions, reiterated the offer. A negotiation of more than three years succeeded, during which the monarchs pledged themselves to an amity for their joint lives, and on the eighth of August, 1503, the marriage was at length celebrated at Edinburgh. Such was then the value of money that the portion of the royal bride was no more than ten thousand pounds; her jointure, in case of widowhood, two thousand annually; and the yearly allowance for her establishment as Queen Consort, only one. The nuptials however were distinguished by the most gorgeous splendour and festivity, of which, as well as of the Princess's journey from London to Edinburgh, a particular and very curious account, in the way of diary, by John Young, Somerset Herald, who attended her, is published in Leland's Collectanea, from the original manuscript remaining in the College of Arms.

For ten years after her marriage the name of Margaret scarcely occurs in history. Between her husband and herself a mutual tenderness seems to have subsisted, which withdrew him from the vague and transient amours in which he had been used to indulge, while it rendered her indifferent to the course of public affairs, and the intrigues of factions. The death of her father, in 1509, was the prelude to important changes in the political relations of the two countries. Henry the eighth however renewed the compact which had been dissolved by the demise of his predecessor, and more than two years passed in profound peace, when a variety of minute causes, some of them merely of a private

and domestic nature, produced fresh discords. Ineffectual negotiations succeeded, in which the moderation of Henry, who was not yet a tyrant, and the impetuosity of James, were equally conspicuous. A new war at length took place, which terminated in the decisive battle of Flodden, and, on the ninth of September, 1513, rendered Margaret a widow. Her consort, an amiable and popular Prince, who, had his prudence kept pace with his good intentions, would have established a splendid fame, fell in the forty-first year of his age, leaving, of several, only one legitimate child, James, his successor, at that time little more than twelve months old.

The King by his will appointed Margaret, now in the twenty-fourth year of her age, to the Regency, and his nomination was confirmed by a parliamentary council, composed of such of the nobility as had escaped the late terrible encounter, together with the heads of the clergy. This decision, though apparently unanimous, invested her however but with a precarious authority. The influence of France, which had been for more than a century gradually increasing in Scotland, was warmly exerted in favour of John Stuart, Duke of Albany, first cousin to the deceased King, and presumptive heir to the throne, whose whole life had been passed in France, whither his father had been exiled by James the third, his elder brother. A party presently embodied itself to support his interest, and Henry, unaccountably deviating from the character of his nature, as well as from that of his usual policy regarding Scotland, left his sister's authority unaided either by war or negotiation. This forbearance, if we could suspect Henry of the amiable fault of over-pliancy, might be fairly ascribed to her persuasion. She informed him of the measures which were in agitation for placing Albany at the head of the government; declared her indifference to the success of them; and even requested his mediation to promote a good understanding between herself and Albany, and those by whom his pretensions had been forwarded. Her motive, however, presently discovered itself.

Margaret, immediately after her husband's death, or perhaps even before it, had abandoned herself to an indiscreet affection. James left her pregnant of a son, who received the name of Alexander; was created Duke of Ross; and died in the second year of his age: and she had scarcely recovered from the natural abatement of health which followed the birth of this child, when, to the surprise and regret of the whole kingdom, she suddenly married Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, an almost beardless youth, as much distinguished among his compeers by his ignorance and inexperience as by the graces of his person and manners. By the law of Scotland, as well as the terms of the late King's will, the fact of this imprudent union abrogated her Regency, but the penalty was not enforced. Angus derived considerable power from his great domains; and others among the prime nobility, enemies to Albany, and to the French interest, still lent their support to her tottering rule. That Prince, virtually Regent, unaccountably delayed his voyage for nearly a year; the country became distracted by factions; and it was perhaps at this period that Henry first meditated to subjugate it by artifice. While Margaret, irritated by daily insults, pressed him to march an army into Scotland to her relief, he exhorted her to fly with her sons to England, but she rejected, from fear, mixed perhaps with better motives, an expedient which doubtless would have deluged Scotland with blood. Albany at length arrived, in the spring of 1515, and was received by her with a complacency which, considering the difficulties of her situation, was probably in some degree unaffected, but he denied to her even the mere politeness due to her rank and her sex. He removed from her, by the harshest exertions of his new authority, her most favoured servants, and prevailed on the Parliament to depute certain peers to demand of her the custody of her children. She received them at the principal gate of Edinburgh castle, her jointure mansion, holding the young King by the hand, while his brother, a helpless infant, appeared near her in his nurse's arms. As they approached she cried, "Stand—declare the cause of your coming." They disclosed their commission; when she instantly commanded to let fall the portcullis, and addressed them from within. "This Palace is part of my enfeoffment, and of it by my late husband the King was I made the sole governess, nor to any mortal shall I yield the important command; but I respect the Parliament and

nation, and request six days to consider their mandate; for of infinite consequence is my charge, and my counsellors now, alas, are few." While Margaret was giving this proof of a noble and daring spirit, the dastardly Angus gratuitously testified, in due form of law, that he had besought the Queen to surrender her infants, in compliance with the requisition of the Regent and the Parliament.

Margaret now retired with her sons to the castle of Stirling, a fortress of some strength, and on the fifth day demanded of the Regent that they should be left in her custody, offering to maintain them on her dowry. This suit was rejected, and Albany, with a force of seven thousand men, proceeded to besiege the castle. The infant King and his brother were forced from her arms, and placed in the hands of some noblemen devoted to the Regent, while the Queen was re-conducted respectfully, but not without some appearance of captivity, to Edinburgh. Angus, whom the Regent held in the utmost detestation, fled into his own country, and, joining the Lord Home, appeared in arms against Albany, who, on his part, endeavoured to amuse Margaret with insincere negotiation, and, on her disdainful rejection of his overtures, compelled her to write to the Pope and the King of France, declaring her approbation of the measures of his government. A victim thus at once to fraud, to violence, and to her own folly; stripped of her revenues, and suffering even almost the utmost evils of poverty, she managed to concert with Lord Dacre, Warden of the English Marches, the means of escaping into her own country. Henry agreed to receive her, and, however indignant at her marriage, permitted Angus to accompany her. Amidst difficulties and dangers, and in hourly expectation of childbirth, she arrived in England on the tenth of October, 1515, and was in fact delivered eight days after, at Harbottle, in Northumberland, of a daughter, Margaret, who became at length the wife of Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, and progenitrix of a long line of royalty, which yet happily remains.

The Queen, suffering under the usual consequences of this event, and oppressed by acute anxieties, had proceeded no further than Morpeth, on her way to London, when she was seized by a severe illness, which confined her there for many weeks. During that interval the weak and fickle Angus not only privately made his peace with the Regent, but left her, and returned into Scotland, an offence for which she ever after entertained an unalterable and pardonable resentment. She arrived not till the beginning of April, 1516, at her brother's court, where she remained for fourteen months, at the termination of which, Albany, hoping to lessen by a temporary retirement the odium which his despicable and tyrannical government had justly provoked, departed for France, and Margaret, invited by himself and the Parliament, and having on her part engaged to leave his now almost nominal authority undisturbed, arrived in Scotland one week after he had quitted it; was replaced in the possession of her estates, and personal property; and found herself at the head of a considerable party. Albany had fixed five months as the term of his absence, and when they were nearly expired, weary of his regency, and fond of a country in which his character and habits had been formed, he wrote to the Queen, desiring her to assume the government. Margaret, offended and mortified as she had been by her husband, who had now added to former causes of disgust a glaring infidelity to her bed, was sensible however that the aid of such a subject was highly important to the support of the power thus offered to her. She requested the Council of Peers, in whose hands the direction of affairs had been left by Albany, even to recognize him as Regent, and applied to Henry to the same end, but her suit was unsuccessful with each: Angus, however, assisted by her influence, insensibly acquired, during three years of alternate tumult or intrigue, all the faculties of that station, when Margaret, by a singular change of policy, if that which was little more than the mere result of various passions may deserve to be so called, solicited Albany to return. A proposal which promised him her aid in the conduct of his government was too tempting to be refused. He arrived in November, 1521; chased her husband from her presence, and compelled him to banish himself to France; and assumed, with her entire concurrence, the supreme rule, and the custody of the young King, her son.

The Regent had scarcely been thus restored than something more than the tongue of

scandal proclaimed an improper intercourse between the Queen and himself. Dacre, in a letter to Henry, even of the following month, says "There is marvellous grete intelligence between the Quene and the Duk, as well all the day as mich of the night; and, in maner, they sett not by who knowe it: and, if I durst say it for fere of displeasure of my Soverein, they ar over tendre; whereof if your Grace examyne the Bushop of Dunkeld, of his conscience, I trust he will shew the truthe." Henry gave the fullest credit to these reports, and the Queen herself, in one of her many original letters which have been preserved, complains to her brother that Wolsey had called her in the Privy Council "the concubine of Albany." The public opinion of her dishonour was confirmed by her anxiety to obtain a divorce from Angus, which, though she had entertained the design from the hour in which he abandoned her at Morpeth, had not been till now disclosed. In this she was for the present disappointed, chiefly by the opposition of Henry, who, wishing to use him as a counterpoise to the renovated power of Albany, repeatedly demanded of her to receive him again as her husband, in a tone of anger and reproach ill calculated to persuade a woman of her disposition: and now, whether in the hope of bribing her brother to concurrence, or from a mere affection to her native country, she commenced a secret correspondence with him and his ministers, in which she disclosed from time to time every project formed by Albany with relation to England, and by this useful treachery prevented the most formidable invasion ever meditated by Scotland, and induced the Regent to disband, in the face of a very inferior force, an army of eighty thousand men, with which he was on the point of crossing the border.

The experience even of a few days convinced Albany of the extent of his error. The Scots taxed him with cowardice; the French with treachery; and he formed a sudden resolution again to quit the country, and to weaken the effect of the suggestions of his enemies by carrying to Paris, together with the first news of his unaccountable conduct, the best apology he could frame for it. He embarked on the twenty-fifth of October, 1522, having stipulated, on pain of forfeiture of the Regency, to return before Assumption-day, the fifteenth of August, in the succeeding year. Henry took advantage of his departure to institute various intrigues in Scotland, and addressed himself with success to the love of rule which, in spite of caprice, invariably distinguished his sister. He proposed that the young King should be solemnly placed on the throne, and invested with the exercise of the supreme power, assisted, in fact governed, by the advice of Margaret, and a select Council. An arrangement which involved the interests of many jarring parties necessarily required time, and Albany, who had been apprised of it in an early stage of its progress, arrived shortly after the appointed day, and wholly thwarted it. The Queen, terrified, and watched on all sides, meditated to fly once more to England, but Henry opposed her design. Albany however shewed no disposition to resent her defection, and is said to have treated her even with a polished courtesy, and Margaret, ever versatile, readily coalesced with him. The lapse however of a very few months finally terminated his rule in Scotland. A second disgraceful and bloodless retreat, in November, 1524, with an army which he had raised to invade England, compelled him to quit for ever a country in which he was now utterly disgraced, and she instantly joined, without hesitation, her political influence to that of his constant adversary the Earl of Arran. Jealous of her brother's interference in the affairs of Scotland, she had now the satisfaction of accomplishing without his assistance the plan which he had formed for investing her son with the sovereignty, through the weight which she had derived from the accession of Arran. Henry seemed indisposed to resent this affront, but secretly prepared to undermine their power, by the aid of Angus, who had at his invitation at length left France, and was awaiting in London some turn of affairs which might favour his return to Scotland.

While these matters were passing Margaret sacrificed her character and her interests, as a woman and a Queen, to a new amour. The object of this folly, who had scarcely reached his twentieth year, was Henry Stuart, second son of Andrew Lord Evandale, and, incredible as it may seem, she presently placed this boy in the offices of Lord Treasurer and Chancellor. Scotland was now in fact without a government, and at this period, the

winter of 1524, Angus arrived at Edinburgh, and, with much shew of moderation, claimed his marital rights of the Queen, and offered to her his services. It is scarcely necessary to say that she rejected both. Angus, as his design had been, joined a party of the justly incensed nobility, who chose him their leader, and the Parliament, which was then sitting, appointed him, with six other lords, spiritual and temporal, a Council of Regency, in which the empty title of Principal, with a mere shadow of authority, was allowed to the Queen. The mortified Margaret now retired with Arran, and her minion, to the castle of Stirling, leaving the King in the hands of Angus and his party. She stifled however her resentment for a time, and opened a correspondence with Angus, in the hope of persuading him to consent to a divorce, which she at last obtained. In the mean time James, who soon became weary of a sort of captivity to which he was now subjected, pressed her by secret messengers to devise means for his release. Two of those irregular military enterprises then so frequent in Scotland were instituted by her direction with that view, and not without some hope of recovering her own authority, but both were fruitless. Her love of rule, and disposition to political intrigue, were now for a while suspended by the long solicited sentence of divorce, and in March, 1525, she became the wife of Henry Stuart, and in a great measure sacrificed to an unpardonable weakness the slender remains of her public consequence.

Margaret's importance had indeed now merged into that of her son. James was in his fifteenth year, naturally manly for his age, and distinguished for that præcocity of spirit which the consciousness of high birth seldom fails to excite in the healthy and robust. He loved his mother, and longed to maintain to the utmost the splendor of her rank, and to salve the wounds that she herself had inflicted on her good name; while she, in addition to the usual partiality of a mother, in which she seems to have been by no means wanting, was naturally anxious to aid that authority which strove to exert itself on her behalf. Margaret had always been popular in Scotland, and Angus found it prudent to relax the severity with which he had interdicted all intercourse between them. The Queen was admitted to visit her son for long intervals, and acquired over him a considerable influence, which she exerted to the prejudice of Angus. James, pressed perhaps as well by a sense of duty as by her instances, determined to escape from the thraldom in which he was held by that nobleman, and having contrived to fly in disguise from his palace of Falkland, and from the stern custody of Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus, reached Stirling in safety, where he found the nobility of his mother's party prepared to receive him. Fully possessed at length of the regal authority, he overthrew the whole fabric of government lately erected by Angus and his friends, whom he proscribed, and restored his mother to the dignity of her proper station, and to the enjoyment of her revenues, without unduly surrendering to her the direction of the affairs of the state.

Thus unwillingly disencumbered of the cares of sovereignty, the restless spirit of Margaret wasted itself on real or imaginary domestic grievances. She became weary of her third husband, now decorated by James with the title of Lord Methven, accused him of squandering her revenues, and actually instituted a process of divorce from him, which her son, in compassion to her character, interposed his authority to suppress. Meanwhile, from the mere thirst of employment, she condescended for a time to become a spy for her brother Henry, whose advice and interests in her intervals of power she had always slighted, and perplexed his measures with useless intelligence. The King, her son, had married, and become a widower, and had taken a second wife. His private affections, and his political interests, had been thus diverted into new channels, and Margaret's views of influence had become mere visions. She retired unwillingly, and became forgotten by all but the little circle of her court, and, dying at Methven, in June, 1541, was buried in the church of the Carthusians at Perth.

A vast treasure of the most secret original correspondence of this remarkable woman fell into the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, and is extant in our great public repository, the British Museum. From that source, chiefly through the medium of a modern historian of Scotland, whose indefatigable labours cannot be too highly prized, this very superficial

sketch of her story has been derived. To those who may be desirous to gain a more clear and direct view of the power and weakness of her mind; of the elegancy of her accomplishments, and the meanness of her follies; I beg leave to recommend that inspection of the originals which I have not neglected. The character of Margaret Tudor will be found to stand almost alone among the curious anomalies of history.

James Hamilton, Earl of Arran,
Duke of Chatelherault.

From the original of Ketel, in the Collection of
His Grace, The Duke of Hamilton.

Drawn by W.m Hilton, R.A. & Engraved (with Permission) by W. Holl.

London, Published July 1.1819 by Longman, Hughes, Harding, Mayor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

JAMES HAMILTON,

EARL OF ARRAN, DUKE OF CHATELHERAULT.

THIS illustrious personage, whom a respect chiefly to high blood, unblemished integrity, and an amiable disposition, tended to place in the supreme government of his country at an epoch when it called for the rule of a politician at once subtle and daring, and perhaps capable even of relaxing occasionally from the strictness of just moral principles, was the eldest son of James, the first Earl of Arran of his family, by his third wife, Janet, daughter of Sir David Beatoun, Comptroller of Scotland. His grandfather was James, second Baron Hamilton, and his grandmother the Princess Mary, eldest daughter to King James the second of Scotland, on whose first husband, Thomas Boyd, the Earldom of Arran, afterwards granted to the issue of her second marriage, had been conferred.

He succeeded to his father's dignities and great estates in 1529, and had lived for several years in as much privacy as his rank could allow, when the untimely death of James the fifth, in 1542, a few days before the birth of his only child, afterwards the celebrated Mary, demanded the immediate appointment of a Regent. Competitors were not wanting. Mary of Guise, the Queen Dowager, who was by no means deficient in the ambition which distinguished her family, preferred a claim then of little hope, and Cardinal Beatoun, in addition to the pretensions founded on his great talents, and long experience in public affairs, produced a will of doubtful authenticity, which he affirmed was left by the deceased King, and in which he was expressly designated to that high office. The nobility however, utterly averse on the one hand to the rule of a foreigner, and equally jealous on the other of a churchman not only entirely devoted to the Papal See but of the most haughty and aspiring character, determined to offer it to Arran, who was in fact presumptive heir to the throne, through the descent above stated, and he accepted it, but not without hesitation.

The period of this election, which took place at the close of the year 1542, was perhaps the most important and critical to be found in the history of Scotland. Henry, whose influence in that country was before very formidable, considered the simultaneous events of his terrible victory at Solway Moss, the death of the King, and the succession of an infant in the cradle, as sure pledges of his future sovereignty. He commenced a treaty of peace with the Scots in the spirit of a conqueror and a tyrant, demanding not only that the royal babe should be betrothed to his son, Prince Edward, but that her person should be placed in his custody, and the government of her realm committed to his charge during her nonage. To these arbitrary and degrading conditions Arran would cheerfully have submitted, nor had Henry neglected to conciliate him by the most splendid temptations, among which was the offer of the Princess Elizabeth's hand to his eldest son, but the spirit of the nation was bursting into a flame, and, as it kindled, the resolution of the Regent failed. A treaty however was concluded, the terms of which, though considerably softened as to the points which were most odious, were still esteemed to be unreasonably partial to the English interest. Beatoun, whom the Regent had lately for a time imprisoned to prevent his resistance to the negotiation, and had liberated towards its conclusion, publicly condemned it with the utmost exertions of that powerful understanding and undaunted courage for which he was remarkable, and augmented, and skilfully arrayed, the party of the disapproving nobles and clergy: meanwhile the Abbot of Paisley, Arran's natural brother, a staunch supporter of the Papacy, and an earnest friend to the French influence in Scotland, privately practised on his hopes and his fears, with no other effect however than confirm-

ing, if it may be so said, his irresolution. In this distracted state of mind, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1543, he signed a ratification of the treaty with England; and on the third of the succeeding month, in a secret meeting with the Cardinal, pledged himself to do his utmost to render it ineffectual, and to devote himself to the support of the interests of France.

Nor was more consistency to be found in his religious principles. The reformation in Scotland had owed much to his encouragement: he had professed that faith even with zeal; forwarded a bill in the Parliament to allow the translation of the Scriptures; and more than one of the most eminent protestant preachers of the country lived in his family. Yet, through the persuasions and the threats of the Cardinal, he publicly abjured it in the winter of this year in the Franciscan church at Stirling. These miserable vacillations rendered him the object at once of domestic and foreign attacks. The Earl of Lenox, descended also from the same royal stock, was inclined to dispute with him for the Regency, and actually raised troops with which he marched to Edinburgh for that purpose, but while Beatoun craftily amused Lenox with negotiation, the most part of his army dwindled away, and the remnant was routed in the field. Henry, on the other hand, enraged beyond measure, made a furious inroad into Scotland; Arran implored and obtained the aid of France; and, while these matters were passing, the Cardinal, whom circumstances had rendered his chief adviser, as well as his most formidable rival, was taken off by a foul assassination in his castle of St. Andrews, where he had for some time detained the Regent's heir, as an hostage for the father's submission to his will. To regain that young nobleman, as well as to make a decent shew of resentment towards the murderers of the Cardinal, whom however he had secretly hated, the Regent ineffectually besieged the castle for five months, when a treaty ensued, in which neither party was sincere. The assassins engaged to restore his son, and to surrender the castle, on his procuring for them from the Pope an absolution of the murther, and from the Parliament a pardon; in the mean time they were secretly supported by Henry, to whom they had promised that they would resist to the last extremity; while the Regent, on his part, had applied to France for more skilful military aid than Scotland then possessed, for the purpose of reducing them, which in fact occurred soon after its arrival.

Before the conclusion of this siege Henry expired. His death was the signal for a war, which perhaps he himself had meditated. The demand which he had sternly made of the young Queen as a consort for his son and successor Prince Edward was now as peremptorily repeated by the Protector Somerset, in Scotland, and at the head of a powerful army. It was rejected, even with disdain, for the anger of the Scottish nobility was raised to the highest pitch by this outrage, and the Regent joined them with an air of firmness and decision secretly dictated by his engagements to France. The terrible overthrow at Musselburgh which succeeded on the tenth of September, 1547, seemed to render a strict alliance with that country even necessary to the preservation of any degree of Scottish independence; the nation readily claimed its protection; and England, in gaining a signal victory, defeated the very object for which she had fought. The Regent now, with almost general approbation, not only offered the hand of the infant Mary to the Dauphin, afterwards Francis the Second, but proposed that she should be immediately sent to the Court of Paris, to receive her education under the direction of the King, who, on his part, engaged to assist Scotland with a powerful military force. A treaty to these, and other effects, was concluded early in the spring of 1548, and France obtained, through concessions purely gratuitous, all that England had lately sued and fought for in vain. The French King overwhelmed the Scots with proofs of his gratitude, and Arran himself, with his usual imprudence, accepted from him the title of Duke of Chatelherault, and a pension of thirty thousand livres, together with the order of St. Michael, the collar of which appears on the portrait before us.

The army promised by Henry the Second of France arrived soon after in Scotland, but Somerset, whose power was now in the wane, was unable to undertake another invasion, and his great rival Dudley, on succeeding to the government of England, resolved to make

a peace with the Scots. The treaty for that purpose renounced in express terms the claim of the marriage, and was in all other respects so favourable to the wishes of Scotland, that no doubt could be reasonably entertained of a repose of some years: the French troops were therefore re-embarked. Peace however produced its usual consequences in Scotland, a revival of intrigues and factions. The Queen Dowager, availing herself of the newly established amity and intercourse with France, laid plans to possess herself of the Regency. Since the death of the Cardinal, she had engaged in the direction of the state with increasing boldness and assiduity, and the patience with which the Duke allowed her interference, and listened to her dictates, suggested to her a strong hope that he might be induced to a voluntary resignation. The deficiencies of his nature, which were too glaring to be concealed, and the ill success of his measures, had gradually rendered him unpopular, while Mary had laboured, and with considerable effect, to gain the good opinion of the country, nor had she neglected to aggravate the prejudices conceived against him. Having matured her scheme, aided by the counsel of her own aspiring family, to obtain which she made a visit to Paris, she prevailed on Sir Robert Carnegy, and David Panter, Bishop of Ross, two of his chief advisers whom she had gained to her interest, to make the overture to him in the name of the King of France. These persons, who well knew how to address themselves to his foibles, terrified him with threats of the resentment of that Monarch, as well as of the Queen Dowager, and represented to him with their utmost force her popularity and power, and the disgust which the late public misfortunes had inspired against his rule. On the other hand, they promised him, as the price of his resignation, the settlement by France of his dukedom on his heirs; a splendid increase of his pension; and a declaration by Parliament of his right to succeed to the Throne, and of a favourable allowance of his conduct in the Regency. He gave way, almost without hesitation, and Mary had arrived from France to take the reins of government, when an obstacle to her views, perhaps not wholly unforeseen, presented itself. His brother, late Abbot of Paisley, who had been raised by him to the primacy on the death of the Cardinal, lay during this singular negotiation in the utmost extremity of illness. Suddenly recovered, he flew to the Court, and, with equal judgment and spirit, for he possessed most of the qualities of mind which his brother wanted, exhorted him to retract, and for the time prevailed. Mary, however, was firm. She employed once more every engine of art and power, and at length carried her point by adding to them the command of the young Queen, who was now nearly twelve years old. The perseverance of the Archbishop caused a delay of several months, but in the spring of 1554 the Duke finally resigned, and the Queen Dowager assumed the Regency.

He was doomed however to be restrained during a long life by the cumbrous dignity of his birth from the enjoyment of that privacy for which his nature, and perhaps his inclination, had best fitted him. In the arrangements for the royal marriage, a gross fraud had been practised to defeat the inheritance of the house of Hamilton. While the Scottish Parliament, in professed concert with the Court of France, had manifested on that occasion a laudable caution in explaining and establishing the rights of the Duke as presumptive heir to the Throne, the young Queen had been compelled by her uncles, the Princes of Lorrain, with the concurrence of Henry the second, to sign secretly certain instruments by which she settled the Crown of Scotland, in default of issue from herself, upon the heirs in succession to that of France, and declared that any other disposition of it made, or to be made, by her might be esteemed as extorted, and therefore void. The discovery, or the suspicion, of this iniquitous proceeding, especially as it was immediately followed by an act of the Scottish Parliament conferring on the Dauphin for his life an equal partnership in the Sovereignty, and in the case of his surviving the Queen the whole, together with the title of King of Scotland, roused the Duke's indolent spirit, and induced him to attach himself to a party which readily elected him its nominal leader. The heads of the reformers, to whom their followers had lately given the title of "Lords of the Congregation," indignant at deceptions which had been practised on them by the Queen Regent, were now arrayed in firm opposition to her measures, or, in other words, to the French

interest, and he joined them with some shew of ardour. Instigated as much by the artifices of Elizabeth, who had of late mounted the English Throne, as by their own resentment, they appeared in arms in 1559; and having appointed him their General, proclaimed the deposition of the Queen Regent. The eminent success which in the end crowned the efforts of this faction was then but dawning; the checks and impediments which seldom fail to attend the commencement of great public changes filled the Duke with doubts and terrors; and he seized the first favourable opportunity of retreating from the too arduous service which he had unwarily undertaken.

The resentment of France invaded his retirement. He was deprived of his pension, and his Dukedom was threatened, but a greater evil seemed to be approaching. Mary, now a widow, had returned to Scotland, and mounted a Throne which she unhappily resolved to partake with Darnley; and in this mighty exaltation of the family of his rival, Lenox, the Duke foreboded the extinction of all hope of the succession in his own. He joined the faction which, led by the Earl of Murray, the Queen's illegitimate brother, had taken up arms to oppose the marriage, and fled the country with it before the Queen's superior strength. He resided long in France, and from thence besought her pardon with the deepest humility, and with some difficulty obtained it. There he remained during the enormities and vicissitudes of the three succeeding years, which were marked by the dethronement and captivity of Mary, and the appointment of Murray to the Regency. While that nobleman was employed in 1568, at York and at Westminster, in that great discussion of the conduct of his mistress which had been with solemn mockery instituted by Elizabeth the friends of Mary were secretly active at home in her behalf. The Duke now returned, bringing with him a sum, supplied by the Court of France, to be applied to her service. He landed in England, where Elizabeth by various artifices detained him for some months, but he seems to have been allowed an unrestrained intercourse with Mary, who at the end of February, 1569, dispatched him to Scotland, decorated with the high-sounding title of her Lieutenant-General in that country, to which she added the singular denomination of her "adopted father."

He had scarcely concerted his plan of operations with the Earls of Argyll and Huntly, after himself the Queen's most powerful adherents, when Murray suddenly returned, and, with the promptitude and decision which marked his character, raised an army, and led it to Glasgow. The Duke, intimidated, and perhaps justly, instantly proposed a treaty, in which he engaged to submit to the authority of the King, as represented by the regency, and to relinquish the faculties with which Mary's lately granted commission had invested him; while Murray stipulated for the repeal of an act of attainder which had passed against some of the Queen's party; for the restoration to their dignities and estates of all who would submit to the government as then established; and for a convention, to be held at Edinburgh, to take into consideration the state of public affairs. Huntly and Argyll declined to take any part in this negotiation, and remained in arms in their respective countries, and at this precise period intelligence from France conveyed to Mary's party unexpected offers of aid. The Duke now hesitated, and at the appointed conference, which Murray opened by demanding his instant signature to the terms which had been agreed on, began to expostulate for the unhappy Queen, when the Regent, not even deigning an answer, arrested him on the spot, and sent him prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, where he remained till the assassination of Murray, in the beginning of the following year, conferred a temporary authority on Mary's party, and procured his release.

Hopes were now entertained that an agreement might be wrought between the two factions with equal justice to the rights both of the Queen and her son. Their leaders met, but the congress was distinguished only by mutual obstinacy, and they separated but to issue proclamations proscribing each other. Their discord, immoderate enough in itself, was fomented by Elizabeth, who had an army at their doors, one of the first exploits of which was to plunder and burn the Duke's palace of Hamilton. Lenox, who had been for some time in London, whither he went, on the occasion of the inquiry into the conduct of Mary, to accuse her of the murther of his son, now returned, under the protection, and

with the recommendation of Elizabeth, to assume the office of Regent, to which indeed he had, in more respects than one, a sort of natural claim. He was placed in that great office on the twelfth of July, 1570, and commenced his exercise of it by proclaiming the Duke, and other great leaders of the Queen's party, traitors, and enemies to their country. In a littleness of malice utterly unworthy of his high birth and office, and indeed of the reputation for good dispositions for which he had credit, he marched in person to Hamilton, at the head of three hundred horse, and, seizing the most precious remnants of the Duke's plate, and other moveables, which had been saved from the late devastation, sold them publicly at the Market Cross of Linlithgow. Early in the ensuing year, he brought the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had fallen into his hands by the surrender of Dunbarton Castle, in which he had taken refuge, to a nominal trial for high treason, in the issue of which he was, with scandalous partiality, condemned to be hanged.

The execution of this sentence, more especially as he was the first prelate who had ever suffered death in Scotland through a form of justice, enraged the dependents of his family almost to madness, and indeed offended the whole body of the people. The Queen's party took advantage of this disposition, and the Duke, with other noblemen who were staunch to her interest, took possession of the capital with an armed force, and on the twelfth of June, 1571, called a Parliament, in which her authority was implicitly recognised. Lenox, on the other hand, had his Parliament at Stirling, which denounced the Duke, and almost the whole house of Hamilton, as traitors, and declared their estates forfeited. Horrible disorders followed. The Queen's friends surprized Stirling, and Lenox fell in the tumult. The Earl of Mar, his successor, died about a year after his appointment; and the dark, ambitious, and treacherous Morton was at length elected to the Regency. Morton, the Duke's near relation by marriage, who was distinguished by a cold and calculating policy, wholly free from the influence of any passion, applied himself to the natural defects of the Duke's character, and the increasing infirmities of his age. Affecting to bury all causes of discord in oblivion, and to pay the most profound respect to his adversary's high birth, and honourable motives, he simply proposed a treaty, the terms of which comprehended every provision that the Duke himself could have devised for the security of his person and interests. It was eagerly accepted by him, and was ratified at Perth on the twenty-third of February, 1573, N. S. and on the twenty-second of January, in the following year, he expired at his Palace of Hamilton.

The Duke of Chatelherault married Margaret, eldest daughter of James Douglas, third Earl of Morton, by whom he had issue James, third Earl of Arran; John, created Marquis of Hamilton; David, who died childless; Claud, ancestor of the Earls and Marquisses of Abercorn; and four daughters; Barbara, married to James Lord Fleming; Margaret, to Alexander Lord Gordon, eldest son of George, fourth Earl of Huntly; Anne, to George, fifth Earl of Huntly; and Jane, to Hugh Montgomery, third Earl of Eglingtoun.

John, First Marquis of Hamilton.

From the original of Mark Gerards, in the Collection of

His Grace, The Duke of Hamilton.

Drawn by W.m Hilton, R.A.t Engraved (with Permission) by E. Scriven.

London. Published July 1.1823 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

JOHN, FIRST MARQUIS OF HAMILTON.

James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, and Duke of Chatelherault, had by his lady, Margaret, eldest daughter of James Douglas, third Earl of Morton, four sons. James, the eldest, who, after his father's advancement to his French Dukedom, bore the title of Earl of Arran, was a young nobleman of the proudest hopes. He had been bred in France, and the influence of Mary, his Queen and near relation, who was the consort of the Dauphin, afterwards Francis the second, had placed him, though a most earnest protestant, in the post of Colonel of the French King's Scottish Guards. The imprudent activity of his zeal became intolerable to a Court distinguished by its attachment to the Papacy, and he was compelled to fly from the pardonable resentment of a land whose faith and modes of worship he had contemned and insulted, but the reformers of Scotland received him as an object of persecution who had barely escaped martyrdom, and the political prejudices which were interwoven with their affection to the new discipline fixed on the family of Guise the charge of a deliberate plan to sacrifice this illustrious Scot to their vengeance against the reformation. Thus endeared to them, not less than by that presumptive right to the inheritance of the Throne which has been more than once stated in this work, he was formally recommended by the Scottish Parliament to Elizabeth in 1560, a few months after his flight from France, as a husband, and civilly rejected. A similar proposal was made on his behalf, under the same authority, to his own Sovereign, on her return to Scotland, a widow, in the following year, but without better success. These disappointments, operating on a most impetuous and fiery nature, are said to have gradually overset a mind which seems to have been originally ill-balanced, and he became an incurable lunatic.

John, the second son, will be the subject of the present memoir; and Claud, the third, was a young nobleman of the most exalted spirit and honour, a steady Roman Catholic, and most enthusiastically devoted to the cause of his royal mistress. With David, the fourth son, this little essay has no concern; nor should I have detailed these particulars of his brothers James and Claud, were not the few facts which I have been able to obtain of the story of Lord John so frequently connected with their's that the foregoing short recital respecting them seemed indispensibly necessary.

He was born in 1532, and endowed, suitably to his high birth, while yet a child, with several royal grants of estates, particularly of the rich Abbey of Aberbrothock, which had been formerly held by Beatoun, during his progress to the primacy. He received his education in France, whether with a view to the ecclesiastical profession is uncertain, but undoubtedly under teachers of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and in strict conformity to the principles of that church, which however, after the example of his father and elder brother, he quitted about the year 1559, and embraced the protestant faith. This change seems to have been dictated neither by party views, or schemes of aggrandizement, in himself or them. The Duke, his father, who was born to the possession of dignity which could have been increased only by his succession to the Throne, loved that retirement for which the character and measure of his talents had in truth best fitted him; Arran was known to have recanted through a zeal which savoured of bigotry; and his own invariable fidelity to the Catholic Mary, in opposition to the politics of those whose creed he had adopted, amply proved the honesty and independence of his motives, since he at once hazarded the loss of her favour by renouncing the doctrines of her church, and incurred the hatred of her opponents by cherishing her temporal interests.

He did in fact offend both. Mary, on her arrival from France to mount the Throne of Scotland, found the Duke and his family not only protestants, but supporters of the cause of the congregation, in which she had been taught to believe that she could find only enemies. Arran, even while he aspired to her hand, endeavoured to prevent her practice of the rites of her religion, and entered a public protestation against it. The whole house of Hamilton fell under her disfavour, and retired from the Court, and the subsequent opposition of the Duke to her imprudent marriage with Darnley sealed his disgrace, and forced him to fly with his family into France. They remained there till her calamities required the aid and consolation of their loyalty. On receiving the news of her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, the Lords John and Claud Hamilton flew to Scotland, and mustered her scattered friends at their father's seat of Hamilton, where they signed with them, on the twenty-fifth of December, 1567, a bond of association to liberate her. The interesting tale of her escape by other means is well known. She reached Hamilton Palace in safety, where an army of six thousand men was presently raised for her service, at the head of which she marched in person to meet a force hastily led against her by her bastard brother, the Regent Murray, which however gained a complete victory in the battle of Langside on the 13th of May, 1568. She now fled to England, never to return, and in the following July, every individual of the name of Hamilton who had fought for her on that day, including in fact nearly the whole of her army, was outlawed by a Parliament called by the Regent for that purpose.

The two succeeding years were distinguished by the violent deaths of the Earl of Murray, and of his successor in the Regency, the Earl of Lenox. These assassinations, the first of which had been perpetrated by a Hamilton, were laid by the friends of the deceased noblemen to the charge of the Lords John and Claud. Their illegitimate uncle, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, had been accused of the murther of Murray, and put to death without a trial, and their names had been inserted in a general act of attainder, passed with the characteristic violence and injustice of the time, against all parties concerned in either of those crimes. At the treaty however of Perth, in 1573, which was appointed especially for the establishment of securities and amnesties, it was stipulated, that "all the processes, sentences of forfeiture, and all other prosecutions passed against George Earl of Huntly, the Lord John Hamilton, or any of their party or friends, for any crimes committed by them, or any of their party, since the fifteenth day of June, 1567, should be declared null, and of no effect." Six years had passed, during which the Duke of Chatelherault had died, and the Lord John, in consequence of the insanity of his elder brother Arran, had been declared heir to his father's estates, and was living on them in a dignified retirement, when Morton, then Regent, determined to crush at one blow the existing members of this illustrious House, and by practising on the fears and jealousies of the young King, made him a party in the iniquitous design.

It was pretended that the pardon conceded by the treaty of Perth did not extend to such as were accessary to the murther of the Regents Murray or Lenox. "Lord John and his brother," says Dr. Robertson, "were suspected of being the authors of both these crimes, and had been included in a general act of attainder on that account. Without summoning them to trial, or examining a single witness to prove the charge, this attainder was now thought sufficient to subject them to all the penalties which they would have incurred by being formally convicted. Morton, with some other noblemen, his creatures, received a commission to seize their persons and estates. On a few hours' warning a considerable body of troops was ready, and marched towards Hamilton in hostile array. Happily the two brothers made their escape, though with great difficulty; but their lands were confiscated; the castles of Hamilton and Draffan besieged, and those who defended them punished. The Earl of Arran, though incapable from his situation of committing any crime, was involved by a shameful abuse of law in the common ruin of his family; and, as if he too could have been guilty of rebellion, he was confined a close prisoner. These proceedings, so contrary to the fundamental principles of justice, were all ratified in the subsequent Parliament."

The Lord John Hamilton fled on foot, in the disguise of a sailor, into England, and from thence to Paris, where his resistance to the importunities of the Duke of Guise, and his brother the Cardinal, that he would return to the Catholic church, gave such offence at Court as obliged him to retire, with scarcely the means of subsistence, into obscurity. After some years' painful residence in France he returned privately to England, where he met his brother Claud, and several Scots of high rank, who had fled from the tyranny of James's first and perhaps worst favourite, James Stewart, on whom he had bestowed the title of Earl of Arran, so basely torn from its unhappy owner. These eminent exiles now concerted a plan not only to re-enter their country, but to drive that unworthy minion from the presence of his abused master. They contrived by secret correspondence to appoint many dependents to meet them, armed, on the borders, and having approached Edinburgh by forced marches, with ten thousand men, before the King was apprised of their design, publicly swore never to separate till he should pardon them, and dismiss Stewart. James, dreading the popularity of their design more than their numbers, threw himself into the castle of Stirling, rather with the view of gaining time to deliberate than in the hope of making a defence, and found himself suddenly invested by their troops. Incapable, and probably unwilling, to offer a military resistance, he consented to both their demands. Admitted to his presence, the Lord John Hamilton addressed him on the behalf of the party, as we are informed by a respectable Scottish historian, in these words. "Sir, we are come, in the most humble manner, to beg mercy, and your Majesty's favour." The King, continues the same writer, answered "My Lord, I did never see you before, and must confess that of all the company you have been most wronged. You were a faithful servant to the Queen, my mother, in my minority, and, when I understood not as I do the estate of kings, hardly used."

These curious circumstances, so highly illustrative at once of the timidity, the vanity, and the caprice, of James, occurred in October, 1585, and were immediately followed by the complete restoration in parliament of this illustrious and persecuted family. Lord John Hamilton was shortly after sworn a Privy Counsellor, and appointed Governor of Dunbarton Castle, and, when the King in 1589 sailed to Denmark, to espouse in person the Princess Anne, was complimented with the post of Lieutenant General in the south of Scotland till his master's return: but it was not till 1599 that he received the compensation probably most soothing to his outraged feelings, on the seventeenth of April in which year he was created Marquis of Hamilton. He died on the twelfth of April, 1604.

This nobleman married Margaret, only daughter of John Lyon, eighth Lord Glamis, relict of Gilbert Kennedy, fourth Lord Cassilis, and had issue by her one son, James, his successor, and one daughter, Margaret, married to John, eighth Lord Maxwell.

Sir Nicholas Carew.

From the original of Holbein, in the Collection of

His Grace, The Duke of Buccleuch.

Drawn by Wm. Hilton, R.A. Engraved (with Permission) by C. Scriven.

London, Published July 1, 1819, by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mayor & Jones and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

SIR NICHOLAS CAREW.

NICHOLAS, a cadet of one of the junior lines of the ancient baronial House of Carru, or Carew, of Devonshire, was settled at Beddington, in Surrey, on considerable property acquired by marriage early in the fourteenth century, and from him the gentleman whose portrait is here presented was fifth in descent. He was the only son of Sir Richard Carew, a Knight Banneret, and Lieutenant of Calais, by Magdalen, daughter of Sir Robert Oxenbridge, of Ford in Sussex, and, at the death of his father, on the twenty-third of May, 1520, inherited from him estates in Surrey, which had gradually increased to so vast an extent that it is still traditionally reported in the neighbourhood of his family mansion that he might have ridden ten miles from it in any direction without quitting his own land. Thus personally powerful, descended from a family already well known to the Crown, which most of his nearest ancestors had served either in the Court or State, and in the prime of manhood and high spirit, he fell as it were naturally into that glittering train which the chivalrous character of the early years of Henry's reign attracted to the person of the Monarch, and presently acquired considerable favour.

He was appointed, about the year 1518, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, an office of which the name only now remains in the royal household, but which was then invested with equal trust and dignity; and was soon after employed by Henry in transacting some affairs, probably relating to military matters, at Paris. There, during a residence of several months, the elegant manners and fashions of that court are said to have inspired him with a disgust to the comparative rudeness of his own, which on his return he declared on several occasions with a plainness so offensive to the high nobility, and to the King himself, that Henry resolved to remove him from his person, and commanded him to repair to Ruysbanc, in Picardy, a fortress belonging to the English, of which, to save the appearance of disgrace, he was appointed governor. This umbrage however was transient, for in 1521 he had so completely regained the good graces of his master as to obtain the high distinction of the Garter, and in 1524 was raised to the post of Master of the Horse, and nominated Lieutenant of Calais. A living writer of much respectability has, by a strange anachronism, ascribed these promotions to the influence of Anne Boleyn, who was related to him, through a common ancestor, the Lord Hoo and Hastings; but Anne was then a child, and probably wholly unknown to the King, to whom she was not married till 1532.

He now approached to the station of a favourite; was Henry's constant companion in all the splendid and romantic sports of his court; administered successfully to his pleasures, and was not without some secret share in his counsels. Fifteen years had thus passed in unremitting favour, when in December, 1538, he was suddenly arrested; charged as a party with Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, and other eminent persons, in a design to depose the King, and to place Cardinal Pole on the Throne; and was beheaded on the third of March, in the following year.

History affords us very little information on the subject of this mysterious plot, and yet less of the part which Carew was alledged to have taken in it, and, in the absence of regular and correct intelligence, invention and conjecture will ever be at work to supply the deficiency. Thus Fuller says, to use his own quaint terms, that "tradition in the family reporteth how King Henry, then at bowls, gave this Knight opprobrious language, betwixt jest and earnest, to which the other returned an answer rather true than discreet, as more consulting therein his own animosity than allegiance. The King, who in this sort would give and not take, being no good fellow in tart repartees, was so highly offended

thereat, that Sir Nicholas fell from the top of his favour to the bottom of his displeasure, and was bruised to death thereby. This was the true cause of his execution, though in our chronicles all is scored on his complying in a plot with Henry, Marquis of Exeter, and Henry Lord Montague." Lord Herbert, who seems to have told all that could be gathered on the subject, informs us that these two noblemen were found guilty before Thomas Lord Audley, " for the present sitting as High Steward of England," and that, " not long after, Sir Edward Nevile, Sir Geoffery Pole, two priests, and a mariner, were arraigned, and found guilty also, and judgment given accordingly. The two lords and Nevile were beheaded; the two priests and mariner hanged and quartered at Tyburn, and Sir Geoffery pardoned." Having thus particularised, even to the meanest, a number of the conspirators who were convicted under some form, at least, of judicial proceeding, the noble writer immediately adds " Sir Nicholas Carew also, Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Horse to the King, for being of council with the said marquis, was beheaded." It should seem then that Carew was brought to no trial. Lord Herbert concludes, " The particular offences yet of these great persons are not so fully known to me that I can say much: only I find among our records that Thomas Wriothesley, Secretary, then at Brussels, writing of their apprehension to Sir Thomas Wyat, then his Highness's Ambassador in Spain, said that the accusations were great, and duly proved; and in another place I read that they sent the Cardinal money." Hollingshed tells us that Sir Nicholas, at the time of his death, made " a godly confession both of his fault and superstitious faith." He had been throughout his life a steady professor of the faith of the Romish church, and this, whatever were the offences for which he suffered, doubtless added no small weight to them.

Sir Nicholas Carew was buried in the church of St. Botolph, Aldgate, in the family vault of the Lords Darcy of the North, to whose House, as we shall see presently, he was allied. He married Elizabeth, daughter, and at length heir, of Sir Thomas Bryan, son and heir of Sir Thomas Bryan, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and had by her one son, Sir Francis, and four daughters; Elizabeth, wife to a gentleman of the name of Hall; Mary, married to Sir Arthur Darcy, second son of Thomas Lord Darcy of the North; Anne, first to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton of Paulersperry, in the county of Northampton, secondly to Adrian Stokes; and Isabella, to Nicholas Saunders, son and heir of Sir William Saunders, of Ewell in Surrey, cofferer to Queen Mary. Sir Francis recovered, probably through the favour of Elizabeth, to whom he was personally known, and who graced his fine mansion at Beddington with the fearful honour of more than one visit, a great part of the estates which had been forfeited by the attainder of his father. He died a bachelor, and bequeathed them to his nephew Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, youngest son of his sister Anne, directing him to assume, as he did, the surname and arms of Carew. The descendants of the elder line from that gentleman became extinct in a female, Catherine Carew, who died in 1769, when the estates passed, under a settlement made by the will of her father, Sir Nicholas Hacket Carew, Baronet, first, to the heir male of the Fountaynes, of Melton in Yorkshire, secondly, to that of the family of Gee, of Orpington, in Kent, each descended by female lines from the subject of this memoir. Both these remainders have now failed, and the estates are possessed by the relict of the late Richard Gee, Esq. who assumed the surname of Carew, under the authority of an act of Parliament.

William Kerr, Third Earl of Lothian.

From the original of Jamieson in the Collection of

The Most Noble The Marquis of Lothian.

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London, Published July 1820 by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

WILLIAM KERR,

THIRD EARL OF LOTHIAN.

Sir Robert Kerr, created Earl of Ancram in 1633, whose incomparable loyalty, and whose elegant literary taste, rendered him a conspicuous ornament to his country at a period when it unhappily possessed little of either, married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Murray, of Blackbarony; and, secondly, Anne, daughter of William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby, and widow of Sir Henry Portman, of Orchard in Somersetshire. His sole issue by the first of those ladies was William, the subject of this memoir. By the other he had several children; and his Earldom, which had been settled first on the fruit of his second marriage, devolved accordingly at his death on Charles, the only son, whose line failing in the next generation, it reverted to this nobleman, whose lineal descendant, the present Marquis of Lothian, now enjoys it. William, though third Earl of Lothian of his family, did not inherit that dignity. He had married Anne Kerr, Countess of Lothian in her own right, daughter and heir to the second Earl, a lady of his own blood, but most distant kindred, and the honour was therefore conferred on him by a new patent, on the 31st of July, 1631. I state these facts thus particularly because they are involved in some degree of intricacy, and have been more than once misrepresented.

This Earl, the chief care of whose parents had been to fix in his mind, even from his cradle, an attachment to monarchical government, and an affectionate veneration towards the person of the reigning King, became, by a strange perverseness, perhaps the most sincere and bitter enemy among his countrymen to both. In this double rebellion, however, at once against his father and his prince, he had the merit at least of consistency, for his fidelity to the cause which he had espoused was invariable, and even unsuspected, and his motives wholly disinterested; and hence, rather than from his talents, which were not of the highest class, he possessed the entire confidence of his party. He appeared in 1638 among the most vehement of the covenanters, and was in the following year nominated, with thirteen others, to manage the deceitful and vexatious treaty then offered by them to Charles at Berwick. In 1640 he had a command in the Scottish army which invaded England; was present at the siege of Newcastle on Tyne, which was the only exploit worth naming in the expedition; and on the reduction of that town was appointed governor of it by the party which then ruled in Scotland. He was soon after named one of the four commissioners of the Scottish Treasury, and in 1641 was placed at the head of a deputation of trusty covenanters, who were sent to London to offer to the Parliament a Scottish army to serve against the Irish rebels, and to procure from that assembly an engagement to maintain such troops as might be raised for that purpose. This agreement, which had indeed been previously made, and which had deeper views than the proposed expedition, was presently confirmed. The army was levied, and Lothian, to whom the command of a regiment was given, sailed with it to Ireland, where he seems to have done nothing worth recording.

He was dispatched in 1643 to Paris, under the pretence of adjusting some differences relative to the privileges of his countrymen in their commerce with France, but in fact for the purpose of weakening the interest and distracting the measures of Charles in that court. On his return he landed at an English port, and went to Oxford to wait on the King, who, having been apprised of his dealings in France, caused him to be arrested, and he was committed, under an accusation of high treason, to the castle of Bristol, where he remained for several months a close prisoner. Released from thence, in compliance with a petition

specially for that purpose from the self-appointed government at Edinburgh to the King, he returned into Scotland, and immediately accepted from the same persons a commission, directed to the Marquis of Argyll and himself, for the raising an army to oppose to those brave and generous efforts for the royal cause by which the gallant Montrose was then exciting the admiration even of his enemies. They mustered their friends and dependents, and were presently in the field at the head of a powerful force, but their campaign was short and inglorious. Lothian, who commanded fifteen hundred horse, appears to have been but once engaged, and on that occasion fled ignominiously. It occurred in a skirmish under the walls of Faivy Castle, near Strathbogie, and is thus spoken of by George Wiseheart, afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh, the faithful biographer of Montrose:—"His," (Montrose's) "horse, which were but fifty, being disposed in a place of danger, he timely secured them by lining them with musqueteers; for Lothian charged them with five whole troops, who, before they had crossed over half a field that lay between them, being scared with our shot, wheeled about and returned to the place from whence they came." Argyll soon after abandoned his command, and shut himself up, with a garrison for his own defence, in his castle of Inverary; and Lothian, as we hear no more of him in the field, probably followed the same course.

In the autumn of 1646 he was placed at the head of a commission, under the authority and direction of which himself and some others waited on the King, then in the hands of the Scottish army, to exhort him to accede to the last bitter propositions offered to him by the rebel Parliament in England, which, as is well known, Charles positively and magnanimously refused. The surrender of that Prince's person by the traitors who then governed Scotland speedily followed. Lothian, who had been a willing party to that infamous measure, and had protested in Parliament against a late feeble effort of doubtful loyalty, which is known in the Scottish history by the name of "the Duke of Hamilton's Engagement," was now appointed Secretary of State, in the room of that nobleman's brother, the Earl of Lanerick (Lanark), who soon after fled to Holland. In the mean time the close of Charles's miseries approached. A treaty however still subsisted between him and his House of Commons, whose authority, now little less shorn than his own, the leaders of the covenant faction had resolved to support to their utmost; nor were they less anxious to deceive the world into a milder opinion of their late treachery towards the King by some public expression of their horror and resentment of the extremities to which he was reduced by the new military usurpation. With these views, as Lord Clarendon informs us, "the Earl of Lothian, and two others who were known to be most zealous for the covenant, and most enraged and incensed against the proceedings of the army, were made choice of, and presently sent away that they might make all possible haste to Westminster, and were, immediately upon their arrival, to demand permission to wait upon the King, wherever he should be, and to receive from him such further directions as he should judge necessary for his service." They had scarcely arrived in London when Cromwell marched his army thither; dispersed in a moment the frantic and iniquitous assembly, which had for some years usurped the name and authority of a Parliament; and erected his "High Court of Justice" for the condemnation of the King.

The trouble of Lothian's commission was considerably narrowed by these events. He had been directed to flatter this nominal Parliament; to amuse the unhappy Charles with new deceptions; and to enter a cold dissent, should circumstances render it necessary, from any resolution of violence towards the royal person. A large abstract of his instructions, displaying a turpitude of various treachery inconsistent even with the fraud and apathy of the vilest diplomatic negotiations recorded in history, has been preserved by Lord Clarendon. Nothing, however, now remained to be done but to make the protestation against the sacrifice of the King, which was not presented till he had been twice dragged before the tribunal by which he was to be judged, and was couched in terms which scarcely maintained even the affectation of sincerity. The remnant of a legislature which Cromwell had permitted to subsist partly understood the spirit which had dictated this profession, and, having first murdered the King, returned to Lothian such an answer as they thought

would be agreeable to the persons by whom he had been sent, as well as to himself, who, as Lord Clarendon informs us, "had upon all occasions carried the rebellion highest, and shewed the most implacable malice to the person of the King."

But, however welcome the treason, some points in the reply of the traitors were little relished by Lothian and his brethren. They were told plainly that the government of England was to be strictly republican, and, almost as plainly, that it was intended to compel Scotland to adopt the same system. The constitution of Scotland, a monarchy with few limitations, had remained untouched; and the covenanters, far from aiming at the destruction of the regal character, looked forward with hope to the authority of the young King, as an instrument which they might easily bend to the accomplishment of all their purposes. The commissioners therefore rejoined, in a tone which gave much offence, and their English friends having neither time nor inclination to expostulate further with them, and foreseeing some probable inconvenience from the liberty of persons of such condition disposed to argue for royalty, shut them up without ceremony, nor were they released till the arrival of a remonstrance from Scotland, when they were sent to Gravesend strictly guarded, and embarked there for their own country. Of Lothian we have no further intelligence after this period, than that he was dispatched to Breda by the Parliament in the beginning of the succeeding year, 1650, together with the Earl of Cassilis and others, to invite Charles the second to Scotland, on the hard conditions so frequently rejected by his royal father, as they now were by himself.

William, third Earl of Lothian, survived till 1675. He had issue by his Countess, who has been mentioned above, five sons; Robert, the eldest, who succeeded to the dignities, and was in 1701 created Marquis of Lothian; Sir William; Charles, ancestor of the Kerrs of Abbotsrule; Harry, and John, who died young. He had also nine daughters: Anne, wife of Alexander Fraser, Master of Saltoun; Elizabeth, married to John Lord Borthwick; Jane and Margaret, who died young; Mary, wife of James Brodie, of Brodie; Margaret, married to James Richardson, of Smeaton; Vere, to Lord Neil Campbell, second son of Archibald Marquis of Argyll; Henrietta, to Sir Francis Scott, of Thirlestane; and Lilias, who died unmarried.

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Thomas Stanley, First Earl of Derby.

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The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Derby.

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London Published July 1.st 1819, by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

THOMAS STANLEY,

FIRST EARL OF DERBY,

Of a family always as much distinguished for public and private worth as by the antiquity of its dignities, and the extent of its domains, was the eldest son of Thomas first Lord Stanley, and Knight of the Garter, by Joan, daughter and heir of Sir Robert Gousill. His ancestors for three generations had held eminent offices in the State and Court under the three Monarchs of the House of Lancaster, the last of whom, Henry the sixth, his father served for many years in the arduous station of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; in negotiating several treaties with Scotland; and, finally, in the post of Lord Chamberlain of the royal household. The storm however in which that dynasty and so many of its friends perished passed favourably over him, and his heir, the subject of this memoir, on whom no mark of royal favour seems to have fallen in the preceding reign, was on the twenty fourth of May, in the first year of Edward the fourth, 1461, summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Stanley, having previously succeeded to the great estates of his father, who died in 1459.

We seek in vain in the history of those times for the chain of anecdote which at once enlivens, elucidates, and connects, the biography of milder and later days. It is however scarcely to be doubted that the marriage of Lord Stanley, which occurred about this period, with a daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, whose brother, the celebrated Warwick, had placed Edward the fourth on the Throne, introduced him to the favour of that Prince. Warwick, the versatility of whose loyalty is so conspicuous in the story of that reign, embraced soon after the fallen fortunes of the House of Lancaster; importuned Lord Stanley to join him in arms against Edward; and received a firm denial. He was now appointed Steward of the royal household, and in 1474 attended the King in his warlike expedition into France, for the aid of which he levied from his estates, and equipped, forty horse, and three hundred archers. In this enterprise little seems to have occurred worthy of note, but it may be presumed that proof was not wanting of his military talents, since in the invasion of Scotland by Richard Duke of Gloucester in 1482 the command of the right wing of the army, amounting to four thousand men, was intrusted to his charge, at the head of which force he carried Berwick by assault, and performed several other signal services. During his absence the King died, and Richard returned to assume the supreme government, under the title of Protector.

It was nearly at this period that Lord Stanley, who had become for the second time a widower, married Margaret of Lancaster, mother of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, a match in which, considering subsequent events, it is difficult to conceive that political views had not some considerable share. There was, it is true, no material disparity in the age or rank of the parties, but the Countess, who was distinguished for a rigour of devout practice uncommon even in those times, had made a vow, previously to this her third marriage, never to admit another husband to her bed, and Stanley had subscribed to the condition. Richard however shewed no inclination to prevent their union, and indeed Stanley seemed daily to rise in his favour. He was appointed in the following year, with Lord Hastings, to superintend chiefly the preparations for the young Edward's coronation, and was so employed when that remarkable scene which ended in the arrest and death of the latter nobleman occurred at the Council Table in the Tower. Stanley received a severe wound in the head, which it can scarcely be supposed was accidental, from the poll axe of one of

the soldiers introduced by Richard on that occasion, was taken into custody on the spot, and committed, with some other Privy Counsellors, to close confinement.

Amidst the doubts and obscurities which cloud the history of this period, it is pretty clear that Lord Stanley and the rest were convinced of Richard's designs on the Crown, and were preparing to counteract them, probably without having at that time concerted the means. He was in fact suddenly placed on the Throne, by a sort of popular election, within a month after, when Stanley was not only unexpectedly liberated, and replaced in his office of Steward of the Household, which had been vacated by the death of Edward the fourth, but raised to the exalted dignity of High Constable of England, and invested with the Garter. The Countess his wife too was appointed to bear, as she did, the train of Richard's Queen at her coronation. These splendid instances of the tyrant's complaisance were dictated by fear. Stanley's eldest son, Lord Strange, a title which he had derived from his marriage with the heiress to that Barony, was then strongly suspected to be taking measures on his estates in Lincolnshire to oppose Richard by force of arms, and the usurper hoped by these favours to his father to reclaim him, and to win the family to his interest. His authority however was presently threatened in other quarters of the country, when a stupendous event occurred which for a time disconcerted all the plans of his opponents. The sons of Edward the fourth suddenly disappeared, and were reported to have died. The declarations of history on this singular subject, and the doubts which have been cast on them, are equally well known.

To the difficulties likely to impede the expulsion of Richard was now added that of determining on a successor to the throne, and this was solved chiefly by the advice and intrigues of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who had largely aided in raising him to it. This great nobleman, who had suddenly become Richard's implacable enemy, suggested to the widow of Edward the fourth, and to the Countess of Richmond, that marriage between the son of the one and the daughter of the other, which has been poetically called "the union of the roses," and proposed that Henry Earl of Richmond, having previously sworn to solemnize such marriage, should be saluted King of England. This plan, which cost Buckingham his head, was eagerly adopted by all the parties, and Richard, on the first intelligence of it, compelled Lord Stanley to confine the Countess, and discharge all her attendants, and to deliver Lord Strange into his hands, as an hostage for his father's fidelity. While these matters were passing, Richmond, who was in France, prepared for the great enterprise which had been devised for him, and at length landed in Wales, in the month of August, 1485, accompanied by a few Englishmen of distinction who had fled from the tyranny of Richard, and by a small French military force.

While Henry marched, with occasional reinforcements, into the heart of the island without opposition, Lord Stanley, and his next brother, Sir William, embodied and equipped their dependants, to the number of five thousand men, and conducted them to the neighbourhood of Lichfield, always however retiring as Richmond advanced, and concealing with such address their real intention, that even himself, who had for many weeks been engaged in the most confidential communication with them, began to suspect their attachment. Richard too, equally doubtful, but sufficiently employed in preparing for defence, set out to meet his antagonist without questioning them on the motive for their rising. Stanley at length discovered himself to Richmond, whom he met privately at a village near Tamworth, called Atherston, where, says Hollingshed's Chronicle, "in a little field, they consulted how they should give the tyrant battle to the best advantage." They separated unobserved, and Richard, who had advanced to the town of Leicester, having encamped his army on a hill in the neighbouring parish of Bosworth, made his dispositions for the celebrated action which ensued on the following morning.

The armies advanced towards each other, but Stanley, with his force, still stood aloof in dreadful hesitation, as it should seem, between his affection to the life of his son, who was a prisoner in Richard's camp, and his regard to his honour, pledged to Richmond. Richard in that instant dispatched a messenger to him, saying that "he had sworn by God's death to cut off Strange's head if Stanley did not instantly join him." The struggle

was short. The noble Stanley, with Roman spirit, answered, that "he had more sons, and could not promise to come to him at that time," and instantly rushed into the battle for Richmond. "The tyrant," to use the words of the Chronicle lately quoted, "as he had sworn to do, ordered the Lord Strange to be beheaded at the instant when the two armies were to engage; but some of his council, abhorring that the innocent young gentleman should suffer for his father's offence, told the usurper 'now was a time to fight, and not to execute;' advising him to keep him prisoner till the battle was over. The tyrant hearkened to their advice, and commanded the keepers of his tents to take him into custody till he returned from the combat. By this means the Lord Strange escaped the King's revenge, equally bloody and unjust. The keepers of the tents delivered him to his father, the Lord Stanley, after the fight, and for saving him were taken into the new King's favour, and preferred." After the victory, Stanley, or, as some have said, his brother, Sir William, placed on Richmond's head a crown which Richard had worn on his helmet in the battle, (absurdly supposed by some writers to have been the royal diadem, but properly described by Lord Verulam as "a crown of ornament,") and proclaimed him King, by the title of Henry the seventh.

Lord Stanley's expectations of reward for his signal services seem to have been moderate, and the proofs of Henry's gratitude were certainly not abundant. On the twenty-seventh of October, 1485, he was created Earl of Derby; on the thirtieth of the same month was nominated a commissioner for executing the duties of Lord High Steward at the coronation; and on the fifth of the following March was again appointed Constable of England for his life. On the occasion of the baptism of Prince Arthur he was complimented with the office of godfather, and in 1496 was employed in the treaties of peace concluded in that year with the Archduke of Austria, and the King of France. He died, as appears by the probate of his will, in 1504, and was buried in the north aisle of the priory church of Burscough, near Latham, in Lancashire, a foundation which owed its origin to his ancestors. He married, first, Eleanor, daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury; secondly, Anne, daughter of Edward Lord Hastings; and thirdly, as has been already observed, Margaret, mother to King Henry the seventh; but left issue only by his second Lady, who brought him three sons; John, who died an infant; Edward, who succeeded to his father's honours and estates; Henry; and one daughter, Margaret, wife of Robert Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex.

Thomas Howard, Third Duke of Norfolk.

From the original of Holbein, in the Collection of

His Grace, The Duke of Norfolk.

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London, Published Decr. 1. 1819 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mayor & Jones and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

THOMAS HOWARD,

DUKE OF NORFOLK.

THIS most exalted person, who was the eldest of the eight sons of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk of his family, and Lord High Treasurer, by Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Frederic Tylney, of Ashwellthorpe, in Norfolk, was created Earl of Surrey by patent, on the first of February, 1513, when his father was restored to the Dukedom, which had been forfeited by the attainder of John, the first Duke, on the accession of Henry the seventh. His first public service, at a very early age, was in the command of a ship of war in the force sent in 1511 against Sir Andrew Barton, whom most of our historians absurdly call the "famous Scottish pirate," and he had an eminent share in the naval victory in which that brave commander was killed. He soon after accompanied Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, in his expedition into Spain against the French, and, the Marquis falling sick, had then the command of the English army. In 1513, upon the death of his younger brother, Sir Edward, he was appointed to succeed him as Lord Admiral of England, and immediately after, to use the words of a very honest historian, "so completely scoured the seas that not a fisher boat of the French durst venture out." That service performed, he landed in Scotland with the same troops which had been so successful at sea, for the military of that time acted indifferently in both duties, and sent a gallant and resolute defiance to the King of Scots, which Lord Herbert in his history has detailed at a length of which the limited nature of this work will not allow the repetition; nor was this a vain threat, for he commanded, together with his brother the Lord Edmund, the vanguard at the battle of Floddon, and had an eminent share in the merit of the signal victory obtained there.

There is a chasm in his history from that date till 1521, when he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. It has been said that he was placed in that arduous office to avoid the opposition which was expected from him to the prosecution of his father-in-law the Duke of Buckingham, whose ruin Henry and Wolsey had previously determined on. If this be true, the fact casts on his character all the lustre which ancient loyalty derived from a disregard of selfish interests and affections, for both his civil and military government in Ireland were eminently distinguished by their wisdom, vigilance, moderation, and activity; and having, with a dreadful but necessary severity, subdued the insurrection which on his arrival he found raging in almost every part of the island, he quitted it in January 1523, loaded with the gratitude and caresses of the civilized Irish, and leaving a Parliament then sitting, from the measures of which, under his auspices, they had obtained the most signal benefits. In the May following his return he was again at sea; escorted the Emperor Charles the fifth to this country; and was by that Monarch appointed Admiral of all his dominions. Under the authority of that commission he joined the ships of Flanders with the English fleet, and made a descent on the coast of Britany, when he burned the town of Morlaix, and other places, and laid waste the French borders, and afterwards extended his irruption into Picardy.

On the fourth of the following December, upon his father's resignation, he was raised to the office of Lord Treasurer, and on the sixth of February received a commission as General-in-chief of the army then appointed to serve against the Scots, to which was secretly annexed the most ample confidence and power with regard to the political affairs of England with that country. He returned for a short time in the summer of 1524 to take possession of his dignities and estates, and resuming soon after his charge in Scotland,

accomplished the main object which Henry at that time had in view, by detaching the young King of Scots from the subjection in which he was held by the Regent, Duke of Albany, or, in other words, by placing him under the control of England. This service was rewarded by a grant of additional territory to his already immense domains.

The memorable fall of Wolsey, who had been his father's bitter enemy, happening soon after, he, together with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was commissioned to demand from that degraded favourite the great seal. It has been said that, on the Cardinal's reluctant delay to obey the King's subsequent order for his residence in his see of York, the Duke sent a message to him by Cromwell, threatening, on his longer stay, to "tear him with his teeth." This very improbable story rests, I believe, wholly on the account given by Stowe, whose honesty and simplicity occasionally misled him to give credit to very idle tales. All that we know with certainty of the Duke which has any relation to Wolsey, beyond the little which has been already related, is that his name appears among those of the Lords who signed the articles of impeachment against the Cardinal, and that Henry soon after granted to him the monastery of Felixtow in Suffolk, which was one of the many estates that had been allotted to the endowment of the colleges which that prelate was about to erect in Oxford and Ipswich.

He took a very active part in promoting the measure of Henry's divorce from Catherine; subscribed, with many other Peers, the bold declaration which on the first agitation of that great affair was sent to Rome, and which, in handsome terms, threatened the Holy See with Henry's assumption of the Supremacy in case of the Pope's opposition to it; and presided in several negotiations with that Pontiff and Francis I. The wisdom and stedfast fidelity with which those services, so very acceptable to the King, were performed procured him new marks of favour, and he received from the Crown in 1534 a further grant of estates, and in the same year was appointed to the exalted, and then most powerful, office of Earl Marshal of England, which had been, seemingly for that purpose, vacated by the resignation of the Duke of Suffolk. He was also in that year once more constituted Lord Deputy of Ireland.

In 1536 he was again sent Ambassador to Paris, to endeavour, through the mediation of Francis the first, to procure a reversal of the Pope's decree of censure against Henry on account of the divorce; and in the following year performed perhaps the most signal service to be found in the history of his long and various ministry, by subduing the insurgents in Yorkshire, who were headed by Robert Aske. He displayed on that occasion all the talents of an able general and an acute politician, for he was compelled by the superior force of his opponents to relinquish his military operations, and to have recourse to negotiation, and conducted himself in each capacity with such address that the insurrection was suppressed almost without bloodshed. It is worthy of remark, as it proves the unlimited confidence which Henry then reposed in this great man, that he was well known to favour all the religious, and many of the civil, claims of the insurgents; and it would be difficult to find a parallel instance of the equal maintenance of loyalty and private principle under similar circumstances.

It was soon after this period that Henry's passion for the Lady Catherine Howard, and his consequent determination to repudiate Anne of Cleve, discovered themselves. Cromwell, who had made the match with Anne, instantly applied himself with all diligence to oppose both those dispositions, and the Duke, who already disliked him for the active part he had taken in the Reformation, naturally conceived the highest degree of resentment against the man who endeavoured to impede his niece's progress to the station of Queen Consort. On the thirteenth of June, 1540, he impeached Cromwell at the Council Board of high treason, and, six weeks after, that extraordinary man fell a sacrifice to the caprice of his inhuman master, which in this instance was sustained by the jealousy of the nobility, and the prejudices of the people. On the twenty-ninth of January following that event the Duke was appointed Lieutenant General of all the King's forces beyond the river Trent, and, on the first of September, 1542, Captain General of the army in the North, at the head of which he ravaged the frontiers of Scotland in the succeeding March. He was

soon after nominated commander of the rear, and then of the vanguard, of the English army in France, appointments which the peace that speedily followed rendered almost useless.

While he was engaged in these services the short-lived elevation of Queen Catherine was suddenly and tragically terminated, and the disgust which her frailty had excited in Henry's inexorable heart extended itself to her family. This motive aggravated the effect of jealousies already conceived on account of the Duke's professed attachment to the ancient religion, and of the immense power and wealth with which the King himself had so largely contributed to invest him. Henry dreaded that all the influence of each would be applied to the re-establishment of that religion, and to the support of the right of succession in his issue by Catherine of Arragon; and determined on his death-bed that the Duke, and his admirable son the Earl of Surrey, should not survive him. Even amidst the last struggles of expiring nature he held out temptations to any who would furnish evidence against these eminent persons, and, these endeavours proving fruitless, accused them of high treason merely on an inference drawn from their having quartered with the armorial ensigns of their family the royal arms of England, and those of Edward the Confessor. He accomplished, as is well known, his dreadful purpose with regard to the Earl, and the Duke escaped almost miraculously. Broken down by age, infirmity, and solitary imprisonment, he sought for mercy to his family by concessions and apologies, the effect of which was turned against himself. He was prosecuted by a bill of attainder, which was hurried through both Houses of Henry's too obedient Parliament, and a warrant was dispatched on the twenty-ninth of January, 1547, for his execution; but the King died on the preceding night, and the Privy Council judged it unfit to stain the first days of the new reign with the best blood of the country.

The reformers, however, availed themselves with a secret joy of the pretexts against the Duke which Henry had bequeathed to them. He was kept a close prisoner in the Tower during the six years that Edward the sixth sat on the throne, and was not released till the third of August, 1553, the very day on which Mary made her public entry into London to take possession of the throne, when he was immediately restored, simply by her sovereign fiat, to his dignities and estates. The Parliament soon after confirmed this extraordinary mark of grace and power by an act of repeal of his attainder, in which, with an ill-merited complaisance to the memory of Henry, they laid on their predecessors all the blame of the Duke's persecution. At the end of a fortnight from his liberation, such were the sudden changes of fortune in those days, he presided as Lord High Steward on the trial of his bitter enemy John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. In the following year he raised and equipped his tenants and dependents, and marched at their head against Sir Thomas Wyat. It was the first public service in which he was unfortunate. They were wrought on by artful suggestions of the purity of the cause they had been called on to oppose to desert to the insurgents, and the Duke, now more than eighty years of age, at that period retired from all public concerns, and died at his seat at Kenninghall in Norfolk on the twenty-fifth of August, in the same year, 1554. He was buried at Framlingham in Suffolk, leaving, as appears by the inquisition taken after his death, notwithstanding the repeated spoils that his ancestors and himself had suffered, fifty-six manors, and thirty-seven advowsons, with many other considerable estates.

Thomas, third duke of Norfolk, married first, Anne, daughter of King Edward the fourth, who brought him one son, Thomas, who died young on the fourth of August, 1508, and was buried at Lambeth: Secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, by whom he had two sons, Henry, the celebrated Earl of Surrey, and Thomas, who in the first year of Elizabeth was created Viscount Howard of Bindon, in the county of Dorset; and one daughter, Mary, married to Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, a natural son to Henry the eighth.

Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln.

From the original of Ketel, in the Collection of

His Grace, The Duke of Bedford.

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[illegible] Published Dec.r 1 [illegible] by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mayor & Jones and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & [illegible]

EDWARD CLINTON,

EARL OF LINCOLN.

The family of this nobleman had enjoyed the dignity of the Peerage nearly for three hundred years, yet, with the exception of its common ancestor, Geoffery de Clinton, whom we find styled Lord Chamberlain, Treasurer to the King, and Justice of England, under Henry the first, none of his progenitors appear to have held any public situations, beyond such municipal offices as are usually filled by owners of large estates in their respective provinces. He was the only son of Thomas, eighth Lord Clinton, by Mary, a natural daughter of Sir Edward Poynings, Knight of the Garter, and it is probable that no small share of the favour in which that gentleman was held by Henry the eighth devolved on this young nobleman through that marriage.

He was born in the year 1512, and at the death of his father, which occurred on the seventh of August, 1517, fell in wardship to the Crown. Educated in the Court, his youth was passed in those magnificent and romantic amusements which distinguished the commencement of Henry's reign, nor was it till 1544 that he appeared in any public character. In that year he attended the Earl of Hertford, and Dudley, Lord Lisle, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, in their expedition to Scotland, and is said then to have engaged in the naval service in consequence of his intimacy with the latter, who commanded the English fleet. He was knighted at Leith by Hertford, who commanded in chief, and then embarked with the Admiral, Lisle, who, having scoured the coast of Scotland, landed at Boulogne, which was at that time besieged by the King in person.

At the commencement of the following reign he was appointed Admiral of the fleet which aided the Protector's great irruption into Scotland, and, owing to a singular circumstance, is said to have had a considerable share in the victory of Musselborough, without quitting his ships; for the van of the English army having changed its position, the Scots imagined that it was flying to the fleet, and so forsook the high ground on which they had been advantageously posted, and, following the English to the shore, were received with a furious discharge of cannon, which threw them into irrecoverable disorder. Soon after this period Lord Clinton was constituted Governor of Boulogne, and, on his return from thence, after the peace of 1550, was appointed of the King's Privy Chamber; Lord Admiral of England for life; and a Knight of the Garter. To these distinctions were added grants of estates to a very considerable amount. In 1551 he represented his royal master at Paris, as godfather to the third son of France, afterwards Henry the third. He negotiated at the same time the fruitless treaty of marriage intended between Edward the sixth and Elizabeth, daughter of Henry the second of France, and brought home with him the instrument of its ratification.

Edward died soon after the conclusion of this embassy, and Lord Clinton, having recommended himself to the favour of that Prince's successor by his early expression of attachment to her title to the Crown, was sent in 1554, together with others of the loyal nobility, at the head of a military force, against Sir Thomas Wyat. In the autumn of the next year he carried the Order of the Garter to Emanuel Duke of Savoy, and in 1557 had a principal command in the English army at the siege of St. Quintin. On the thirteenth of February, 1558, O. S. his patent of Lord Admiral was renewed, and on the twelfth of April following he was appointed Commander in chief, both by sea and land, of the forces then sent against France and Scotland. Elizabeth continued him in the post of Admiral;

chose him of her Privy Council; appointed him a Commissioner to examine Murray's charges against the Queen of Scots; and joined him to Dudley, Earl of Warwick, in the command of the army sent in 1569 against the rebellious Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. He was one of the twenty-five Peers who, in January, 1572, N.S. sat in judgement on Thomas, Duke of Norfolk. On the fourth of the succeeding May he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Lincoln, and was immediately after dispatched to Paris, with a splendid train of nobility and gentry, to attend the ratification of the treaty of Blois by Charles the ninth.

The remainder of his life presents nothing worthy of note, for we find only that he was occasionally employed in the mere formalities of that tedious treaty of marriage with Francis Duke of Anjou, Elizabeth's motives for the commencement and dissolution of which were ever equally unknown even to those of her ministers whom she most trusted. It should seem indeed that there was little historically eminent in this nobleman's character: that he was valued by the monarchs whom he served rather for his probity and his fidelity than for his talents, which being probably of a sort and measure best adapted to the conduct of warlike affairs, afforded little worth remembrance during the long season of public tranquillity which detached him from such services. Some imperfect judgement of the powers of his mind may be formed from the two following letters to Lord Burghley, written at different periods of his life, and now first published, from the Harleian collection; nor indeed are they otherwise destitute of interest, particularly the second, written even while the detestable Prince of whose oath of perpetual amity with Elizabeth it chiefly treats was secretly planning the horrors of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which were perpetrated within very few weeks after the date of his solemn perjury, and of Lincoln's dispatch.

" Aftar my most harty comẽdacyons unto your good Lordship, albeit you shall by the lettars from my LL. of the Cownsell understand the good newis y^{t} ar com toching the peace betwen the Quene's Matie and the French toching the mattars of Skotland, yet I take occasyon to trowble your L. wth this my lettar y^{t} it may apeare I am not slothfull in wryting to yow. This peace is gretely to the Quene's honour, and this reame. My Lord of Norfolk is gon to Lyth, to see the demolyshing of the same. The newis doth styll contynew of the comyng of the yong Kyng of Swevya, who bryngeth xxx shyps of war, and lx other to carre his trayne and vytells. Yesterday the Kyng of Spayne's Ambassadors were here, who reseyved knolayg of her Hynes of the peace concludyd in Skotland. The tewmolts in France do contynew. Monsur de Glassyon told me yesterday y^{t} the Duke of Savoy was in gret danger, besyde his owne towne off Nyece, to a byn taken by the Torks, bot skaped naroly, his horse being sore hort under hym. xii of his prynsepall noble men and gentylmen are by the Torks takyn and carreid away. The Kyng of Spayne's los at Geriby is confermyd by other lettars. I have lernyd for sarten y^{t} the French preparasyons are small to the see. It is brewtyd here y^{t} the Dewk de Namors doth com wth a gret company of Noble men to vyzet the Quene's Matie from the French Kyng. Many lettars ar going owt from the Quene to the nobylyty of this reame to com to the Corte agen the comyng of this yong Kyng of Swevya. I trust we shall be in quyat wth France untyll they have ther owne cowntrey in a good ordar and subjectyon, but, when tyme shall sarve them, ther wylbe no gret trost to them, as I juge this peace hath ben parfors, for they were dryven to take it in thys sort, or els have lost all ther pypyll in Lyth, being not able to socor them. My Lord of Penbrok doth somwat amend of his syknes, God be thankyd, and is gon yesterday from the Corte to London, and so to Hynden. When othar mattars shall com wth the wrytyng I wyll advertes your L. From the Corte, the xiiith of July, 1560.

Your L^{p}. assured to com̃and,

E. Clynton."

" My Lord,

I have advartized your L. from tyme to tyme of my enterteynment synce my comynge from Bullyn, whiche, albeit ther was no ordar taken for provisions of

the Kyng's chargis for me on the waye hyther, yet I assure you I was vearie honorablie used and enterteyned, as I have afore wrytten; and, as I p̃ceive, they here weare utterlie withowt knowledge that there was suche ordar taken by the Quene's Matie for the receyvinge of Monsieur Momerancie in England, whereof there hathe ben great mislykinge taken against suche as showld have gyven knowledge hyther. But synce my comyng to Parris ther hathe ben as greate enterteynement and honor done me, in respecte of her Majestie, as I ever have seene, and all at the Kyng's chargis.

On Frydaye last I was sent for to come to Madryll to the Kyng. The Prince Dolphyn, wth many noble men, wher'of the Marshall Cossie, being one, dyd accompany me to the Court, wheare at my comyng the Kyng dyd welcom me vearie honorablie, his brethren, and a great assemblie of noble men being wyth hym. That daie the Kyng cawsed me, and the Quene's Maties Imbassadors, to dyne wth him and his brethren. We weare aftar dynar browght to the Quene, his wyfe, by the Duke Dalanson, at whiche tyme the Quene mother was sicke, and so deferred our comynge to her for that daye. We weare lodged in the Kynge's howse theare, and hadd greate enterteynement, wheare we remayned Frydaie and Satterdaie, in whiche tyme the Kynge used suche familier enterteynemente as he tooke me wythe hym after his supper to walke in his parke, and he played at the Tennys, in the fyldes at Randon, with the noble men, and caried me late to his pryvie chamber, and did talke with me vearie pryvatlye. He had som pastyme showed hym by Italian players, whiche I was at wth hym. On Satterdaie he towlde me his mother was not vearie well, but som thinge amended, and yet he wolde have me see her, and so hymself browght me to her, and her Majestie's Imbassadors, she being in her bedd, wheare I dyd her Maties comendacions, and delyvered her Maties letters. The next daye, beinge Sondaie, appoynted for the oathe to be taken at a parishe churche in Parris, the Kynge, wythe his twoo brethren, entred in a coache, and tooke me in the sayd coache wth theym, and so passed throwghe a great part of Parris to the Lovar, wher he dyned, and greate and sumptuous preparacion for hym, and a greate assemblie of noble men and gentlemen; and theare I, wythe her Maties Imbassadoures, dyned wythe the Kynge and his brethren.

Aftar dynar, at Evensonge tyme, the Kynge went to the aforesaid churche, and I have not seene a greater assemblie of people of all sortes, so that it was longe er the Kynge cowlde passe the prease, for all that his offycers cowlde comaunde to make place. At his comynge to the said churche, wch was rytchlie furnished, and hanged wythe arras, and a place in the quyer dressed for the Kynge and the noble men, aftar we hadd browght hym to the quyer, and that he was sett, we retyred o'selves to a chappell on the syde of the said churche appoynted for us, where we remayned, accompanied wythe the Duke of Bolleyn, and Monsieur de Lansack, and others, untyll the Kynge had hard his evensong, and then we weare sent for by the Prynce Dolphyn to the Kynge, and theare, at the highe aulter, he tooke his oathe; and afore he dyd sweare he towld me openlie that ther was nothing that ever contented hym better than this league betwene the Quene, his good systar, and hym, beinge so noble and worthie a Pryncys as she ys; and, as he dyd publykelye take the oathe, accordyng to the ordar in suche cases, so dyd he p̃nounce that he dyd yt from his harte, as the thynge that he wolde trewlye and justlye obsarve and keepe durynge his lyfe, wythe suche a showe of a contentacyon as I have not seene the lyke. I noted his speache to me before dyner, spoken afore his brethren, and the greatest part of the Prynces and noble men theare, wch was that the ordar and custome hathe ben alwaies in Fraunce that when anie Kynge or Quene dyed, or other greate estate of their Howse, as nowe the Quene of Navare, they dyd mourne in theyr apparell, and dyd weare yt for one monthe at the leaste; but he, haveing recyved suche cawse to rejoyse at this amitie, whearto he wold sweare that daye, and for the greate honor he dyd beare to the Quene's Matie, his good systar, he wolde weare his apparell accordynge to the contentmente of his mynde, and therfore he dyd put of all mourning, and indede he and his brethren weare rytchelie apparrelled.

The Kynge apon Sondaie last towlde me that bothe his brethren, for the greate honor they beare to her Matie dyd desier to have me, and bothe her Maties Imbassadoures, and the

noble men and gentlemen in my companye, to dyne wth them uppon Tewsdaie and Wensdaie next followynge: so that uppon Tewsdaie we dyned wyth Monsieur, who sent for us twoo of the brethren of Monsieur de Momeransie, and Lansack, and Larchaunt, and dyvars others. And at owre comynge, the Duke and his brother dyd mete us wythowt his greate chamber, accompenied wythe the Duke Monpansier, and his son Prynce Dolphyn, and the Duks de Nevers and Bullyen, and Domall, and Guyse, and the Marshall de Cossie, and Danvyle, who all dyned wth hym. At after dynar Monsr and his brother browght us to a chambre wheare was vearie many sorts of exelent musicke; and after that he hadd us to another large chambre, wheare there was an Italian playe, and dyvars vautars and leapers of dyvars sortes, vearie exelent; and thus that daie was spent. I doo heare that the Duke Dalanson doothe this daie make greate preparacion to feast us, wherof I wyll advartize you by my next lettars. And thus I take my leave of yor good L. wyshinge yor L. long lief, in much honor.

From the Lovar, in Parris, this Wensdaie, in the morrnyng, beyng the xviiith of June, 1572.

Yo^r^ L.' assured frend to com̃aund,

E. Lyncoln."

" Her hathe ben hetherto no worde spokyn to me, ether by the Kynge or his mother, toochynge the Quene of Skotts, or the Duke Dalanson. Seurly, my Lord, here is shoid gret contentasyon of this amyté."

The Earl of Lincoln died on the nineteenth of January, 1584, O. S. and lies buried in St. George's Chapel, in Windsor Castle, under a superb monument of alabaster and porphyry, which was some years since repaired, with laudable care and nicety, by the direction of his noble descendant, the late Duke of Newcastle. He was thrice married: first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Blount, and widow to Gilbert, Lord Talboys. By this lady, who had formerly admitted the caresses of Henry the eighth, he had three daughters; Bridget, married to Robert Dymock, of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire; Catherine, to William Lord Borough; and Margaret, to Charles, Lord Willoughby of Parham. By his second wife, Ursula, daughter of Edward, Lord Stourton, he had three sons; Henry, his successor; Edward; and Thomas; and two daughters; Anne, wife of William Ayscough, of Kelsey, in Lincolnshire; and Frances, of Giles Bruges, Lord Chandos. He married thirdly Elizabeth, daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, who died without issue.

James Scot, Duke of Monmouth.

From the original of Riley, in the Collection of

His Grace, The Duke of Buccleuch.

Drawn by Wm. Hilton, R.A. & Engraved (with Permission) by W. T. Fry.

London, Published Dec.r 1.1819 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

JAMES SCOT,

DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

The Duke of Monmouth was the natural son of King Charles the Second, by Lucy, daughter of Richard Walters, a gentleman of Haverfordwest, in the county of Pembroke. Lord Clarendon informs us that this lady went to Holland with the sole view of attracting the amorous inclinations of the exiled monarch. She succeeded; and this elegant and unhappy offspring of her folly and disgrace was born at Rotterdam, on the ninth of April, 1649. He was committed to the care of the Lord Crofts, one of the King's intimate companions in his misfortunes and in his pleasures, and was called by that nobleman's surname till his marriage. The Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria, to whom the secret of his birth had been early imparted, became attached to him: he lived for several years in her family, in France; and in July, 1662, she brought him with her to London: on the fourteenth of the following February he was created Baron of Tindale, in the county of Northumberland, Earl of Doncaster, and Duke of Monmouth; and, on the twenty-eighth of March, in the following year, was chosen a Knight of the Garter. Of his education little has been said: his preceptor was a Mr. Thomas Ross, a Scotsman, afterwards the King's librarian, and he was entered a member of Christ-Church, in the University of Oxford, in 1665. In the same year he was appointed Master of the Horse, and soon after married Anne, daughter and sole heir of Francis Scot, Earl of Buccleugh, whose surname he then assumed, and was created Duke of Buccleugh, and constituted Lord Great Chamberlain, and High Admiral of Scotland. On the sixteenth of September, 1668, he was appointed to the command of the Life Guards, and soon after Captain General of the King's forces, Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire, Governor of Hull, and Chief Justice in Eyre of the forests south of Trent, and on the twenty-ninth of April, 1670, was sworn of the Privy Council. At that period we may suppose that he was such as has been thus depicted by the pencil of the lively and acute author of the "Memoires de Grammont."

"Le Duc de Monmouth, fils naturel du Charles II, parut en ce tems là dans la Cour du Roi son pere. Ses commencemens ont eu tant d'éclat; son ambition a causé des evenemens si considerables; et les particularités de sa fin tragique sont encore si récentes; qu'il seroit inutile d'employer d'autres traits pour donner une idée de son caractere. Il paroit par-tout tel qu'il etoit dans sa conduite temeraire dans ses enterprises, incertain dans l'execution, et pitoyable dans ces extrémités, où beaucoup de fermeté doit au moins répondre à la grandeur de l'attentat. Sa figure, et lês graces extérieures de sa personne, etoient telles que la nature n'a peut-etre jamais rien formé de plus accompli. Son visage étoit tout charmant: s'etoit un visage d'homme, rien de fade, rien d'effeminé: cependant chaque trait avoit son agrément, et sa delicatesse particulière. Une disposition merveilleuse pour toutes sortes d'exercices, un abord attrayant, un air de grandeur, enfin tous les avantages du corps, parloient pour lui; mais son esprit ne disoit pas un petit mot en sa faveur—il n'avoit de sentimens que ce qu'on lui en inspiroit; et ceux qui d'abord s'insinuerent dans sa familiarité prirent soin de ne lui en inspirer que de pernicieux. Cet exterieur éblouissant fut ce qui frappa d'abord. Toutes les bonnes mines de la cour en furent effacées, et toutes les bonnes fortunes à son service. Il fit les plus cheres délices du Roi; mais il fut la terreur universelle des époux et des amants. Cela ne dura pourtant pas: la nature ne lui avoit pas donné tout ce qu'il faut pour s'emparer des cœurs; et le beau sexe s'en apperçut."

That such a man should become an instrument of mischief to himself and to others

might be reasonably expected, and it happened accordingly. He conducted himself however for some years with propriety and dignity. In 1673 he served in the French army as a volunteer, with the rank of Lieutenant-General, against the Dutch, and gained considerable reputation in the siege and capture of Maestricht; and in 1678 commanded in chief the English troops then sent into Scotland to suppress a wild insurrection of the covenanters, whom he defeated in an action which, in compliment to him, was too proudly called the battle of Bothwell bridge. In this affair, if there was little room for the acquisition of military fame, abundant scope was afforded for the exercise of clemency, and he shewed it, not only to the vanquished rebels, but to the whole of the Scottish fanatical party, to which, through his influence over the King, he procured concessions beyond their most sanguine expectations. Charles indeed loved him even with an extravagant tenderness, insomuch that, during the period which has been just now glanced over, strong suspicions arose of an intention to assert the legitimacy of his birth, and consequently to declare at a favourable opportunity his right to inherit the Throne. It is scarcely necessary to say that the Duke of York became his enemy, and Monmouth, knowing that he had in that Prince a rival, not only in the splendid hope of succession, but also in his father's affection, unhappily sought to add to his interest with the Crown the incompatible aid of popular favour.

The Earl of Shaftesbury, James's most bitter enemy, and the most deliberately wicked among the public men of his time, determined to flatter this foible, and more than one event occurred about the time of Monmouth's return from Scotland which enabled him to turn it to the best advantage. Early in the spring of 1679 Charles's ministers, with the view of allaying the public discontents, prevailed on him to send his brother for a while to the continent, and the King, to soothe the chagrin excited by so harsh a command, signed in Council, and swore to, a declaration that he had never been married to Monmouth's mother, nor to any other woman except the Queen. Within few months after the King was seized by a dangerous illness: James came suddenly to visit him; and, on his Majesty's recovery, was directed to return. After long expostulation, he demanded, as the price of his consent, that Monmouth should be obliged also to transport himself, and should be divested of his offices, and even to this hard condition Charles gave way, but not without a private concurrence on the part of Monmouth, which rendered him more amiable than ever in the estimation of his father. Monmouth, however, such are the frauds of Courts, was in fact exasperated to the last degree, but Shaftesbury had prevailed on him to obey by assuring him that the nation would resent the injury that had been offered to him, and that the Parliament, which was shortly expected, would on its meeting address the King to recal and reinstate him. He retired silently to Utrecht, and from that hour became a slave to faction, and an enemy to the State.

The Duke of York was soon permitted to return, and Monmouth, having vainly solicited for the same favour, nevertheless presently followed. Charles refused to see him, and required him again to quit the kingdom, but he treated the order with scorn. He now surrendered himself wholly to the counsels of Shaftesbury, who enlisted him among the fiercest opponents to his father's government, and urged forward his already willing disposition to court the multitude. Under the pretence of amusing himself with hunting and horse-races, he travelled through various parts of the kingdom, always met and surrounded by thousands, who, fascinated by his fine person and condescending manners, seemed to idolize him. A modern historical writer, whose style and method of description, sometimes, it is true, careless, have been the object of much unjust censure, gives the following lively picture of these political peregrinations. "He made a progress through the discontented counties of Lancashire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Cheshire, with a retinue of above an hundred persons, armed, and magnificently accoutred. The Lords Macclesfield, Brandon, Rivers, Colchester, Delamere, Russell, and Grey, Sir Gilbert Gerard, and many others of the high gentry of the whig party, met him at the head of their tenants in different places, and, as the ancient manners of England were not at that time laid aside, most of those who came to meet him were armed. When he approached a town he quitted his coach, and rode

into it on horseback: the nobility and gentry went foremost in a band: at a distance, and single, rode the Duke; and at a distance behind him the servants and tenants. When he entered the towns, those who received him formed themselves into three ranks; the nobility, gentry, and burghers, being placed in the front; the tenants in the next; and the servants in the last. He gave orders for two hundred covers to be prepared wherever he dined. At dinner, two doors were thrown open, that the populace might enter at the one, walk round the table to see their favourite, and give place to those who followed them by going out at the other: at other times he dined in an open tent in the field, that he might the more see and be seen. At Liverpool, he even ventured to touch for the King's evil. He entered into all country diversions; and, as he was of wonderful agility, even ran races himself upon foot; and when he had outstripped the swiftest of the racers, he ran again in his boots, and beat them, though running in their shoes. The prizes which he gained during the day he gave away at christenings in the evening. The bells were rung, bonfires made, and volleys of fire-arms discharged, wherever he came: the populace, waving their hats in the air, shouted after him, 'A Monmouth! A Monmouth!' And all promised him their votes in future elections to Parliament. Informations of these things were sent hourly to Court by the spies who were sent to the country for that purpose; and the King and his brother were the more alarmed because they knew that the royalists had held their consultations for the restoration of the royal family at horse-races and cock-matches, upon which account Cromwell had forbade these diversions."

Men of sobriety and judgment became apprehensive of a new rebellion, and many who had opposed the Court, or had appeared at least indifferent to the course of public measures, now attached themselves firmly to the Crown, and Charles, perhaps in some degree assured by that earnest of security, as well as disarmed by his invariable paternal tenderness, suffered these excesses to pass with impunity. While Monmouth however practised these arts in the country his agents were not less active in London. Shaftesbury had easily persuaded him that he was the head of the party which had adopted him, but which in fact denied him their confidence, and he blindly submitted to be made a tool of republicanism by those whom he had been taught to believe would place him on a throne. Such was his situation, and such his hopes, when in the year 1681 he embarked in the conspiracy of which the lives of Russell and Sidney at length paid the forfeit. It was long in maturing, for Shaftesbury, who had originally been the soul that animated it, fled during the progress of it from the hatred of all honest men to Holland, where he died. Monmouth became now the pupil of the Earl of Essex, whose talents and experience rendered him of great weight among the conspirators; was admitted a member of the council of six, by whom the affairs of the plot were directed; and intrusted to manage for a levy of troops in Scotland, where his lady's great estate had given him considerable power. Some historians have taken pains, but without complete success, to shew that the projected assassination of the King and Duke, which was proved to have been a feature of the conspiracy, was unknown to the leaders. Let us hope, however, for the credit of human nature, that Monmouth at least was ignorant of it. It was not till the spring of 1683 that their plan seems to have been nearly arranged, when, with the frequent fate of such plans, it was betrayed by a subordinate agent.

Monmouth disappeared on the first rumour of the discovery, and is said to have concealed himself in London. The ministers pretended that they could gain no intelligence of him, but no reward was offered for his apprehension, and it is evident that Charles was anxious to save him. Lord Halifax, perhaps the most sagacious among them, at length detected his retreat; advised him to write submissively to his father; and received his promise to make a full disclosure of the plot; on which he was admitted to the presence of the King and the Duke, and received with kindness. This, which was probably the mere result of Charles's instructions to Halifax, has been ascribed by all our historians, who have taken Burnet's ever doubtful word for it, to a scheme formed by that nobleman to oppose once more the now forlorn and powerless Monmouth to the influence of James. The weakness, not to say meanness, of Monmouth's character now fully displayed itself: he

made an ample confession indeed of more than had been before suspected, and, having received a free pardon, retracted the whole. He was then persuaded by Halifax to write to Charles, acknowledging his former declaration; and, presently after, goaded probably by the reproaches of some of his party, flew to the Court, and in an agony besought the King to restore to him his letter. Charles on this occasion behaved with a magnanimity unusual to him. He put the letter into Monmouth's hands, and then again pressed him with vehement earnestness to abide by the testimony which he had first given. To this grand and simple appeal to his honour as a man, and to his duty as a son and as a subject, he was however insensible. He positively refused, and the King dismissed him with a command to appear no more in his presence. He embarked immediately for Holland, and was received with particular distinction by the Prince of Orange, whose designs on the English Crown were already considerably ripened, and whose Court was therefore the constant place of refuge for the most determined enemies to the family of his consort.

Monmouth, still beloved, and privately cherished by his father, remained there till the death of that Monarch, at the commencement of the year 1685, when the Prince of Orange, desirous to offer as a compliment to James what he could not conveniently have denied to a request, dismissed him hastily from the States. William went even further, for he persuaded the Spanish Ministry, on the Duke's retiring, as he did, to Brussels, to remove him also from thence. Weary of political intrigues which he had not sufficient capacity to direct, and absorbed in a tender attachment which estranged him from his family, and disgraced him in his own country, Monmouth now determined to retire into Germany, and to pass the remainder of his life in privacy with the Lady Harriet Wentworth, who had sacrificed the splendour of a great name, and a rich inheritance, to her guilty love for him. The attainted Earl of Argyll, a man equally fierce and crafty, whom a similarity of fault and penalty had recommended to his intimacy in Flanders, unfortunately induced him however to change that resolution. He exhorted the Duke to land in England, and to throw himself implicitly on the supposed affection of his country, engaging to appear at the same time in the Highlands of Scotland, where indeed he had a most powerful influence. He revived in Monmouth's mind with little difficulty his passion for popularity and military fame, and pressed once more on his imagination the splendid vision of a crown; but the Duke hesitated, for even to him the attempt seemed desperate. A letter from him to Argyll, without a date, but evidently written about this time, was given by Spence, Secretary to the last named nobleman, to Dr. Welwood, and is published in the Appendix to his Memoirs. It will serve to prove the first disposition of Monmouth's mind as to Argyll's proposal, as well as to shew that, however ill qualified to act in affairs of state or of faction, he was far from deficient in his powers either of thought or expression.

" I received both your's together this morning, and cannot delay you my answer longer than this post, though I am afraid it will not please you so much as I heartily wish it may. I have weighed all your reasons, and every thing that you and my other friends have writ me upon that subject, and have done it with the greatest inclinations to follow your advice, and without prejudice. You may well believe I have had time enough to reflect sufficiently upon our present state, especially since I came hither; but, whatever way I turn my thoughts, I find insuperable difficulties. Pray do not think it the effect of melancholy, for that was never my greatest fault, when I tell you that in these three weeks retirement in this place I have not only looked back but forward; and the more I consider our present circumstances I think them still the more desperate, unless some unforeseen accident fall out which I cannot divine or hope for." (here several lines in cypher) " Judge then what we are to expect in case we should venture upon any such attempt at this time. It is to me a vain argument that our enemies are scarce yet well settled, when you consider that fear in some, and ambition in others, have brought them to comply; and that the Parliament, being for the most part made up of members that formerly run our enemies down, they will be ready to make their peace as soon as they can, rather than hazard themselves upon an uncertain bottom. I give you but hints of what, if I had time, I would

write you at more length; but, that I may not seem obstinate in my own judgement, or neglect the advice of my friends, I will meet you at the time and place appointed; but for God's sake think in the mean time of the improbabilities that lie naturally in our way, and let us not by struggling with our chains make them straiter and heavier. For my part, I'll run the hazard of being thought any thing rather than a rash inconsiderate man; and, to tell you my thoughts without disguise, I am now so much in love with a retired life that I am never like to be fond of making a bustle in the world again. I have much more to say, but the post cannot stay, and I refer the rest till meeting, being

entirely yours."

Argyll however unhappily prevailed. Without troops, or arms, or money, they agreed on an enterprize without a plausible pretext, and almost without a distinct object. The Earl, it is true, had the address to obtain from a rich widow in Holland the loan of ten thousand pounds; Monmouth raised perhaps nearly an equal sum by pawning his jewels; and each of them purchased three vessels, and some weapons. They enlisted into their project several of the subordinate companions of their late treasons, who were scattered in Germany; and, on the tenth of June, 1685, Argyll having previously presented himself in Scotland, Monmouth landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire.

His conduct on his arrival was such as might have been expected from a man of his character, and his reception was but the proper and natural result of the wildness of his expedition. His manifesto promised imaginary liberties and immunities not only subversive of the whole political establishment of England, but utterly inconsistent with any modern principles of civil polity, or even of social order. The spirit and the terms in which it was composed were such as could not fail to fire the passions of the vulgar, and to disgust or terrify the superior orders. Every sort of obloquy was lavished on James, whom he termed "the Duke of York"; called him tyrant, traitor, murderer, popish usurper, and denounced him as the author of the violent deaths of the Earl of Essex, and Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and of the fire of London, and accused him even of having poisoned the King, his brother. The common people joined him in great numbers, insomuch that within very few days he had six thousand regularly embodied, and was followed by multitudes, eager to join him, for whom he could not furnish arms; but none of the nobles or gentry of the country repaired to his standard, nor had he with him a single person of distinction, except the Lord Grey, and Fraser of Saltoun, a Scottish chief, both of whom had accompanied him in his voyage. To them he gave the command of his horse, but the former presently disgraced himself by palpable cowardice, and the latter was obliged to abandon his charge, through the odium he had provoked by killing a gentleman of the county in cold blood. For several days no force appeared to resist him, except the militia of the county, amounting to four thousand men, led by the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Albemarle, a man of no consideration but for his rank; but Monmouth neglected to avail himself of the superiority of his numbers, and, instead of hazarding a sudden attack on them, with little chance of failure, lost his time in idle endeavours to form his little army to some degree of discipline. He took the town of Bridport however by storm, and marched slowly to Taunton, where to the astonishment and disgust of many who were secretly devoted to his cause, he had the folly to suffer himself to be proclaimed King, and in that character declared Albemarle a traitor for remaining in arms against him, and pronounced the dissolution of the Parliament, which was then sitting.

He proceeded by Bristol and Bath, in both which cities he had vainly hoped to have been cordially received, to Frome, where he was met by the fearful news that Argyll was a prisoner; that three thousand regular soldiers, with thirty pieces of cannon, were advancing by forced marches to meet him, under the command of Lord Feversham; that the Prince of Orange had sent the British regiments in his service to the aid of James's troops; and that the Parliament had voted four hundred thousand pounds for the suppression of the rebellion, amidst the warmest professions of loyalty. He now retreated to Bridgwater, where he received an express from Danvers, an old republican officer, who had undertaken

to forward his design by raising an insurrection in London. This person, glad to find an excuse for basely deserting a falling cause, now reproached him for assuming the title of King, saying that he, Danvers, was "no longer obliged to keep faith with one who had broken it with him." Pursued by the King's troops, who had advanced within three miles of him, and halted on a plain called Sedgemoor, and with no choice but to hazard an action, or surrender disgracefully, Monmouth resolved to surprise them in the night of the fifth of July. Friendship and delicacy of feeling still induced him to intrust the command of his horse to Grey, whom he ordered to send a detachment to burn a village in which Feversham's cavalry was posted, and at the same time to fall on the infantry in their rear, while the Duke, who reserved to himself the command of his foot, should attack them in front. Grey's attempt, if he made it, wholly failed, and he once more fled, as it should seem unnecessarily, leaving his Horse in utter disorder. Monmouth, in spite of some unforeseen obstacles presented by the nature of the ground, and of the treachery of one of his officers, who deserted with the news of his approach, made a furious onset with his infantry, and the King's troops were for a short interval in a disorder, of which the Duke, in his fondness, as it is said, for the exactness of military motions, neglected to take the advantage. They rallied, and in a moment regularity and obedience were totally lost among the rebels, who continued however to maintain with the most unexampled fury for three hours a resistance equally hopeless and fearless, and in which, as an historical writer well observes, "every man fought as if the fate of the battle depended on his single arm, and not on the army to which he belonged."

It is painful to be obliged to confess that to him whose cause had called forth these prodigies of valour, no share of the wild glory of the day was due. The tumultuous action was not yet ended when Monmouth, without a wound, left the field, and having galloped for twenty miles, he knew not whither, quitted his horse, near Ringwood, in Dorsetshire, and, exchanging dresses with a shepherd, wandered for three days in woods and bye lanes, friendless, and hopeless, yet instinctively seeking for that safety which it was impossible that he should attain. The shepherd, in whose possession the Duke's clothes were discovered, was presently interrogated by some of the neighbouring loyalists; the melancholy track of the illustrious fugitive was followed by dogs; and he was thus found, lying in a ditch, covered with fern. In his pocket were peas, which he had gathered to support nature, and his rich diamond badge of the Garter. When he was discovered and accosted such was his dejection that he wept and fainted. The love of life seemed to absorb in him all other feelings. His first request was to be allowed to write to the Queen, the Queen Dowager, and Lord Feversham, intreating them to intercede with the King to spare it. He wrote also to James, beseeching to be admitted to his presence, and stating that he had a secret of the utmost importance to impart. He was led a prisoner to London, where he arrived on the thirteenth of July, and on the following day was taken by water from the Tower to Whitehall, where he was allowed to speak with the King. It is said (for how can we hope for any authentic report of a conference between two highly prejudiced parties, to which there was no other witness?) that Monmouth, having begged his life in utter agony and humiliation of spirit, offered to become a Catholic; that he had no secret to communicate; that James required him to sign a declaration that the late King had assured him that he was never married to his mother, which he obeyed; and to name all his accomplices in the late treason, which he refused; that James then loaded him with reproaches; and that the Duke, transported with anger, quitted his presence with manly fortitude and contempt. On this memorable interview, which has furnished ground for so much censure on the memory of James, it is but fair to recollect that it was not required by the King, but granted at Monmouth's earnest solicitation; nor should I take leave of this part of the present subject without referring to a very curious anecdote relative to it, which, as it may be found in the memoir of Robert, second Earl of Sunderland, in this work, is omitted in this place.

An order was issued for his execution on the following day, and in the terrible interval he thrice supplicated for mercy: on the fifteenth however he was led to execution. He summoned sufficient resolution to die with decent firmness, if not with magnanimity. In his

previous communications with the Bishops Kenn and Turner, and with Dr. Tennison, he betrayed marks of superstition and fanaticism of which he had not been before suspected. He could not be brought to acknowledge the justice of their censure on his connection with the Lady Harriet Wentworth, because, as he said, he had prayed to God, that if his affection for her were sinful it might cease, and as it had not ceased, he concluded therefore that it was pleasing to God. He had earnestly sought for a respite of one day, on the credit of an idle prognostication that if he could outlive that day his life would be long and happy; and after his death, spells against danger, and other fantastic and mystical papers were found on his person. The final scene was to the last degree dreadful. The sole consideration that seemed to interrupt his composure arose from his apprehension that the executioner might perform his task unskilfully. He gave the man half the intended reward, and told him that the other moiety must be earned by his dexterity. He touched the edge of the axe, and complained that it was not sharp. The fatal moment at length arrived, when the executioner struck him on the shoulder, and the sufferer turned, and looked him in the face. After two more blows, he threw down the axe, and said he could go no further, when the threats of the sheriff prevailed with him, and at two other strokes he finished the sad operation.

The unfortunate Monmouth had by his Duchess four sons, of whom the eldest and youngest, Charles and Francis, died in infancy. James, the second son, inherited the Dukedom of Buccleugh from his mother, and from him is descended the nobleman who now enjoys that title; and Henry, the third, was created Earl of Deloraine, a dignity become of late years extinct. They had also two daughters, Charlotte and Anne, who died infants. The Duke left too four illegitimate children, two sons, and two daughters, by Eleanor, a daughter of Sir Robert Needham, Knt.

John Leslie, Duke of Rothes.

From the original of Sir P. Lely in the Collection of

The Rt. Hon.ble The Earl of Rothes.

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London, Published Dec.r 1.st 1819, by Rodwell & Martin, New Bond Street.

JOHN LESLIE,

DUKE OF ROTHES.

The Duke of Rothes, for that title was never held by any other person, was the only son of John Leslie, fifth Earl of Rothes, by Anne, second daughter of John Erskine, eighth Earl of Mar. He was born in the year 1630, and succeeded to the titles and estates of his ancestors when in the eleventh year of his age. The loss of his parents, for his mother also had died in the preceding year, thus in his childhood, was a misfortune the effects of which attended him through life, for, having been early betrothed to the eldest daughter of the Earl of Crawford, he went soon after his father's death to live in that nobleman's family, where his education was almost wholly neglected. In 1650, he emerged at length from a privacy which, however ill-suited to his active spirit, a mild and placid temper had enabled him to bear with patience. He now took up his residence, with becoming splendor, at Leslie, the mansion of his forefathers, and on the arrival of Charles the Second in Scotland from his exile in Holland, was among the first to wait on that Prince, to whose grace the fidelity and important services of his father to the late King had given him peculiar pretensions. These merits were afterwards amply acknowledged, and Charles, who had at this period only compliments to bestow, gave him the Sword of State to carry at the Coronation, which took place in that country on the first of the following January.

In the succeeding month, the Scottish Parliament having resolved to raise an army for the restoration of the monarchy, this young nobleman equipped from his dependents in the county of Fife a regiment of horse, at the head of which he accompanied Charles to Worcester, where, in the unfortunate battle of the third of September, 1651, he fell into the hands of the rebels, and was sent a prisoner, with some others of the nobility of his country, to the Tower of London. There, at Newcastle on Tyne, and in some other places, he remained in strict custody till the summer of 1655, when Elizabeth Murray, Countess of Dysart, a woman not less remarkable for her intriguing spirit than for her beauty, and one of the few towards whom Cromwell is said to have betrayed an amorous inclination, procured his release, through her influence over the usurper, and he was permitted to return to Scotland. He remained there, unmolested, and perhaps inactive, till the beginning of January, 1658, when, probably on some political suspicions, but professedly to prevent the consequences of a private quarrel, he was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, and in the following spring his estates were sequestrated. These hardships, operating on a disposition in which loyalty might be said to have been almost natural, rivetted his attachment to the royal cause. He was liberated in December, 1658, and suffered to retire to his own house, where he remained till the design for the restoration became publicly rumoured, when he fled to the King at Breda, and remained with him till that great event occurred.

Charles, thus at leisure to observe his character, found in him much to esteem as a friend, and yet more to recommend him as a servant, especially to such a Prince. In addition to his affection to the Crown, and to the family which held it, his resolution in executing his master's commands was as remarkable as his invariable obedience to them; it is perhaps needless therefore to say that he had little bias towards any particular system of government, and still less regard to any party or faction in the state. Charles, even before the restoration, seems to have determined to intrust to him the chief management of the affairs of Scotland. On the first of June, 1661, he was appointed President of the Council in that country, and one of the four Lords extraordinary of the Session, and was constituted the

King's High Commissioner to the Parliament which met at Edinburgh on the eighteenth of June in the following year. The staff of High Treasurer, which had been held by Crawford, his father-in-law, was presently after delivered to him, with the singular accompaniment of commissions of general of the forces, and captain of the troop of horse guards; and in the summer of 1663 he was nominated to the office of Keeper of the Privy Seal. A charter was issued to him about the same time, re-granting his Earldom, and other titles of peerage, with such numerous and wide remainders as rendered it nearly impossible that they should ever quit his blood; and in the succeeding year, on the death of the Earl of Glencairn, the Great Seal was placed in his hands, with the style of Lord Keeper.

Certain it is that he earned these excessive favours, if not by a sacrifice of all public principle, at least by a most reprehensible ductility. He was largely concerned in procuring that extravagant bill of the year 1661, called by the Scots "the Act rescissory," by which all the Parliaments that had been held in Scotland since 1633 were declared illegal, and all their proceedings annulled. This frightful measure, which, however pregnant of general confusion and mischief, aimed only at the overthrow of the kirk, was concerted with the furious Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, to whom, with respect to ecclesiastical affairs, Rothes seems in a great measure to have devoted himself; yet, while he secretly forwarded it, he scrupled not to promise his favour to the covenanters, reserving himself to take such part as he might find most agreeable to the King, to discover whose precise inclination he made purposely a journey to London. The English prelates, to whom Sharp had recommended him as the instrument by whom episcopacy was to be restored in Scotland, received him with rapture, nor was Charles less lavish of his approbation. He returned to Scotland with increased favour and power, and the Earls of Middleton and Lauderdale, his colleagues in the Scottish administration, who in the beginning had given him abundant proofs of their jealousy, now, from a despair of ability to undermine him, or from an unwillingness to share in the unpopularity which threatened him, in a great measure left him to follow his own course, and confined themselves to the business of their respective offices. Meanwhile he offended his sober countrymen little less by the looseness of his private conduct than by his rigorous opposition to the novelties of their religious discipline. He abandoned himself to all sorts of pleasures, and the enemies to the court ironically apologised for his licentiousness by remarking that the King's Commissioner ought to represent his master's person.

Rothes from a ministerial opponent presently degenerated into a persecutor. The military were scattered in those parts of the country in which the covenanters abounded: the parish priests were directed to transmit lists of such of them as avoided the established worship to the general, Sir James Turner; and they were forced into the churches at the point of the bayonet. Turner, though a most obedient soldier, and naturally rough and furious, was frequently reprehended by him for acting too mildly with them. The covenanters resented these outrages by an insurrection so ill concerted, and so weakly supported by any persons of power, that they were discomfited on their first appearance in arms. Rothes, who was then at the Court, and who had persuaded the King, perhaps believing it himself, that all but a few obstinate fanatics had submitted, on receiving the news, posted into Scotland, with intentions sufficiently vindictive, which however were fomented to the utmost on his arrival by the influence of the Primate. About fifty of the insurgents, who were mostly of the lowest class, were put to death; many fled to Ireland; the more moderate covenanters sullenly obeyed, and abandoned their conventicles; and a miserable calm, simply the effect of terror, succeeded. It was evident however that a state of order so procured could not be long maintained, and the remedy was obvious. Two of the independent nobility, members of the established church, went to London, and represented to the King with firmness the state of the country, and the causes of the evils under which it suffered, and besought him to dismiss the ministers to whom they ascribed them.

Charles was moved by their arguments, and dispatched an order to Scotland that the Primate should be restrained from going to Edinburgh, and confined to his diocese, but he hesitated as to Rothes, for whom he entertained a real friendship. Such indeed was that

nobleman's influence over his mind, or such his own secret affection to the measures that he was requested to relinquish, that, even while he seemed to give way to the counsels of those lords, a letter from the Earl prevailed on him to impower the Scottish Privy Council to require all whom they suspected to be enemies to the church to renounce the covenant, and to proceed against such as refused it as traitors, directing however by a private order that such power should not be exercised to the utmost but by his special command, further than for the purpose of exciting terror in the contumacious. By a second, and bolder, suggestion to the King, at the same critical period, he seemed to render the overthrow of his own authority inevitable, inasmuch as it drew down on him the resentment of the whole body of the nobility. He charged a majority of the Privy Council with disaffection to the church, and proposed that a special council should be nominated, to sit at Glasgow on ecclesiastical affairs, and so far was he from concealing this imprudent advice that he avowed it even to the Earl of Lauderdale, who was not only a professed covenanter, but his known enemy. In the mean time the two Scottish peers, who yet remained in London, redoubled their efforts against him, but the King still paused, when an accident is said to have produced the crisis to which those endeavours had been hitherto vainly applied. A division of the Dutch fleet which in 1667 sailed up the Thames, was directed to enter the Frith of Forth; to threaten an attack, by way of feint, on the Scottish coast; and then secretly to join De Ruyter, in that well-known enterprize. A great consternation was excited in that part of the country, but the matter ended in the discharge of a few innocent shot against the works at Bruntisland. Rothes happened to be then on a progress in the north, and not only the danger which it was pretended had menaced Scotland was charged by his enemies on his absence, which was represented as gross negligence, but even the subsequent insult which tarnished for a time the naval glory of England was in some measure ascribed to the same cause.

Charles at length consented to deprive him of the immoderate power with which he had been invested, and which he had exercised with so much indiscretion, and indeed tyranny; this however was accomplished gradually, and with all possible mildness, for the King had determined to dismiss him with no signs of disgrace. The army, contrary to his advice, was first disbanded, by which his commission of General was reduced to a mere title. Rothes now flew to the Court; besought the aid of the Duke of Monmouth, who had married his niece, and condescended to apply himself even to Lauderdale; but it was too late. He was presently deprived of the Treasury, but with a special approbation, under the Great Seal, of his conduct in that post. The rest of his offices followed, except only that of the Privy Seal, which he held for many years after, and now came the counterpoise, in Rothes's mind very unequal, to these severe mortifications: in the month of October, 1667, shortly before which time these alterations had occurred, he was placed for life in the dignified rather than powerful station of High Chancellor of Scotland.

From that period he had scarcely any ostensible concern in the government of the country. Charles's attachment to him however remained unaltered, and there is little reason to doubt that he was secretly consulted to the last on the affairs of Scotland. The strongest proof of his master's esteem was yet to come. On the twenty-ninth of May, 1680, he was created Duke of Rothes, and Marquis of Ballinbreich, to which were added several other titles of peerage, with remainder to his heirs male, of which, though at that time he only had daughters, he was not of an age to despair; but he survived the acquisition of these new dignities little more than one year. He died at Holyrood House, on the twenty-seventh of July, 1681, and was buried at Leslie, with an extravagance of pomp, scarcely ever equalled in the funeral of a subject; so remarkable indeed as to have been commemorated by an engraving, specially for that purpose. Little can be said of this nobleman's character, which seems indeed to have presented no one prominent feature. The blame of his administration was rather due to him who placed it in such hands than to himself. Totally inexperienced in political affairs, and not less careless of religion itself than ignorant of ecclesiastical government, he was sent to preside in a state then chiefly occupied in the difficult task of re-establishing an overthrown Church. The errors of his public and private

conduct were the usual errors of an uncultivated mind, and he was indebted for whatsoever degree of credit he at any time gained to lively talents, and an agreeable temper. Burnet, who knew him well, and was not his friend, speaks perhaps more favourably of him, and tells us that " he had a ready dexterity in the management of affairs, with a soft and insinuating address. He had a quick apprehension, with a clear judgement. He had no advantage of education; no sort of literature: all in him was mere nature." The Bishop informs us in another place that he was very facetious in conversation, of which he gives an instance too gross to be repeated.

The Duke of Rothes married Anne, daughter of John Lindsay, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, by whom he had two daughters; Margaret, and Christian: the Dukedom of course died with him. The elder of these ladies, who became the wife of Charles Hamilton, fifth Earl of Haddington, succeeded to the titles of Countess of Rothes, &c. and from her the present Earl is descended; the second married, first, James, third Marquis of Montrose; secondly, Sir John Bruce, of Kinross, Baronet.

LIBRARY OF THE

Algernon Sidney.

From the original in the Collection of

Sir John Shelley Sidney Bart.

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London. Published Dec.r 1.1819 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

ALGERNON SIDNEY.

THE strife of parties has long attached to the name of this gentleman a notoriety, and a factitious importance, which may reasonably excite an earnest inclination to become acquainted with the events of his life; a curiosity which must end in disappointment. He headed no faction; worked no revolution: he neither captivated multitudes by his eloquence, nor tempted them to the field by his courageous example. He shone not, either as a counsellor, a senator, or a soldier; and had, as it should seem, the singular ill fortune to be but little trusted or admired by those who laboured to put into practice the theories to which he devoted his mind with the most unrelenting obstinacy and perseverance. A morose temper withheld him in a great measure from society, and a weakly constitution from bodily action. His life was mostly passed in his closet, and a true history of it could be little more than a political pamphlet. To what then does he owe that niche in the temple of Fame which those who celebrate him in mere shouts to the multitude would perhaps rather leave uninscribed? Simply to the fiery zeal with which he incessantly denied the legitimacy of the first public institutions of his country, and to the injustice of the sentence by which he was fated to atone for his pertinacious errors.

He was the third, but second surviving, son of Robert, second Earl of Leicester of the Sidneys, by Dorothy, eldest daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and was born about the year 1622. His father, under whose immediate inspection, and anxious care, he received an admirable education, was perhaps the most conspicuous ornament, as well as the most correct example, to the court of Charles the first, uniting to distinguished talents the most exact probity, and to a considerable share of erudition and literature the lighter graces of the most refined politeness. Algernon, who seems to have been his favourite child, accompanied him in 1632 on his embassy to Denmark, and in 1636 to Paris, when he visited that capital in the same character. He remained for several years abroad with his father, and when that nobleman, on the fall of Strafford, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1641, attended him also thither; had the command of a troop of horse in his regiment; and served with fair reputation against the rebels of that country. It is evident however that he had even then imbibed the anti-monarchical notions which distinguished him through life. Whether he had received them from, or communicated them to, his elder brother, the Viscount Lisle, is uncertain, but it is clear that in 1643 they solicited and received the King's permission to come to England, and that it was granted with this palpable note of suspicion—that they should on their arrival instantly repair to his Majesty at Oxford. Events which immediately succeeded proved that it was well founded. On their landing at Liverpool, in the month of August, they were arrested by the agents of the Parliament in that quarter, who presently after, in obedience to a special order of the House of Commons, dispatched them under a strong guard to London. All this bore strong marks of a previous agreement, but the sequel left no doubt on that head: they were received with open arms by the rulers who had issued the stern mandate; a military commission was bestowed on each; and a pretence was devised for the vote of a sum of two thousand pounds to Algernon, whose superior talents, and energetic temper, seemed well worthy of the application of such a retaining fee.

He became now most firmly attached to the rebel cause. In 1644 the Earl of Manchester appointed him captain of a troop in his own regiment, and in the following spring Fairfax, the commander in chief for the Parliament, gave him a regiment of horse, and soon after, the government of Chichester. His brother, Lisle, who was sent in 1646 to

supersede their excellent father in the rule of Ireland, placed him in a similar command of cavalry in that country, and before the conclusion of the year made him Lieutenant-General of the Horse there, and Governor of the Castle of Dublin, which however was soon taken out of his hands, and placed in those of a Colonel Jones. Whether to expostulate on that deprivation or to throw himself into the prime scene of action in the tragedy of those times is uncertain, but he came immediately after to London, where, on the seventh of May, 1647, he was included with several other officers by the House of Commons in a vote of thanks for their services in Ireland, which was presently followed by a more solid mark of favour in the appointment to the office of Governor of Dover. Here ended his military career, in which nothing seems to have occurred worthy either of praise or blame.

As he had embraced the cause of the Parliament because it aimed at reducing the monarchical power, so he now joyfully abandoned it for the army, because that faction had determined to destroy the King. The leaders of it accepted him with equal satisfaction, well aware not only of the inveteracy of his political prejudices, but that he was in all the usual relations of social intercourse strictly a man of honour, a character by no means common in their party. His name was placed in the regicide commission, and it has been firmly asserted, and faintly denied, that he was one of those who sat in judgment on the ill-fated Charles. He had however no employment under the short-lived republic, and when Cromwell assumed the government, and the title of Protector, consistently enough transferred to the usurper the same degree of detestation that he had borne towards the King. He flew, full of spleen and disgust, to his father's seat of Penshurst, the deep retirement of which was well suited not only to the character of his mind, but to the occupation to which he meant now to apply it. He is supposed to have written during his long sojournment there the most part of his Discourses on Government; a work of considerable extent, in which admirable ingenuity of argument, universal historical knowledge, and a style not less graceful than nervous, are prostituted to the arrogant purpose of decrying a principle to which, with some exceptions, so few and so transitory that their occurrence does but prove the rule, the nations of the earth, from the beginning of time have as it were with one accord consented—to the fantastic view of founding a system of government on his own blind hatred to the very name of royalty.

He remained thus secluded till the expulsion of Richard Cromwell, and the consequent re-establishment of the Long Parliament. The declaration of that assembly, on the seventh of May, 1659, " to secure the liberty and property of the people, without a single person, King, or House of Peers," recalled him, with fresh hopes, and unabated zeal, to the practice of his favourite experiment. On the thirteenth of the same month he was nominated one of the heads of that hydra representative of kingly authority which the Parliament then erected under the denomination of the Council of State; and, on the fifth of June, was appointed to visit Copenhagen, in the character of an ambassador, for the purpose of mediating a peace between the Kings of Denmark and Sweden. Two others were joined to him in this commission, one of whom was appointed to supply the place of Whitelocke, who tells us in his Memorials that his name was originally inserted, but that he withdrew it, " well knowing the over-ruling temper and height of Colonel Sidney." After a few months' residence in those parts his negotiation, which he seems to have managed with much sagacity, was terminated, together with all the political plans and prospects which he had so long cherished, by the almost unexpected occurrence of the King's restoration. He remained however at Stockholm, awaiting the turn of affairs in England respecting his party, but with little patience. He indulged the extravagant hope, even when the King had scarcely arrived in London, of a renewal of his diplomatic commission, and, that expectation failing, resolved to come home, seeming to entertain no apprehension of resentment for the part that he had acted in the rebellion, but his father's representations soon withdrew him from his error. Much correspondence between that nobleman and himself on the question of his return to his country has been preserved, and may be found chiefly in Collins's fine collection of the papers of the family. No great cordiality seems to have subsisted between them, and indeed between men of characters so different, and so

essentially divided in their notions of public duty, little could be reasonably expected. In a letter from his father, written about this period, we find these remarkable passages:—

"Concerning you, what to resolve in myself, or what to advise you, truly I know not; for you must give me leave to remember of how little weight my opinions and counsels have been with you, and how unkindly and unfriendly you have rejected those exhortations and admonitions which, in much affection and kindness, I have given you upon many occasions, and in almost every thing, from the highest to the lowest, that hath concerned you; and this you may think sufficient to discourage me from putting my advices into the like danger; yet somewhat I will say. And, first, I think it unfit, and perhaps, as yet, unsafe, for you to come into England; for I believe Powell hath told you that he heard when he was here that you were likely to be excepted out of the general act of pardon and oblivion; and, though I know not what you have done or said, here or there, yet I have several ways heard that there is an ill opinion of you as of any, even of those that condemned the late King: and, when I thought there was no other exception to you than your being of the other party, I spoke to the "General" (Monk) in your behalf, who told me that very ill offices had been done you, but he would assist you as much as justly he could; and I intended then also to speak to somebody else (you may guess whom I mean) but since that I have heard such things of you, that, in the doubtfulness only of their being true, no man will open his mouth for you. I will tell you some passages, and you shall do well to clear yourself of them. It is said that the University of Copenhagen brought their Album unto you, desiring you to write something therein; and that you did scribere in albo these words—

..... Manus hæc inimica tyrannis
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem,

and put your name to it. This cannot choose but be publicly known, if it be true. It is also said that a minister, who hath married a Lady Laurence, here at Chelsea, but now dwelling at Copenhagen, being there in company with you, said, "I think you were none of the late King's judges, nor guilty of his death," meaning our King. "Guilty," said you, "do you call that guilty? Why it was the justest and bravest action that ever was done in England, or any where else;" with other words to the same effect. It is also said that you, having heard of a design to seize upon you, or to cause you to be taken prisoner, you took notice of it to the King of Denmark himself, and said, "I hear there is a design to seize upon me; but who is it that hath that design, Est ce notre bandit?" by which you are understood to mean the King. Besides this, it is reported that you have been heard to say many scornful and contemptuous things of the King's person and family, which, unless you can justify yourself, will hardly be forgiven or forgotten; for such personal offences make deeper impressions than public actions, either of war or treaty."

These, and other such remonstrances prevailed. He determined to remove into Germany, and, after having resided for a while at Frankfort, went to Rome, and seems to have remained in that city, and its neighbourhood, till 1663, when he again visited Germany, and afterwards the Netherlands, France, and Holland. His letters to his father during these wanderings, which occupied the long space of seventeen years, abound in keen and universal observation, but are strongly tinged with the prejudices and fancies of pride and melancholy. His conceit of the importance of his enmity to Kings, and to his own in particular, filled him with groundless suspicion of spies on his conduct, and violence to his person; in the mean time his affection to the rebel cause seemed to increase proportionately to his apprehensions. He says in one of his letters, "The tide is not to be diverted, nor the oppressed delivered; but God in his time will have mercy on his people: he will save and defend them, and avenge the blood of those who shall now perish upon the heads of those who, in their pride, think nothing is able to oppose them. Happy are those whom God shall make instruments of his justice in so blessed a work. If I can live to see that day I shall be ripe for the grave, and able to say with joy, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." The intervals spared from these reveries were embittered by family discords, and by the waste and embezzlement of his property in England, as he tells us, by his relations; by

the insufficiency of his means to his expenses, and the unwillingness and tardiness of his friends in supplying his wants. These circumstances put him on a scheme of raising English troops for the service of the Emperor, and he had made some progress in a negotiation to that end. "I will undertake," says he, in a letter to his father on that subject, from Brussels, "to transport a good strong body of the best officers and soldiers of our old army, both horse and foot." Charles's ministers had however no inclination to see any of that "old army" again embodied in any part of Europe, nor was the Emperor probably very desirous of such auxiliaries, so the plan fell to the ground. He was at length withdrawn from his difficulties and troubles by the royal permission to return to his country, together with a pardon for his former offences. These were obtained by his nephew, Robert, Earl of Sunderland, then in high confidence, or, as some say, by his friend, Henry Savile, and he came to England in 1677.

He gave out on his arrival that he had solicited these favours merely to gratify the earnest inclination of his ancient father (who did in fact expire very shortly after) once more to see him; that he longed only for quiet and retirement, and had agreed therefore for the purchase of a small estate in Gascony, on which he meant to end his days. In this he might have been sincere, and if he were not, it happened opportunely for his concealed motives that his brother, the Earl of Leicester, refused to pay to him his father's legacy of five thousand one hundred pounds, which produced a suit in Chancery, and furnished a plausible pretext for his remaining in England. Be this as it might, certain it is that immediately on his arrival he plunged into political intrigue. His darling enmity to the monarchical branch of the system had grown with his years, and modern discoveries have clearly proved that he was by no means scrupulous in the choice of means whereby to gratify that disposition. In the autumn of 1678 we find him the instrument of a secret correspondence between Lord Halifax and Barillon, the ambassador of Louis the fourteenth, instituted with the view of overthrowing the Lord Treasurer Danby; and soon after labouring to persuade that French minister that the interests of France could be in no other way so essentially served as by the establishment of a republican government in England. A few other persons were engaged in this scandalous project, but Sidney, according to his nature, seems to have been at their head. "Monsieur de Sidney," says Barillon, in a letter to his master, of the tenth of September, 1680, "est un de ceux qui me parlent le plus fortement, et le plus ouvertement, sur cette matière." Any degree of confidence respecting public affairs between an Englishman of the character which it is the fashion to ascribe to Sidney and a French ambassador might seem strange, but the origin of it was really monstrous. Sidney, soon after his return, had actually condescended to become a regular pensioner of France. He received, as appears from the only two papers remaining of Barillon's accounts of disbursements of the sums secretly remitted to him by Louis for the purpose of bribing such English as he might think proper, five hundred guineas in 1679, and a similar sum in the following year; thus allying himself to the natural enemy of his country, in the hope of strengthening the chance of annihilating its crown.

As no proof of a fact so extraordinary ought to be omitted, I will cite a passage from another of Barillon's letters to Louis, of the fourteenth of December, 1679, and so take leave of this very disgusting part of the present subject—"M. de Sidney m'a été d'une grande utilité en bien des occasions. C'est un homme qui a été dans les premières guerres, et qui naturellement est ennemi de la Cour. On l'a soupçonné depuis quelque tems de s'être laissé gagner par Milord Sunderland, mais il me paroit toujours avoir les mêmes sentiments, et n'avoir point changé de maximes. Il a beaucoup de crédit parmi les indépendans, et est ami intime de ceux qui sont les plus opposés à la cour dans le Parlement. Il a été élu pour celui ci. Je ne lui ai donné que ce que votre Majesté m'a permit. Il auroit bien voulu avoir d'avantage, et si on lui faisoit quelque gratification nouvelle il seroit aisé de l'engager entièrement. Cependant il est dans les dispositions fort favorables pour ce que votre Majesté peut désirer, et ne voudroit pas que l'Angleterre et les Etats Generaux fissent une ligue. Il est fort mal avec son frère, qui est en Hollande, et se moque de ce que la Cour s'en sert comme d'un négociateur. Je crois que c'est un homme

qui seroit fort utile si les affaires d'Angleterre se portoient à l'extremité." Sidney never sat in Parliament after the restoration, yet M. Barillon's statement is correct, for he was returned in the year that this letter was written, for Guildford, in Surrey, but his election was subsequently invalidated.

The tragical remnant of his story is too well known to require, or even to permit, any lengthened recital of it here; for the same reasons which have induced his eulogists to pass over almost silently the events of his life have prompted them to record with scrupulous exactness, and to proclaim with trumpet-tongued vociferation, even the most minute circumstances connected with his death. He became weary of the tediousness and caution necessarily attendant on the undermining system which he had adopted on his arrival in England, and the impatience and fierceness of his spirit panted for an opportunity of striking a decisive blow for the cause that he adored. Such a one offered itself in the spring of 1683. The Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, the Lords Russel and Howard of Escrick, and John Hampden, grandson to the more remarkable person of his names, had conspired to raise a rebellion, and, though his views were totally distinct from those of any individual of the party, he eagerly joined them, and was cordially accepted. This conspiracy, so familiar to every reader of English history under the ill-chosen appellation of "the Rye-house plot," was discovered to the Government by some of its inferior agents, and the principals were speedily seized. Sidney was arrested on the twenty-sixth of June, arraigned on an indictment of high treason, and brought to trial on the seventh of the succeeding November, before Jefferies, perhaps the only eminent public man for whose invariably infamous conduct no one has ever yet dared to offer an apology. Strong suspicions were formed that the jury had been unfairly chosen. A single witness, and he an accomplice, and a man of known bad character, appeared against him. The law required two, but the judge cut short that difficulty. Sidney's Discourses on Government, which have been already mentioned, had been found, then an unpublished manuscript, among his private papers, and Jefferies ruled that the production of this piece, in the hand-writing of the culprit, was equivalent to the testimony of a second witness. Of Sidney's guilt not a doubt could be entertained, but the annals of Europe can scarcely produce another instance of such detestable perversion of law. It is needless to say that he was convicted, and sentenced to die, and on the seventh of the following December he was beheaded on Tower-hill, glorying to the last in what he called "the good old cause," and exhibiting a firmness and resolution which to common observers it always seems surprising that a bad one should be capable of inspiring.

James Douglas, Fourth Earl of Morton.

From the original, in the Collection of

The Right Honble. The Earl of Morton.

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London, Published Decr. 1.1819, by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

JAMES DOUGLAS,

FOURTH EARL OF MORTON.

JAMES DOUGLAS, third Earl of Morton, having no male issue, obtained, on the twenty-second of April, 1543, a royal charter intailing his Earldom, and the chief of his estates, on the youngest of his three daughters, Elizabeth, and her husband, James, second son of Sir George Douglas, brother to Archibald Earl of Angus, by Elizabeth, daughter and heir of David Douglas, of Pittendreath, and their heirs male. In right of that settlement James, on the death of his father-in-law in 1553, succeeded to the dignity. He will be the subject of this memoir.

The enmity of James the Fifth of Scotland to the great House of Angus, and its causes, are well known to all readers of the history of that country. In the year 1529, the Earl of Angus, and his brother, Sir George, were declared guilty of high treason: their great estates were forfeited, and they fled, with their families, to England, where they remained for fourteen years. Under these untoward circumstances, the education of James, then a boy, is said to have been almost wholly neglected. He was committed to the care of a trusty person of inferior rank; assumed the name of Innes; and, as he approached to manhood, was engaged to serve in the household of some person of quality in the capacity of steward, or chamberlain. The King's death, at the close of the year 1542, withdrew him from this seclusion; he returned to Scotland with his relations, and having made the advantageous match which has been already mentioned, took on himself, according to the custom of the country, the designation of Master of Morton. His expectations at this period were peculiarly lofty. He was nearly related to royalty, both in his blood and by his marriage, and his capacious and haughty mind, however uncultivated, was amply impressed by the importance of his station.

His entrance into public life seemed to be marked by ill fortune, but chance, or his own dexterity, or both, turned it to his advantage. On the invasion of his country by the English in 1544 he garrisoned, and bravely defended, the castle of Dalkeith, one of the mansions of his family, and probably his place of residence; but in a similar endeavour in 1547, after the defeat of Musselborough, was compelled to surrender it, and was himself led by the victorious Earl of Hertford to England, where he remained a prisoner of war for several years. During that period it has been said that he formed intimacies, and made engagements, which at length bound him to forward the views of this country in Scotland, and that he was placed on the height to which he afterwards attained rather by the predominant influence of the English Crown than by the power of his own family, or the extent of his talents. For a considerable time however after his return he lived in utter privacy, applying himself to those studies which had been denied to his youth, and to the improvement of his dilapidated estates; nor was it till 1559 that he emerged from his retirement, when he suddenly stood forward as a patron of the reformers, and enrolled himself among those persons of quality who then took on themselves the style of "Lords of the Congregation." In the following year the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, expired, and the Parliament, which provisionally assumed the government, dispatched him, together with the Earl of Glencairn, and Maitland of Lethington, on an embassy to Elizabeth, by whom they were most graciously received, and in this visit to her court Morton's attachment to the English interest was probably confirmed.

On the arrival of Mary Stuart from France, in 1561, he was sworn of her Privy Council, and early in 1563, succeeded George, Earl of Huntly, in the office of Lord High Chancellor.

He had gained no small degree of favour with Mary by his approbation of her match with Darnley, though it arose from motives of pride and interest, for Darnley was his relation: on the other hand, his connection with Murray, the leader of the reformers, who had been exiled for his fierce opposition to it, rendered him an object of her suspicion. The affections of Mary regarding him were thus balanced when the assassination of Rizzio in 1566 drew down on him her most deadly hatred. That enormity was the result of a regular treaty between the King and Morton, by which the former had agreed to defend the reformed religion, and to procure a pardon for Murray and his associates; and the Earl, on his part, to secure Henry's succession to the sovereign authority in the event of his surviving the Queen, and to contrive and superintend the murther of the unworthy favourite; and this he did, even in person, for he led the armed force which surrounded the palace during the perpetration of it. Rizzio was scarcely dead, when Murray, and the other exiled Lords, recalled, as has been just now observed, at the instance of Morton, arrived at Edinburgh. Mary, anxious to oppose them to the King's faction, received them as friends, and they, in an affectation of gratitude to Morton, besought her to promise him her pardon. She yielded to their request, and even admitted him to her presence, but was secretly inexorable, and on the very same day persuaded the weak and worthless Darnley to abandon the guilty instrument of his vengeance; to fly privately with her to Dunbar; and there to collect a military force, for the purpose of wresting the capital from Morton and his party, and of sacrificing them to her anger. Murray, tempted by her promises, as readily deserted his benefactor; and Morton, deprived of his great office, and presently after of his estates, once more took refuge in England.

His exile was short. Bothwell, now unhappily the object of Mary's partiality, sought the aid of all parties to the wild design he secretly entertained of sharing with her the Throne. The power, the talents, and the courage of Morton, and perhaps the readiness with which he had so lately undertaken a base and horrible assassination, combined to recommend him; and Bothwell, to whom Mary could then deny nothing, obtained his pardon with little difficulty; communicated to him the dreadful project which had been conceived to destroy the King, and solicited his advice and assistance in the execution of it. Morton hesitated, not from dictates of conscience but of caution, for his answer was that he would not engage in it unless he had an order to secure him under the Queen's sign manual, and, in the same spirit, he took care to be at the distance of twenty miles from Edinburgh when the deed was perpetrated there. It was followed by Mary's infamous marriage to Bothwell, and the consequent association of a considerable number of the most powerful of the Scottish nobility, for the protection of the young Prince, to possess himself of whose person he had left no means untried but those of force. Morton joined them with apparent zeal and alacrity; encouraged them to take up arms; and commanded one of the two battalions into which they divided a force hastily raised for the capture of Bothwell. It is needless to dwell here on events which form one of the most striking epochs in the history of Scotland. Mary, who was with Bothwell at Dunbar, surrounded by some troops, endeavoured to arrest the march of the confederates by proposals of treaty, and offers of pardon, but Morton, whom they had agreed should take the lead, answered that they came not against the Queen, but to demand the murderer of the King: not to seek pardon for their offences, but to grant pardon to such as might appear to deserve it. They advanced; Bothwell, doubtless through the connivance of Morton, was suffered to escape; and Mary, submitting to a hard but deserved necessity, surrendered her person on conditions which were no sooner made than broken, and was the next day led a prisoner by Morton to the castle of Lochleven, and placed in the custody of the owner, William Douglas, his near relation.

A resignation of the Crown to her infant son was now extorted from her, and Murray was appointed to the Regency. Morton, who to eminent general capacity united that coolness and subtlety which the fury of the time rendered peculiarly necessary to a minister, became the chief adviser of his measures, and the most distinguished object of his favour. On the eleventh of November, 1567, the Regent restored him to the great office of Chan-

cellor, and in the following month appointed him, on the forfeiture of Bothwell, hereditary High Admiral of Scotland, and Sheriff of Edinburgh. So universal was the confidence reposed in him by Murray, that, in the spring of the following year, when Mary escaped from Lochleven, and appeared at the head of an army, he was chosen to command the van of the Regent's troops in the battle of Langside, that unfortunate action which fatally compelled her to seek refuge in England. Morton presently followed her thither. He was the Regent's principal coadjutor in the celebrated conference on her case instituted by Elizabeth at York, and afterwards removed to Westminster, and maintained throughout the whole of that tedious scene of solemn deception a secret correspondence with Cecil, which, while it injured to the last degree the already distracted interests of Mary, contributed in no small degree to increase that dependance of Scotland on the will of Elizabeth which has been usually charged to the condescensions of Murray.

A year had scarcely passed after the close of this negotiation, for so it might be called, when Murray fell by the hand of an assassin. Great disorders arose: a powerful party appeared in arms for the Queen; and Morton, who had for the time placed himself at the head of the government, preferred to Elizabeth a welcome suit for her interposition. The King's party, as it was called, prevailed, and, under her auspices, the Earl of Lenox, father of Darnley, and consequently Mary's implacable enemy, was elected to the Regency. A treaty was now established for the restoration of Mary, at least to her liberty, and Morton was placed at the head of the three commissioners named by the Regent. The professions of Elizabeth, at whose motion it was commenced, seemed at length to be sincere, but, on the meeting in London of the parties delegated by the three powers, Morton, with a warmth by no means consistent with his character, asserted in high terms the justice of limiting the power of Princes, and the inherent right of resistance in subjects; and Elizabeth, with whom it can scarcely be doubted that a proposed discussion on subjects in that age esteemed so monstrous had been previously concerted, testified the utmost indignation, and broke up the congress. Scotland, in the mean time, was distracted by the excesses of the contending factions. A Parliament chosen by the King's party was sitting at Stirling; another, elected by the Queen's, at Edinburgh. On the third of September, 1571, some of Mary's friends, led by the celebrated Kirkaldy of Grange, made a sudden attack on the former, and seized the persons of the Regent and his principal nobles. Morton, who had lately arrived from England, alone resisted. He defended his house with obstinate courage till the assailants forced him to surrender by setting fire to it. The sole important consequence of this furious enterprise was the death of Lenox, who was killed in the tumult by an unknown hand, for the party, which was very small, and had owed a momentary success merely to the unexpectedness of its attack, was presently dispersed by the soldiers of the garrison, and the people of the town. The Earls of Mar, Morton, and Argyle, presently appeared as candidates for the Regency, and the former gained the election.

Mar held that high office scarcely for one year. Morton, in whose hands the two preceding Regents had in fact lodged the whole direction of the State, still ruled it with unimpaired sway, and the weight of his talents, and the extent of his domains, rendered any endeavour to remove him at once inconvenient and dangerous. In the mean time, he avenged the secret vexation which the disappointment of his pretensions to the Regency had excited by thwarting the measures of his successful rival, and opposing to his sincere efforts for the establishment of public tranquillity all the artifices of factious intrigue. Mar, a man of moderate intellect and delicate fibre, fell a sacrifice to the contest, and in November, 1572, Morton, chiefly through the powerful aid of Elizabeth, was chosen to succeed him without opposition. Sensible from the effects of his aversion to peace while he was the second person in the State how necessary it was to him in his new station, he now opened a treaty with the Queen's party. It was divided into two factions, the one headed by the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl of Huntly, the other by Maitland and Kirkaldy; the former, of great personal weight, and actuated by motives of cool policy; the latter, distinguished by superior talents, and earnest zeal. He determined, while he offered terms to each, to treat separately with the first, and to sacrifice the second to his

resentment, and the event amply proved the depth of his policy. The Duke and Huntly eagerly accepted his proposals, but Maitland and Kirkaldy, who possessed the Castle of Edinburgh, enraged at his duplicity, commenced open hostilities by firing on the city. Elizabeth, secretly a party to the plan, sent a considerable military force to Morton's aid, in direct violation of a treaty which she had lately concluded with France, and the two gallant chiefs surrendered to her troops, and were perfidiously placed by her general in the hands of the Regent, who put Kirkaldy to an ignominious death, while Maitland, to avoid a similar fate, destroyed himself in his prison. By these events, which however terminated the civil war in Scotland, the interests of Mary in her own country were utterly overthrown.

The nation now expected a benign and prudent administration, and was disappointed. A fierce and tyrannical spirit, which he had long disguised by deep artifice, began to manifest itself in Morton. He was discovered to be avaricious and cruel. In the affairs of the church he enriched himself by simoniacal bargains, and impoverished even the inferior clergy by extorting from them portions of their incomes, under the pretence of forming regulations to better their condition. He alienated from him the affections of the commonalty by innumerable fines exacted in the way of composition for real or supposed offences, which they were frequently compelled to confess by torture. The nobility became at length the objects of his oppression and treachery, and in that simple spirit of haughty fierceness which then distinguished them, carried their complaints of him to the King. James had not fully reached his twelfth year, but the period of royal majority was not yet clearly defined, and his mere name was a tower of strength. The Earls of Argyle and Athol, two of the most powerful among the Peers of Scotland, headed the cabal which was formed against the Regent. The King, at their request, signed letters calling a council of such nobles as they proposed to him, which determined that the Chancellor, Lord Glamis, should demand of Morton his resignation of the Regency, and he submitted, even with apparent joy, and accompanied them for that purpose to Edinburgh, where James's acceptance of the sovereign authority was immediately proclaimed.

Morton retired to one of his seats, and affected to devote himself to the usual occupations of a rural life. This however was but refined dissimulation. He meditated incessantly the means of regaining his public importance, and the violence with which his adversaries pursued their vengeance against him after his retreat aided his views. Their popularity presently declined. The nation saw the King and the government in the hands of Papists, and Morton was still held as the chief protector of the kirk. The ungenerous persecution of a fallen enemy, as he was deemed, was loudly censured: he discovered that he was yet master of a powerful party, and resolved to ground his hopes on the issue of one of those bold and irregular enterprises so frequent in the eventful history of his time. James, the care of whose person had been committed to the Earl of Mar, still remained in the nominal custody of that nobleman's heir, whose youth rendering him unfit to hold so important a trust, it was sustained provisionally by his uncle, Alexander Erskine, Morton's bitter enemy. Morton now successfully insinuated to the young Earl and his mother that Alexander had formed a design to deprive his nephew of that distinguished honour, as well as of the government of Stirling Castle, in which the King resided; and Mar, in a transport of fury, aggravated by the suggestions of his ambitious mother, flew to Stirling; dismissed his uncle; and made himself master of the King's person, and of the strong garrison by which it was guarded. Morton presently followed him; took his place in the terrified Privy Council; and called a Parliament, in the King's name, to meet within the castle, which confirmed James's assumption of the government; ratified a general pardon which had been granted to Morton on his relinquishing the functions of Regent; and voted a pension to the Countess of Mar, who had in fact been the chief instrument of working this singular change.

Both parties now appeared in arms, and took the field with considerable strength, but an accommodation was made by the mediation of Elizabeth, to whose will Morton always implicitly submitted. Some of the most eminent of his opponents were admitted into the

Privy Council; a convention of the Nobility was chosen, to which the two factions agreed to refer their differences; and an apparent reconciliation succeeded; but it was followed by a horrible circumstance, which, with too much probability, was ascribed to the vindictive spirit of Morton. To celebrate the accord which had been thus accomplished he gave a banquet to the leaders of his late enemies, immediately after which the Earl of Athol, High Chancellor, a man of eminent abilities, and his constant opponent, was suddenly taken ill, and died within four days, with the strongest suspicions of poison: Morton however succeeded in turning this tragical event to his advantage, and purchased the powerful support of Argyll by bestowing on him the elevated office of his late principal coadjutor. Having thus divided and weakened the potent band which had been arrayed against him, he poured the full tide of his vengeance on the great House of Hamilton, his calm but steady adversaries, in a persecution which, as it is rather largely stated in a section of this work to which it more properly appertains, need not be here repeated.

Morton perhaps enjoyed at this time a more extensive power than had distinguished any former period of his long and eventful administration, yet utter ruin advanced towards him with hasty strides from an unseen and unexpected quarter. James, now in the fifteenth year of his age, exercised independently many of the functions of a Monarch, and more of the faculties of a man. The violent and thoughtless personal attachments which disgraced the whole of his long reign had naturally at this season their fullest scope, and two youthful favourites, of his own blood, Esme Stewart, of the House of Lenox, and James Stewart, a younger son of the Lord Ochiltree, on whom he conferred the highest dignities, and the most splendid appointments, engrossed his affections, and directed his conduct. With the carelessness and confidence which suited their time of life, they shared the kindness of their master without jealousy, but, in the love of power which belongs to all ages, Morton's authority became odious to them, and they combined to overthrow it. His danger was presently evident, and he endeavoured to obviate it by firm and decisive measures. He denounced Stewart Lenox, who was in fact a Roman Catholic, to the clergy, as a secret agent from the Pope, and to the State, as an emissary from the Guises; but Lenox made a public abjuration of the Romish faith, and embraced the communion of the Church of Scotland. In the mean time Morton's ancient enemies took advantage of his embarrassment, and spread a report that he was preparing to seize the King, and to carry him into England. He sought, as usual, the protection of Elizabeth, who instructed her Ambassador to charge Lenox as a secret enemy to the peace of the two kingdoms, and to require his removal from the Privy Council, but that body, as well as the King, refused, with coolness, not to say disdain, to listen to her instances. At the close of this contest, Stewart of Ochiltree, whose comparative insignificance had rendered him a secondary object of apprehension, suddenly appeared in the council chamber, where James was then sitting, and falling on his knees, accused Morton, who was present, of being accessary to the murther of the late King.

The general pardon which Morton had received, however particular in the enumeration of causes which might possibly render him liable to prosecution, had left that frightful subject untouched. It was well known that he was privy to the design, and his concealment of it has been already stated. He was arrested, and, as an earnest of the fate which he might expect, was committed successively to the custody of two of his most determined enemies, Alexander Erskine, and Lenox, Governors of the castles of Edinburgh and Dunbarton. Elizabeth interposed to save him with a zeal and earnestness which left no doubt of her obligations to his secret agency. She dispatched Randolph, one of her ablest diplomatists, to represent in the warmest colours, not only to the King and Council, but to a Convention of the Estates, the merits and services of Morton; to require the fullest and fairest inquiry into the true merits of the allegations urged against him; to insist again on the dismissal of Lenox; and even to offer, should force appear necessary to the accomplishment of those objects, any degree of aid, either of men or money, which might be deemed requisite to that end. To these persuasions she added a silent menace of no small weight by sending an army to the borders.

James, however, indeed Scotland, remained equally unmoved by her remonstrances or her preparations. Morton was brought to trial on the first of June, 1581, and found guilty of being, to use the language of the Scottish law, art and part, in Darnley's murther. The records of the Court of Justiciary appertaining to that period are not extant, and historical writers, biassed by party spirit, differ in their reports of the proceedings against him, but thus much is certain, that after his sentence had been passed, he distinctly owned Bothwell's disclosure to him of the intended assassination. On the following day he was led to execution: his enemy, Stewart of Ochiltree, commanding in person the soldiers who guarded the scaffold, a shocking instance of the barbarous rudeness of the time. He confessed there that it was his design to have sent James into England, but alledged that the resolution was dictated by an opinion that it would be proper that the King should in his youth reside at intervals among a people over whom he was one day to reign; and that he considered it to be necessary towards securing the succession to the Crown of that country. He suffered death with great firmness, and a decent shew of piety and resignation. Morton left no issue.

George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury.

From the original in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Verulam.

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London, Published March 25. 1810. by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

GEORGE ABBOT,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THE life of this Prelate, of all the eminent persons of his time, presents perhaps the most meagre subject to the biographer. His character was of a negative, not to say neutral, cast. He was neither deficient in piety, morality, talents, or learning, but he exercised them only with a decency so cold and sober that it had an air even of selfishness. He was an example calculated for a village, not for a kingdom. In the spiritual concerns of his great office he was obstinate without zeal, and in the temporal haughty without dignity. His understanding, though strong, was of an order too coarse and mechanical to be applied to the niceties of state affairs, and an ungracious temper, together with a rough unbending honesty, rendered him almost a stranger to the Court. It is natural to ask how such a man could have arisen to the highest station within the reach of a subject?—Simply by good fortune.

He was the fourth of the six sons of Maurice Abbot, a cloth-worker, of Guildford, in Surrey, by Alice, daughter of . . . March, of the same town, and was born on the twenty-ninth of October, 1562. That lover of prodigies, the fantastical Aubrey, has recorded a ridiculous story of an omen of his future greatness that occurred to his mother during her pregnancy of him, which Aubrey tells us so much attracted the notice of some persons of quality that they voluntarily undertook the office of sponsors at his baptism. Among these it is said, improbably enough, that Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, afterwards Earl of Dorset, was one: certain however it is that he acquired by some means the patronage of that nobleman at a very early age. His parents, who we are told were zealous protestants, sent him to receive the rudiments of a learned education in the free school of their own town, and he was removed from thence in 1578 to Oxford, and entered a student of Baliol College, where he was admitted a Bachelor of Arts, and, about the year 1583, into holy orders, and soon after gained considerable reputation as a preacher. Having taken his degrees of bachelor and doctor in divinity, he was chosen in 1597 Master of University College, and seemed to have been destined solely to an academical life when, at Buckhurst's recommendation, he was in the spring of 1599 appointed Dean of Winchester. He remained however yet some years at Oxford, and was elected to the office of Vice-chancellor in the years 1600, 1603, and 1605.

The period of his residence in the University produced little to distinguish him, except that he had the honour of being included in the number of Oxford divines to whom in 1604 the translation of the New Testament was intrusted. His quarrel with Laud indeed, which was maintained with disgraceful rancour on both sides during the whole of his life, commenced thus early, and he signalised himself to the fanatical citizens of London by an invective against that fine monument of antiquity, the Cross in Cheapside, for the condemnation of which, as a mass of idolatry, they had appealed to the two Universities. He carried that point, in opposition to Bancroft, then Bishop of London, who was little less odious to him than Laud, and from this active demonstration of the sincerity of that hatred to the Church of Rome which was the constant theme of his public discourses, began to be considered by the puritans as a champion for the extravagancies of their notions of reformation. By the acquisition of this new character, such as it was, and the possession of his deanery, he had probably reached the summit of his expectations and hopes, for in 1608 he lost his friend, the Earl of Dorset, then Lord Treasurer, and Chancellor of his University, who died suddenly as he sat at the Council table.

'To this seeming misfortune he probably owed all his future greatness, since it may be reasonably presumed that while Dorset lived Abbot would not have abandoned his patronage for that of another. But, feeling himself now at large, he readily accepted a proposal made to him by George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, Lord Treasurer of Scotland, a minister who merited and enjoyed a great share of James's favour, to accompany him in a journey to that country in the same year, 1608. The object of it was to endeavour to reconcile the Scots to an episcopal church, and the moderation, as it was called, of Abbot's conduct in ecclesiastical matters at home recommended him to the Earl as a hopeful instrument for that purpose. Thus his leaning to puritanism, which might have been fairly expected to impede his promotion, paved the way, as we shall find, to supreme advancement. He condescended to accept the appointment of chaplain to Dunbar; attended him into Scotland; and by well-timed concessions and persuasions did much towards procuring that temporary admission of a hierarchy which the Scots at that time rather tolerated than accepted. In addition to this service, he endeavoured while in Scotland to recommend himself to the King's private regard by writing such a treatise on that historical mystery, the Gowry plot, as he conceived would suit the monarch's taste, for which the trial and execution of Sprot, one of the conspirators, which occurred during his stay there, furnished the occasion. He succeeded, and the partiality which the King had already conceived towards him was fixed by Dunbar's report on their return of the sagacity and indefatigable pains which he had manifested in bringing the affairs of his mission to a fortunate termination.

James received him with the most distinguished approbation, and seemed determined to overwhelm him with favour; accordingly in April, 1609, he was appointed Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; on the twentieth of the following January, within one month after his consecration, translated to the see of London; and on the ninth of April, 1611, was placed in the throne of Canterbury, vacant by the death of his old antagonist, Bancroft; and all this, says Lord Clarendon, "before he had been Parson, Vicar, or Curate, of any parish church in England; or Dean," (a singular contradiction to an established fact) "or Prebendary of any Cathedral Church; and was in truth totally ignorant of the true constitution of the Church of England, and the state and interest of the clergy, as sufficiently appeared throughout the whole course of his life afterward."

Neither the noble author however, nor any other who has spoken thus disadvantageously of Abbot, have ventured to question his sincerity, or to arraign his motives. His integrity was undoubted, and the praise was at all events due to him of an independent spirit, which, with the common fate of all natural dispositions, shed its influence as well on the errors as on the rectitude of his conduct. When James referred the remarkable question of the divorce of the Countess of Essex to a court of delegates, at the head of which the Primate was placed, he gave it his decided negative, in direct opposition to the will of the Monarch, to whom he stated his reasons. James condescended to argue with him in a letter of considerable length, but Abbot remained inflexible. When the King, in 1618, published his declaration called the Book of Sports, permitting certain pastimes on the Sabbath day, and commanded that it should be read in all churches in the realm, Abbot boldly forbade such publication of it in his diocese. James endured these contradictions with a patience honourable at once to the master and the servant. In the mean time it must be confessed that the Archbishop had been engaged in a negotiation signally inconsistent as well with the character of his nature as with the dignity and gravity of his public station. The King's attachment to Somerset was in the wane. A party, headed by the Queen, had devised a plan for his ruin, and a principal feature in it was the introduction of a new candidate for James's favour, possessed of those personal graces to the influence of which he so frequently and unaccountably submitted. Abbot, who had long enjoyed the confidence of Anne, to this end presented to her the youthful George Villiers, whom she, after some consultation and argument with the Archbishop, the heads of which appear in a letter of his preserved by Rushworth, introduced to her husband. Of the particulars of this transaction however we are but indistinctly informed, doubtless because it was in no small degree disgraceful to all the parties concerned in it.

He interfered little, as has been already observed, in the affairs of the state. He took a very active part it is true in the long and warm deliberations of the years 1619 and 1620 on the question of the acceptance of the Crown of Bohemia by the Elector Palatine, the King's son in law, which he earnestly recommended: so too he opposed with equal steadiness, at a later date, the Spanish match; but these deviations into the field of politics arose simply from his hatred to Popery, the interests of which the one was evidently calculated to impair, and the other to advance. Here then he was in the proper exercise of his calling. Amidst these engagements, a singular and unfortunate accident befel him, which embittered considerably the remainder of his days. Being on a visit to the Lord Zouch, at his seat of Bramshill, in Hampshire, and joining what was then called a hunting party, in the park, an arrow which he had aimed at a buck from his cross-bow struck one of the keepers on the arm, and, dividing an artery, the man presently bled to death. However lamentable such a misfortune to any man, particularly to a prelate, Abbot's calamity was aggravated to the last degree by the tedious juridical discussion to which it was thought fit to subject it. To have indicted the Primate of manslaughter in the ordinary way would have been disgraceful to the Church, nor could James safely venture to provoke a retort from the Papists, who had been so bitterly reproached by the reformers for scandalously shielding their priesthood from deserved punishment, by a summary pardon in virtue of his prerogative. He referred the case therefore to a court of singular construction, erected for the purpose by a special commission, consisting of five Bishops, three Judges of the common, and two of the civil, law. A speedy agreement in such an assembly was hopeless. Five months were passed in cavilling on mere subtilties, and at length the Commissioners, without having arrived at any clear decision on the law of the case, recommended it to the King to grant a special pardon, which passed the Great Seal accordingly, on the twenty-second of November, 1621.

Abbot, who during this enquiry had lived in seclusion in a hospital which he had founded in his native town of Guildford, found it difficult, on returning to the exercise of his functions, to maintain his authority. When the unlucky fact occurred which had occasioned his retirement it happened, singularly enough, that four divines who had been elected Bishops were not yet consecrated. Laud was one of the number, and, possibly through his persuasion, rather than from the scruples which they professed, they unanimously refused to accept the rite at his hands, alledging that the stain of homicide could not be removed from his spiritual character by the King's pardon. James gave way to their obstinacy, and the new Bishops were consecrated, to the Primate's great mortification, by a congregation of Prelates, in the Bishop of London's chapel. The favour and good opinion however of that Prince was never withdrawn from him. Abbot attended his death-bed, and placed the crown on the head of his successor.

Conscious that he had few friends about the person of the young King, to whom he had ever been somewhat distasteful, he now confined his attention and his residence almost entirely to his diocese, where indeed he was most likely to give offence. His doctrines and discipline, if his ecclesiastical government deserved that name, which James, long accustomed to the slovenliness of the kirk, had borne with patience, were intolerable in the sight of his new master; the favourite Buckingham, whom, as has been stated, he introduced to the Court, had, from some cause now unknown, become his enemy; and Laud rose daily in favour and confidence. They determined to wound him in the tenderest point, and an opportunity soon presented itself. Dr. Sibthorpe, a country clergyman, whose name the circumstance has preserved from oblivion, took occasion, in an assize sermon preached by him at Northampton in 1627, to promote and justify a loan demanded by the King. It was ordered (by Charles himself, as we are very improbably told) that the sermon should be printed, but when it was presented to the Archbishop for his licence he peremptorily refused it, assigning reasons more offensive than the denial itself. He was immediately directed to retire to one of his houses in the country, and in the autumn of that year the King granted a commission to Laud, and four other Bishops, to exercise the archiepiscopal office, stating, mildly enough, that it was issued "because the Archbishop could not at that time in his own person attend those services which were

proper for his cognizance and jurisdiction." This suspension was soon removed, for in the following October he attended in Parliament, and paid his respects personally to the King; but new mortifications were preparing for him. About Christmas 1629 Laud composed a set of articles, "containing," to use the words of the preamble, "certain orders to be observed and put in execution by the several Bishops in his province," which were transmitted to him, under Charles's sign manual; and in 1630 a further affront was offered by giving to another the honour of baptising the Prince of Wales, to which in fact he had a legal claim in right of his Primacy. These indignities seem at length to have produced the intended effect, since for the short remainder of his life we have no further intelligence of him. He died at his palace of Croydon, on the fourth of August, 1633, and was buried, to use the words of his own especial order in his last will, "in the chapel of our Lady, within the church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, in the town of Guildford," where a magnificent monument remains to his memory.

Lord Clarendon tells us that he was "a man of very morose manners, and a very sour aspect;" speaks contemptuously of his learning, and passes over the powers of his mind in silence. That wise and virtuous judge of men and manners concludes a comparative view of the characters of this Prelate and his Predecessor, Bancroft, of whose method of defence of the established church against sectarian novelties he speaks in the highest terms, with the following passage.—"But Abbot brought none of this antidote with him, and considered Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued those men most who did that the most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the Church, or the conformity to the articles or canons established, he made little enquiry, and took less care; and, having himself made very little progress in the ancient and solid study of Divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin, and, for his sake, did not think so ill of the discipline as he ought to have done; but if men prudently forbore a public reviling and railing at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, let their opinions and private practice be what it would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him, and, at least, equally preferred by him: and though many other Bishops plainly discerned the mischiefs which daily broke in, to the prejudice of religion, by his defects and remissness, and prevented it in their own dioceses as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other parts and other principles; and though the Bishop of London, Dr. Laud, from the time of his authority and credit with the King, had applied all the remedies he could to those defections; and from the time of his being Chancellor of Oxford had much discountenanced, and almost suppressed, that spirit, by encouraging another kind of learning and practice in that University, which was indeed according to the doctrine of the Church of England, yet that temper in the Archbishop, whose house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of that factious party, and who licenced their most pernicious writings, left his successor a very difficult work to do to reform and reduce a Church into order that had been so long neglected, and that was so ill filled by many weak, and more wilful, churchmen."

Archbishop Abbot wrote, in addition to the small works already mentioned, "an Exposition on the Prophet Jonah, in sermons preached at St. Mary's Oxford, printed 1600—1613—Dr. Hill's reasons for upholding Papistry unmasked, Oxon, 1604—a Sermon for the funeral of Thomas Earl of Dorset, 1608—Some Memorials touching the Nullity between the Earl of Essex and his Lady, with other tracts on the same subject—London, 1719—A brief Description of the whole World, 1634, and often since reprinted—A short Apology for Archbishop Abbot, touching the death of Peter Hawkins—A Treatise of the perpetual Visibility and Succession of the true Church of England—London, 1624—A History of the Massacre in the Valtoline, printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments—his Judgement of bowing at the Name of Jesus, Hamburgh, 1632. We are told too that he left in manuscript a Narrative of the true cause of his Sequestration, and Disgrace at Court, in 1627.

John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale.

From the original of Sir Peter Lely in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Lauderdale.

Drawn by Wm. Hilton, R.A. & Engraved with Permission by J. S. Agar.

London, Published March 1 1810 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mayor & Jones and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

JOHN MAITLAND,

DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.

This nobleman, who appears so conspicuously in the strange groupe of ministers to whose mismanagement Charles the second for many years committed the affairs of Scotland, was the eldest son of John, second Lord Maitland of Thirlestane, and first Earl of Lauderdale, by Isabel, second daughter of Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, and Chancellor in that country. He was born at Lethington, one of the ancient seats of his family, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1616, and was educated with great care and strictness, as well in the doctrines and discipline of the Kirk as in the learned languages, in which he attained to a remarkable proficiency. He entered early into public life, and joined the covenanters with an apparent zeal, which, though chiefly the effect of a naturally overheated disposition, was so grateful to the leaders of that party, that they admitted him immediately to their confidence; and finding the character of his talents, as well as of his temper, peculiarly suited to the prosecution of their favourite views, employed him in their most material and secret concerns, particularly with the rebel party in England. Thus in 1643 he was joined with the Earl of Loudon and some others in a commission from the Church of Scotland to insult and embarrass the unhappy Charles, by requesting him to engraft its principles on the ecclesiastical establishment of his own dominions, and by proposing to that end the solemn farce of a conference between certain divines on each side; and in the following year was one of the four commissioners appointed by the Parliament for the Scots at the treaty of Uxbridge, in which he is recorded to have distinguished himself by a vehemence and obscurity of expression by which the negotiation, probably for the purpose, was considerably retarded. He succeeded to the titles and estates of his family by the death of his father a few weeks before the commencement of that treaty.

From this period to the catastrophe of the tragedy he was constantly a principal actor in those scenes of injustice and hypocrisy which have so deeply disgraced the memory of the persons who then governed his country. He was a party to the detestable bargain by which they sold their King to his English rebels, and among the loudest of those who presently inveighed against the infamy of that transaction. When Charles, after the vicissitudes which succeeded it, was allowed in 1647 a short interval of apparent freedom at Hampton Court, he presented himself to the unhappy Monarch as a friend, and soothed him with assurances of the loyalty and power of Scotland, which waited impatiently for his call to spring into activity. "No men appeared with more confidence here," observes Lord Clarendon, "than the Scottish Commissioners, the Earl of Loudon, the Earl of Lauderdale, and the rest, as if they had been the men that contrived his restoration: no men in so frequent whispers with the King: and they found some way to get themselves so much believed by the Queen, with whom they held a diligent correspondence, that her Majesty very earnestly persuaded the King to trust them, as the only persons who had power and credit to do him service, and to redeem him from the captivity he was in." The result was a secret proposal for a separate treaty with Scotland, dictating to the King even harder terms than his own Parliament had at any time endeavoured to exact from him. Charles for the time refused; but at length, when all other ground of hope was lost, yielded to the pressing instances of Lauderdale, and signed the articles on the twenty-sixth of December, in his prison of Carisbroke Castle, in the Isle of Wight, consenting, among many other bitter conditions, to subject the Church throughout his dominions to the pro-

visions of the covenant; while the Scots, on their part, stipulated to raise an army for the invasion of England, and to use all other endeavours to restore him to his throne. This treaty, or rather a compact entered into by several eminent Scots to carry it into effect, is usually referred to in Scottish history by the denomination of "the Engagement."

Lauderdale now returned to his country, and, to do him justice, seems to have endeavoured with vigour and sincerity to serve the cause which he had thus pledged himself to support. After a short stay there he was sent to Holland, to press the Prince of Wales to put himself immediately at the head of the army, in conformity to an article in the treaty, and executed his commission with so much of that heat and insolence which were natural to him as to thwart in a great measure the object for which he had accepted it. In the mean time the Scottish army, which had marched into England, was defeated; and having been informed on his return to the coast that the Parliament of Scotland, terrified at the disaster, had condemned the Engagement, and denounced penalties on those who had taken it, put back without disembarking, and, more from necessity than affection, again joined the Prince's little Court at the Hague. There he remained, perplexing its measures by his prejudices and private resentments, particularly against the gallant and loyal Montrose, who had also taken refuge there, till some time after the murther of Charles the first, when the Kirk and Council of Scotland, having thought fit to send an invitation to the young King, Lauderdale, among others, attended him thither. The party however which then governed, formed of that outrageous class of covenanters to whom royalty, even under the most severe modifications, was secretly even more hateful than episcopacy, peremptorily insisted on his quitting Charles's presence, and he fled to a place of concealment, to avoid a prosecution for the active part which he had taken in the Engagement. The meeting of a new Parliament curbed in some degree the fury of this party, and the prohibition was relaxed. He was suffered to come to the Court, and Charles, surrounded only by persons justly odious to him, insensibly formed a sort of attachment to the individual from whom he had received the fewest injuries. Lauderdale presently after accompanied the King on his march into England, at the head of a Scottish army; was taken prisoner in the battle of Worcester; and confined in the Tower of London, and other places, for the nine succeeding years.

He was at length liberated by Monk, in March, 1660, and once more presented himself at the Hague to the King, who was preparing to ascend his throne, and to settle the plan of his government. Charles had determined that the affairs of Scotland should be committed to the direction of natives of that country, and it contained few who could expect any share of his confidence; fewer who had any claim on his gratitude, or hope from his affection. Lauderdale, who, in addition to the negative merit which had formerly attracted the King's notice, had now the endurance of a rigorous persecution and tedious confinement to plead for him, became a candidate for his favour, and obtained it with little difficulty. Charles, almost immediately after the restoration, appointed him to the office in Scotland of Secretary of State; and those of President of the Council, first Commissioner of the Treasury, an extraordinary Lord of Session, a Lord of the Bedchamber, and Governor of Edinburgh Castle, were soon after conferred on him. The chief power of the government was whimsically divided between him and the Earls of Middleton and Rothes, who were as earnest for episcopacy as Lord Lauderdale for the covenant, and the period of their joint administration passed in an unceasing contention, in which the latter at length prevailed. Middleton was disgraced in 1662, and Rothes in 1667, when Lauderdale attained to the most absolute dominion over Scotland that had ever been exercised by any subject.

The commencement of his rule was not only mild but patriotic, and he acquired considerable popularity. He procured for the Scots, by persuading Charles of their loyalty, the demolition of the fortresses which Cromwell had built and garrisoned in most parts of the country; he opposed, though ineffectually, all attempts to re-establish the hierarchy, which produced a high opinion of his consistency, while his arguments with Charles on the subject were in fact urged only on the score of political views; and thus he endeared himself at once to Scotland and to the King, by impressing on the one a belief of his

entire devotion to the kirk, and on the other, a notion of his indifference to all but its temporal influence. He prevented the establishment, devised by Lord Clarendon, of a Scottish Privy Council to sit in London, asserting the peril in which such a measure must involve the religion and laws of Scotland: above all, he shielded from punishment the multitude of his countrymen who had drawn the sword against the late King. In all these, and in many other respects, he acted in direct opposition to Charles's inclination, yet his favour daily increased. Historical speculatists have solved this difficulty by averring that he had secretly promised the King to aid him to the utmost in his endeavours to attain to arbitrary power, and had persuaded him that these indulgencies to Scotland would tend to that effect.

Nor is this by any means an extravagant conjecture; for from the year 1669, when he was appointed the King's High Commissioner to the Parliament, the sole object of his administration seems to have been the support and advancement of the royal prerogatives. To qualify himself for this pursuit, he appears to have given way to a complete political regeneration. His principles, his prejudices, his obstinacy, inasmuch as related to the affairs of the Church and State, at once forsook him, and he alternately flattered and vilified, courted and persecuted, episcopalians and presbyterians, whigs and tories, as he could render them by turns subservient to the will of his master. In return for these unworthy sacrifices Charles loaded him with dignities. On the second of May, 1672, he was created Marquis of March and Duke of Lauderdale; on the second of the following June, a Knight of the Garter; and on the twenty-fifth of June, 1674, he was advanced to the peerage of England by the titles of Viscount Petersham and Earl of Guildford, and, about the same time admitted into the English Privy Council. He now attached himself to the measures of those four ministers who by his accession to their party enabled their adversaries to designate them by the reproachful word "Cabal," composed of the initial letters of their several names, and, outstripping them all in the race of tyranny and corruption, rendered himself presently as odious and as formidable in England, as he had long been in his own country, which he still misgoverned with the most uncontrolled licence.

At length, in 1680, his credit was observed to decline. The Cabal was broken up, and his authority, and his intrigues, were now in a great measure confined once more to Scotland, which was visited in that year by the Duke of York. That Prince, to whom he had been long distasteful, had lately conceived a bitter hatred to him for having given his vote as a Peer of England against the unfortunate Viscount Stafford. James openly countenanced the party which had long endeavoured to ruin him, and probably prevailed on the King, by whom their efforts had been hitherto rendered ineffectual, to abandon him. Early in the year 1682, he was dismissed from all his offices, and even the pensions which had been granted to him and his Duchess, were taken from them. "All these things," says Burnet, "together with a load of age, and a vast bulk, so sunk him that he died that summer. His heart seemed quite spent. There was not left above the bigness of a walnut of firm substance: the rest was spungy; liker the lungs than the heart." His death happened at Tunbridge, on the twenty-fourth of August in that year, and he was buried at Haddington.

That Prelate has left us a character of him, drawn with such life and freshness, that, however long, will not be thought tedious.—"The Earl of Lauderdale, afterwards made Duke, had been for many years a zealous covenanter, but in the year forty-seven he turned to the King's interests, and had continued a prisoner all the while after Worcester fight, where he was taken. He was kept some years in the Tower of London, in Portland Castle, and in other prisons, till he was set at liberty by those who called home the King. So he went over to Holland. And, since he continued so long, and, contrary to all men's opinions, in so high a degree of favour and confidence, it may be expected that I should be a little copious in setting out his character, for I knew him very particularly. He made a very ill appearance. He was very big: his hair red, hanging oddly about him. His tongue was too big for his mouth, which made him bedew all that he talked to; and his whole manner was rough and boisterous, and very unfit for a Court. He was very learned,

not only in Latin, in which he was a master, but in Greek and Hebrew. He had read a great deal of divinity, and almost all the historians, ancient and modern, so that he had great materials. He had with these an extraordinary memory, and a copious but unpolished expression. He was a man, as the Duke of Buckingham once called him to me, of a blundering understanding. He was haughty beyond expression; abject to those he saw he must stoop to, but imperious to all others. He had a violence of passion that carried him often to fits like madness, in which he had no temper. If he took a thing wrong, it was a vain thing to study to convince him: that would rather provoke him to swear he would never be of another mind. He was to be let alone; and perhaps he would have forgot what he said, and come about of his own accord. He was the coldest friend, and the violentest enemy I ever knew: I felt it too much not to know it. He at first despised wealth; but he delivered himself up afterwards to luxury and sensuality, and by that means he ran into a vast expense, and stuck at nothing that was necessary to support it. In his long imprisonment he had great impressions of religion on his mind, but he wore these out so entirely that scarce any trace of them was left. His great experience in affairs, his ready compliance with every thing that he thought would please the King, and his bold offering at the most desperate counsels, gained him such an interest in the King, that no attempt against him, nor complaint of him, could ever shake it, till a decay of strength and understanding forced him to let go his hold. He was in his principles much against Popery and arbitrary government, and yet, by a fatal train of passions and interests, he made way for the former, and had almost established the latter; and, whereas some by a smooth deportment made the first beginnings of tyranny less discernible and unacceptable, he by the fury of his behaviour heightened the severity of his ministry, which was liker the cruelty of an inquisition, than the legality of justice. With all this he was a presbyterian, and retained his aversion to King Charles the first and his party to his death."

The Duke of Lauderdale was twice married; first, to Anne, second daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Home, by whom he had an only daughter, his sole heir, Anne, married to John Hay, second Marquis of Tweedale. His Duchess was Elizabeth, sole issue of William Murray, Earl of Dysart, which title she enjoyed by descent. By this lady, remarkable for her talents and her gallantries, he had no children.

Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.

From the original of Zucchero in the Collection of

The Most Noble The Marquis of Salisbury.

Drawn by Wm Hilton, R.A. & Engraved (with Permission) by C. Picart.

London, Published March 1.1820, for Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

ROBERT CECIL,

EARL OF SALISBURY.

If the father of this great man, the celebrated Lord Burghley, had never been a minister, the son might probably, and very justly, have been esteemed the most consummate statesman in Europe of his time. Their qualities however differed materially: the father was the wiser man: he loved to act alone, and the greatest measures of his administration may in most instances be traced to the decisions of his own intellect. A principle of moral right, seldom to be found in any who preceded or followed him, was always more or less discernible in them; and a simplicity of character which remarkably adorned his private life was generally evident also in his ministerial conduct. In his progress to a very exalted eminence he had few competitors, and his long possession of it excited little jealousy, because the public interest was, or seemed to be, the invariable object of his labours, for envy is seldom provoked but by those who are evidently actuated by the selfish passions. The son was more adroit, not to say cunning. He was the first statesman in this country who practised, with the air of a system, the policy of governing by the opposition and balance of parties. His own hand was seldom to be discovered in his measures, and those by whom they were accomplished were rarely conscious of having been his instruments. He was charged, perhaps often unjustly, with duplicity, and with angry and revengeful partialities, nor was he wholly unsuspected of sharing in the gross venality to which most public ministers of all ranks were tempted by the absurd carelessness and profuseness of the Monarch in whose reign he chiefly flourished. Salisbury was pliant, and served Elizabeth with as high a degree of favour as his father, but the wisdom and stern integrity of Burghley would have disqualified him for the place of High Treasurer to a Prince of James's character.

Robert Cecil was the only son of that exemplary minister by his second wife, Mildred, eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Coke, of Gidea Hall in Essex. Of the date of his birth we have the most discordant accounts, but it seems to have occurred about the year 1560. He received the education usual to persons of his rank at home, and afterwards at St. John's College, Cambridge, and, though he was in fact bred from his very childhood for the Court and the State, became amply accomplished in every branch of polite literature. His constitution was weak and sickly, insomuch that his person became deformed, and it was long before he was able to bear the fatigue of any unusual bodily exertion; but in 1584 he ventured to attach himself to the splendid embassy of Henry Earl of Derby to the Court of Paris, and in 1588 had so far mastered his infirmities as to join the number of young nobility who were witnesses to the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Several years however yet passed before he was specifically appointed to any post in the government, during which he was receiving from his father that last instruction in state affairs which can be derived only from a participation in the management of them. The most advantageous opportunity for this was offered by the death of Walsingham, in 1590, and Burghley instantly seized it. He persuaded Elizabeth, on what grounds is now unknown, to keep the office of Principal Secretary nominally vacant, and for the six succeeding years transacted the business of it himself, with the assistance of his son, who in the summer of 1596 was at length formally appointed to it. From this promotion originated the lasting enmity between Cecil and Essex, who had proposed to the Queen first Davison, and then Bodley, for the Secretaryship, and had on those occasions, says Camden, before whose

report the tales of such writers as Welden and Osborne sink into contempt, " with so much bitterness, and so little reason, disparaged Cecil," that she would not listen to Essex's recommendation, even insomuch as to permit either of the objects of his choice to act as coadjutor to Cecil in the office.

In 1597 Elizabeth conferred on him the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and about the same time gave him the custody of the Privy Seal; and in the following year he was the chief commissioner on the part of England in the negotiation for a peace between the Crowns of France and Spain which is known by the name of the treaty of Vervins. Before his departure, such was his opinion of the honour of his generous adversary, he is said to have earnestly sought, and at length to have obtained, from Essex a promise not to injure him during his absence by promoting any of his enemies. He succeeded his father, who died in the autumn of that year, in the post of Master of the Wards, and in his office of secretary exercised in fact that of prime minister for the remaining five years of the Queen's life, with as full a share of her favour and confidence as she had at any time bestowed on his illustrious natural and political predecessor. He had indeed many of his father's qualifications to recommend him, and some, as has been already observed, which that great statesman never possessed. No one among her ministers but himself could have supplied the loss of Walsingham, who furnished her with the means of controlling foreign powers through intelligence gained in their own courts. Cecil even rivalled him in this dark faculty, and Elizabeth, in whom we find the worst meannesses of the feminine character united to an extravagance in the factitious splendor of royalty, valued him accordingly.

His memory has been highly censured for his having held a secret correspondence with the King of Scots for some of the last years of her life, and apparently without any just cause, for it has never been insinuated that he betrayed her confidence to that Prince. Those who have blamed him on this score forget that the reciprocal relations of monarch and minister cannot be expected to involve that delicacy of personal regard which belongs to the affections of private life, and is even there not frequently to be found. Cecil, a minister by trade, sought to ensure the favour of the successor to the Throne, and he did it fairly and honestly. It has been said that his efforts to that end were powerfully seconded by Hume, Earl of Dunbar, perhaps the most creditable of James's Scottish ministers, and an incredible tale is told by a pamphleteer of that day of his meeting that nobleman privately at York, immediately after the Queen's decease, to negotiate for his good offices. James's motives for accepting and retaining Cecil in his station of prime minister are obvious. His services were indispensably necessary, for the Council of Elizabeth contained not an individual qualified to supply his place. The King was arbitrary and idle; sudden, extravagant, and versatile, in the choice of his private familiars; and more ambitious of the character of an able polemic, and an acute theoretical politician, than of a powerful Prince: Cecil was subservient and vigilant; too wise and too proud to entertain a jealousy of mere favourites; and willingly encouraged James to waste in reveries the time which would otherwise have been employed in interfering with his minister's measures.

It is needless to say that he was continued in the office of Secretary. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth he had possessed no higher title than that of a Knight Bachelor, but James now amply compensated him for the omission, for on the thirteenth of May, 1603, he was created Baron Cecil, of Essendon, in the county of Rutland; on the twentieth of August, in the following year, Viscount Cranborne; on the fourth of May, 1605, Earl of Salisbury; and on the twentieth of the same month was installed a Knight of the Garter. He was about that time elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and on the death of Thomas Sackville Earl of Dorset in April 1608 was appointed on the fourth of the following month to succeed him in the great office of Lord Treasurer. With that nobleman Cecil had long lived in the strictest friendship, and we have the good fortune to possess a character of him, drawn by Dorset's exquisite pen, which leaves no room to doubt of the exaggerations of calumny with which his memory has been loaded. The solemn nature of the document in which it is to be found, and the admirable universality

of talent and judgement, as well as the perfect integrity and honour of the writer, unite to give it every claim to credit, and as Dorset's name has thus occurred, it may as well be inserted in this place.

In his last will he bequeaths to Cecil several jewels of great value, not only as tokens of a most earnest personal affection, which he declares at considerable length, and with the utmost warmth of expression, "but also, and most chiefly," to use the words of the testator, "even in regard of his public merit, both towards his Majesty and this Commonwealth: wherein," continues he, "when I behold the heavy weight of so many grave and great affairs which the special duty of his place as principal Secretary doth daily and necessarily cast upon him; and do note withal what infinite cares, crosses, labours and travels of body and mind, he doth thereby continually sustain and undergo; and, lastly, do see with how great dexterity, sincerity, and judgement, he doth accomplish and perform the painful service of that place: these divine virtues of his, so incessantly exercised and employed for the good of the public, I must confess have made me long since so greatly to love, honour, and esteem him, and so firmly and faithfully fixed my heart unto him, as I do dailie and heartily pray unto Almighty God to continue all strength and ability, both of body and mind in him, that he sink not under the weight of so heavy a burthen." After fervently praying at some extent for a continuance of the blessings of Providence on his ministry, Dorset concludes—"Thus I have faithfully set down in some sort the noble parts of this honourable Earl, who, besides such his worthiness and sufficiency for the public service both of his sovereign and country, is also framed of so sweet a nature; so full of mildness, courtesy, honest mirth, bounty, kindness, gratitude, and discourse; so easily reconciled to his foe, and evermore so true unto his friend; as I may justly say that it were one of the chiefest felicities that in this world we can possess, to live, converse, and spend our whole life, in mutual love and friendship with such a one; of whose excelling virtues, and sweet conditions, so well known to me, in respect of our long communication by so many years in most true love and friendship together, I am desirous to leave some faithful remembrance in this my last Will and Testament; that since the living speech of my tongue when I am gone from hence must then cease and speak no more, that yet the living speech of my pen, which never dieth, may herein thus for ever truly testify and declare the same."

Cecil's political character, as given by Lord Dorset, is fully justified by the clearest historical evidence. His application to the duties of his several offices was almost incessant, and no object, however minute, which they involved escaped his attention. It appears from an extensive collection of his original papers which were once my property that he had not only informed himself, with a correctness which without such proof would have been altogether incredible, of the precise number of acres; of the several buildings, and their state of repair; of the woods, and of the timber proper to be felled; comprised in all the estates of the crown; but that he had applied his mind distinctly to the consideration of every subdivision of each of those several branches of the subject, and had written innumerable notes on them with his own hand, frequently at great length. So too, in his place of Master of the Wards, he wrote himself at the foot of each petition for wardship, even from the meanest persons, his answer, the mode of which always proved that he had carefully considered the merits of each case. It has been said that he procured from James large grants of lands, and made exchanges of estates with that Prince unreasonably to his own advantage. If it were so, he did but imitate the practice of all ministers of that age, and of many which preceded it; but, on the other hand, he was perhaps the only minister or courtier of that reign who stood even unsuspected of foreign corruption. He has been charged too with abject submission to the will of his master: it is true that he interfered not with the foibles of the man, but he discouraged, sometimes by argument, sometimes by artifice, the prodigality of the monarch; and opposed, vigorously and openly, the Spanish interest, to which James is well known to have been strongly inclined. On the whole, it is surprising that a Prince so careless and so profuse should have had a servant so honest, and under the impression of that candid and impartial opinion some

writer of later days has said that "Cecil was the first bad Treasurer, and the last good one since the reign of Elizabeth."

Of Lord Dorset's report of him as a private man, valuable as it is, for no one else has pourtrayed him in that character, little need be said, because few parts of it have been contradicted. His enmity to Essex, and afterwards to Raleigh, have been frequent themes of historical censure, but neither his motives nor his conduct regarding those unfortunate great men have ever been even slightly examined. His original offence to the former has been already here mentioned, and he aggravated it by opposing the promotion of Bacon to the office of Attorney General. Essex, the slave of passion, vilified him openly, and the cool prudence with which Cecil endured his attacks was called hypocrisy. The Earl suddenly embraced and headed an imbecile faction to drive Cecil from the ministry: the statesman defended himself, and thwarted his adversary by counteracting his schemes for military glory. To us, who live in the age of party, this will seem but fair collision. When Essex was taken in open rebellion his powerful adversary appears to have made no efforts to forward the impending blow, but he is said to have witnessed the infliction of it, and hence the general impression of his hatred to the unhappy favourite. Some traces of the high generosity as well as of the cruelty of incivilisation were to be yet discerned in that time, and Cecil, if he were a spectator of the death of Essex, prevailed on Elizabeth to spare the life of Southampton, that nobleman's dearest friend, and not less his own enemy. Of the causes of his quarrel with Raleigh less is known. They had been united against Essex, and disagreed after his overthrow. It is natural to suppose that their ill offices towards each other were mutual, but we have few particulars of the activity of Cecil's resentment, whose station indeed afforded him opportunities of dealing out his vengeance unseen: Raleigh however is known to have presented a memorial to James on his arrival in England, full of bitter reflections on Cecil, charging him with the ruin of Essex, and his father with the death of the Queen of Scots. Forgiveness, or even forbearance, could scarcely be reasonably expected from the infirmity of nature after such an injury.

To endeavour in a work of this nature to digress from these slight notices of this great man's character into even the most contracted epitome of the history of his ministry would be idle. To conclude then, it may be truly said that he sacrificed his life to the public service. His constitution, naturally weak and delicate, had been so fortified by medical care and temperance, that at the time of the death of Elizabeth he seemed to bid fair for long life. Her system, clear, decisive, and regular, suited the character of his mind, and had become engrafted on his habits; but the care and anxiety attendant on the superintendance of an uncertain policy, and an impoverished revenue, gradually undermined his re-established health. In 1611 he shewed manifest signs of decay, and at length fell into a pulmonary consumption, in the last stage of which he was advised to use the waters of Bath, and, after a few weeks' ineffectual trial of them, died, on his return from thence, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1612, at Marlborough, and was buried in the Parish Church of his princely seat of Hatfield in Herts. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Brook, Lord Cobham, by whom he had one son, William, his successor, lineal ancestor of the present Marquis of Salisbury, and one daughter, Frances, wife of Henry Clifford, fifth Earl of Cumberland.

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Sir Francis Drake.

From the original in the Collection of

The Most Noble The Marquis of Lothian.

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London, Published March 1.st 1820 by Lackington Hughes Harding Mavor & Jones and Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

THE narrative of a life for the materials of which no better source could exist than the journal and log-book of a naval commander, and in the absence too of those very authorities, may seem to promise very little of general interest. Drake was a seaman from his cradle, and applied to his profession talents which might have rendered him eminent in any character with such undeviating perseverance that we never find him for an instant in another: yet so dear is that character to Englishmen, that they will dwell with delight on the insulated detail of his expeditions; on discoveries insignificant in the sight of modern navigators, and on tactics which have become obsolete; on motives which have long ceased to actuate our national policy, and on results of the benefit of which we are no longer sensible.

His birth, as might be expected, was mean. In a pedigree of the descendants of his brother Thomas, the inheritor of his wealth, recorded in the Visitation of Devonshire made in 1620, he is simply stated to have been a son of "Robert Drake, of that county," and the name even of his mother does not appear. Camden however has left us some particulars of his origin, which, in spite of an anachronism or two that have not escaped the vigilance of antiquarian zeal, may be depended on, especially as he informs us that they were communicated to him by Drake himself. His father, as we learn from this respectable authority, had embraced the Protestant persuasion, and having been threatened with prosecution under the terrible law of the Six Articles, fled his country and wandered into Kent. "There," continues Camden, "after the death of Henry the eighth, he got a place among the seamen in the King's navy, to read prayers to them, and soon after he was ordained deacon, and made vicar of the church of Upnor, upon the river Medway, where the royal navy usually rides: but, by reason of his poverty, he put his son apprentice to the master of a bark, his neighbour, who held him closely to his business, by which he made him an able seaman, his bark being employed in coasting along the shore, and sometimes in carrying merchandise into Zealand and France. The youth, being painful and diligent, so pleased the old man by his industry, that, being a bachelor, at his death he bequeathed his bark unto him by his last will." It is said, but with some uncertainty, that he was born, in the town of Tavistock, in 1545.

In his early manhood he became purser of a merchant ship trading to Spain, and two years after made a voyage to Guinea, probably in the same capacity. About this time he attracted the notice of his countryman, and, as some have reported, his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins, and was in 1567 appointed by that celebrated navigator captain of a ship named the Judith, in which he accompanied Hawkins to South America, and eminently distinguished himself in the more glorious than fortunate exploits in the Gulf of Mexico, which were the issue of that expedition. Drake lost in it the whole of that little which he had saved in his more humble employments, but he returned with a reputation which presently attracted public attention, and with a knowledge of the wealth, and an experience of the naval warfare and resources, of Spain in those parts, which enabled him to form the most promising plans for his future prosperity. He determined to invite the resolute, the needy, and the avaricious, to join him in an expedition thither, and represented to them, with a power of persuasion with which he is said to have been eminently gifted, the vast acquisitions that might be expected, and the clear probability of success. The bait was taken with an eagerness at least equal to his hopes, and in 1570, and the following year, he made two voyages, the former with two ships, the latter with one; and in these trips,

though his private view in undertaking them extended not beyond mere experiment which he could not have prosecuted without assistance, he managed with such sagacity as to encourage those who had adventured with him by an ample return; to render himself independent; and to prevent in a great measure any suspicion in the Spaniards of the extent of the designs which he secretly meditated against them.

In 1573, however, they were somewhat disclosed. On the twenty-fourth of March in that year he sailed from Plymouth, in a ship named the Pascha, accompanied by another in which he had performed his two former voyages, called the Swan, in which he placed one of his brothers, John Drake. On board these vessels, which were of very moderate burthen, he had no more than seventy-three men and boys; yet with this slender force he stormed on the twenty-second of the following July the town of Nombre de Dios, in the Isthmus of Darien, and soon after seized that of Venta Cruz, where he obtained a considerable booty; but the most important result of these acquisitions was the establishment of a friendly intercourse with some rulers of the natives, by the aid of whose intelligence he intercepted a convoy of plate, as it was the custom then to call it, of such enormous bulk that he abandoned the silver from mere inability to convey it, and brought only the gold to his ships. It is needless to say that he returned with immense wealth; and the fidelity and exactness, with which he allotted to his partners their respective shares in his good fortune, contributed equally with it to raise his fame. The people, in the mean time, in their hatred to Spain, which Elizabeth used every artifice to chafe, viewed the success of his piracies, for they were nothing less, with rapture. Enriched himself, beyond all the occasions of even splendid domestic life, he now gave way to a laudable ambition to shine in public service, and, to recommend himself effectually to a court and government in which much of the ancient love of warlike gallantry yet subsisted, fitted out, at his own charge, three frigates, with which he sailed to Ireland, to serve as a volunteer against the rebels, in aid of the land forces under the command of Walter, Earl of Essex. Stowe, without reciting the particulars of his conduct, informs us that he performed many glorious actions there. His stay however in Ireland was short, and on the premature death of that nobleman he returned; but the secret object of his excursion was fully obtained, for he acquired, probably through the recommendation of the amiable Essex, the patronage of Sir Christopher Hatton, by whom he was soon after introduced to Elizabeth.

Drake, in his last American voyage, had formed an imperfect outline of the enterprize which has immortalized his name. "He had descried," says Camden, "from some mountains the South Sea. Hereupon," continues the historian, "the man being inflamed with ambition of glory, and hopes of wealth, was so vehemently transported with desire to navigate that sea, that, falling down upon his knees, he implored the divine assistance that he might at some time or other sail thither, and make a perfect discovery of the same; and hereunto he bound himself with a vow. From that time forward his mind was pricked continually to perform that vow." He now besought and obtained the aid and countenance of the Queen to his project for a voyage thither, through the Straits of Magellan, an undertaking to which no Englishman had ever yet aspired. On the fifteenth of November, 1577, he sailed from Plymouth in a ship of one hundred tons, called the Pelican, having under his command the Elizabeth, of eighty tons; the Swan, of fifty; the Marygold, of thirty; and the Christopher, of fifteen; embarking in his little fleet no more than one hundred and sixty-four men, amply supplied however with all necessary provisions. He concealed from his comrades of all ranks the course that he intended to take, giving out that it was for Alexandria; and, after having been forced by a severe storm to return to the English coast to refit, quitted it finally on the thirteenth of December.

Drake's celebrated voyage is so well known, that it would be impertinent to give here any enlarged detail of it. On the twentieth of August, having previously dismissed, for what reason we are not clearly told, two of the vessels which had accompanied him, he entered the Straits of Magellan, where a terrible storm separated him from the others, and he proceeded alone. On the twenty-fifth of September he quitted the Straits, and sailed, still molested by tempest, to the coasts of Chili and Peru, which he skirted, attacking the

Spanish settlements, which were wholly defenceless, and, having obtained immense spoil, prepared to return to England. Apprehensive however of the vengeance of the Spaniards, among whom the alarm was now fully spread, he determined to avoid the track by which he had entered the Pacific Ocean, and bent his course to the shores of North America, seeking, with that spirit of enterprize which so eminently distinguished him, a passage to Europe by the north of California. Disappointed in this endeavour, he sailed to the East Indies, and, returning to England by the Cape of Good Hope, landed at Plymouth on the third of November, 1580, the first of his countrymen by whom the honour of circumnavigating the whole of the known world had ever been enjoyed.

His arrival in London was hailed by the multitude with the utmost extravagance of approbation, but among the cool and discerning many were disposed to censure his conduct with severity. The policy, as well as the legality, of conniving at the sort of warfare which he had used against the Spaniards was freely questioned. His moral character was arraigned; and he was reported to have sacrificed to the private vengeance of the Earl of Leicester one of his principal officers, Doughty, whom he had charged with mutiny, and caused to be put to death during his voyage. In the mean time he was not without apologists of the better sort, who alledged that his attacks on the Spanish colonies were clearly justifiable under the laws of reprisal, and that Doughty, which seems to have been the fact, was regularly tried and condemned by such a Court Martial as could be formed under the circumstances of the expedition. While these questions were contending with increasing heat, Elizabeth suddenly turned the balance in his favour by the most unequivocal and public marks of her grace. She visited him on board his ship at Deptford; partook of a splendid banquet which he had provided; and conferred on him the honour of knighthood, commanding, among many other compliments of the most flattering nature, that the vessel in which he had achieved the voyage should be carefully preserved, as a precious memorial of his merit, and of the glory of her realm.

These testimonies of approbation produced in Drake their usual effect on generous and active minds, an ardent desire to signalize himself by further exploits. The rank, however, to which his fame and his immense wealth had now raised him in society forbade the further prosecution of that order of enterprize from which he had derived them, and some years elapsed before Elizabeth's determination to commence offensive hostilities against Spain enabled her to call his powers into action in her immediate service. At length, in 1585 he received for the first time a royal commission, and was appointed to the command of twenty-one ships of war, with which, having on board eleven thousand soldiers, he sailed in the autumn to the West Indies, and, after having sacked the towns of St. Jago and St. Domingo, passed to the coast of Florida, when he took Carthagena, and destroyed several other settlements of smaller importance. In 1587 he was dispatched, with four of the largest ships in the Queen's navy, to which the merchants of London added twenty-six vessels of various burthens, to Spain, and in the Bay of Cadiz dispersed and crippled a fleet which lay there, completely equipped, under orders to proceed to Lisbon, the appointed rendezvous for the grand armada, destroying more than a hundred of their store ships, and several superior vessels. He then returned to Cape St. Vincent, ravaging the coast in his way, and at the mouth of the Tagus ineffectually challenged the Marquis of Santa Cruz, the Spanish Admiral, to an engagement. Having performed this splendid service, which obliged Philip to defer for a whole year the execution of his great project of invasion, Drake turned his attention for an interval to his old friends the merchants, and, using a discretion not uncommon in those days of imperfect discipline, sailed to the Azores, to intercept a carrack of immense value, of whose coming from the East Indies he had received secret intelligence, which he accomplished, and returned to his country to receive new honours from his Sovereign, and increased homage from her subjects. In the ever memorable service of the following year, Drake, whom Elizabeth had appointed Vice Admiral under Lord Howard of Effingham, had the chief share. His sagacity, his activity, and his undaunted courage, were equally conspicuous in the series of mighty actions which composed it, and the terrible vengeance experienced by the dispersed and flying Armada

was inflicted principally by his division of the fleet. Don Pedro de Valdes, a Spanish Admiral, by whom the enterprize had been planned, deemed it an honour to have surrendered to him, and was long entertained by him with a generous hospitality, which proved that Drake was as well versed in the chivalrous courtesies as in the essentials of war. In his success in this glorious victory terminated the unmixed felicity which had hitherto invariably attended him.

The year 1589 was distinguished by the ill-concerted and mismanaged attempt to place Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal. In the expedition destined to that service the fleet was commanded by Sir Francis Drake, and the military, amounting to eleven thousand, by Sir John Norris. Drake had never before in any of his enterprises had a partner, and the main features of his character were such as might be expected to disqualify him for any division of authority. The commanders disagreed in the outset. Drake proposed to sail directly to Lisbon, but Norris insisted that the troops should be landed at Corunna, which the Admiral not only conceded, but promised to conduct the fleet immediately after up the Tagus to the capital. Unforeseen obstacles prevented his keeping his word; Norris loaded him with reproaches; and attributed the utter failure of the plan, which in fact arose from various causes, to Drake's absence. The Admiral was obliged to explain and justify his conduct to the Queen and Council, and was acquitted of all cause of blame, but his high spirit had been wounded by the mere inquiry, and he sought to console it by new views of conquest.

Some years passed, though the war with Spain still subsisted, before an opportunity presented itself. At length he prevailed on Elizabeth once more to send a powerful armament to Spanish America, under the direction of himself, and his old friend and original patron, Sir John Hawkins, and in a great measure at their private expense, the Queen however furnishing some of her stoutest ships. The fleet, consisting of twenty-seven vessels, which had been long detained by Spanish rumours, raised for the purpose, of a new plan of invasion, sailed from Plymouth on the twenty-eighth of August, 1595. The plan of the expedition was to destroy Nombre de Dios, the scene of one of Drake's early and most gallant exploits, and then to march the troops, of which two thousand five hundred were embarked, to Panama, to seize the treasure supposed to have lately arrived there from Peru. When they were on the point of departure, Elizabeth apprised them that the Plate fleet had arrived in Spain, with the exception of one rich galleon, which had returned to Porto Rico for some necessary repairs, and which she advised them in the first place to secure. They left England differing in opinion on this question, Hawkins anxious to follow without delay the Queen's direction, and Drake earnest to commence their operations by a descent on the Island of Teneriffe, which was accordingly made, and proved wholly unsuccessful. They then sailed to Dominica, and in the interval the Spaniards, who had been apprised of the main purposes of the voyage, dispatched a strong convoy for the galleon, which they brought off in safety, and so powerfully reinforced Porto Rico, that the English, on their arrival there, were obliged to content themselves with ravaging to little purpose the craft in the harbour, and to retire without having made any impression on the town, nor was their attack on Panama, which was made about Christmas Day, more fortunate. Hawkins died, as is said, of a broken heart, amidst these reverses, and Drake barely survived them. A settled melancholy, attended by a slow fever, and terminating in a dysentery, the common disease of the country, carried him off on the twenty-eighth of January, 1595, O. S. in the fifty-first, or, according to some, in the fifty-fifth, year of his age.

Little has been said here of the natural character of this eminent person, and some circumstances of his life have been hitherto purposely omitted, for the sake of concluding this sketch with the very words of a writer of the fair sex, who has laid before us, in a late publication of singular merit, the fruits of most laborious and accurate historical research, clothed in the light and easy garb of refined table-talk. "The character of Sir Francis Drake," says this lady, "was remarkable not alone for those constitutional qualities of valour, industry, capacity, and enterprize, which the history of his exploits would necessarily lead us to infer, but for virtues founded on principle and reflection, which render it

in a high degree the object of respect and moral approbation. It is true that his aggressions on the Spanish settlements were originally founded on a vague notion of reprisals, equally irreconcilable to public law and private equity; but with the exception of this error, which may find considerable palliation in the deficient education of the man, the prevalent opinions of the day, and the peculiar animosity against Philip the second cherished in the bosom of every protestant Englishman, the conduct of Drake appears to demand almost unqualified commendation. It was by sobriety, by diligence in the concern of his employers, and by a tried integrity, that he early raised himself from the humble station of an ordinary seaman to the command of a vessel. When placed in authority over others, he shewed himself humane and considerate. His treatment of his prisoners was exemplary; his veracity unimpeached; his private life religiously pure and spotless. In the division of the rich booty which frequently rewarded his valour and his toils, he was liberal towards his crews, and scrupulously just to the owners of his vessels; and in the appropriation of his own share of wealth he displayed that munificence towards the public, of which since the days of Roman glory history has recorded so few examples. With the profits of one of his earliest voyages, in which he captured the town of Venta Cruz, and made prize of a string of mules laden with silver, he fitted out three stout frigates, and sailed with them to Ireland, where he served as a volunteer under Walter Earl of Essex, and performed many brilliant actions. After the capture of a rich Spanish carrack at the Terceras in 1587, he undertook at his own expense to bring to the town of Plymouth, which he represented in Parliament, a supply of spring water, of which necessary article it suffered a great deficiency. This he accomplished by means of a canal or aqueduct above twenty miles in length. Drake incurred some blame in the expedition to Portugal for failing to bring his ships up the river to Lisbon, according to his promise to Sir John Norris, the General; but, on explaining the case before the Privy Council on his return, he was entirely acquitted by them; having made it appear that, under all the circumstances, to have carried the ships up the Tagus would have been to expose them to damage, without any benefit to the service. By his enemies this great man was stigmatised as vain and boastful—a slight infirmity in one who had achieved so much by his own unassisted genius, and which the great flow of natural eloquence which he possessed may at once have produced and rendered excuseable."

It has been erroneously asserted that Sir Francis Drake died a bachelor. He married, probably in his middle age, Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir George Sydenham, of Combe Sydenham, in Devonshire, who survived him, and re-married to William Courtenay, of Powderham Castle, in the same county. He left however no issue, and his brother Thomas became his heir, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Francis, who was created a Baronet in 1622, and is at present represented by his lineal descendant, Sir Francis Henry Drake, of Buckland Monachorum, in the county of Devon.

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

From the original in the Collection of

The Most Noble The Marquis of Salisbury

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London Published March 25. 1820. by Lackington Hughes Harding Mavor & Jones, and Longman Hurst Rees, Orme & Brown.

ROBERT DUDLEY,

EARL OF LEICESTER.

This mighty Peer, whose history will ever remain a memorial of the injustice and the folly, as well as of the unbounded power, of his Sovereign, was the fifth son of the equally mighty, but less fortunate, John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, by Jane, daughter of Sir Henry Guldeford. The father's greatness shot forth with the rapidity and the splendor of a vast meteor, and was as suddenly lost in darkness: the son's, planet-like, rose somewhat more slowly, and traversed its hemisphere in a more regular obedience to the power from which it derived its motion and its brilliancy. It obeyed however no other power, for Leicester offended against all laws, both divine and human. He seems not to have possessed a single virtue, nor was he highly distinguished by the qualities of his understanding; but the unlimited favour of Elizabeth, which for many years rendered him perhaps the most powerful subject in the world, invested him with a factitious importance, while, on his part, by a degree of hypocrisy so daring that it rather confounded than deceived the minds of men he contrived to avoid open censure. Even flattery however seems to have been ashamed to raise her voice for him while he lived, and the calm and patient research of after times, with all its habitual respect for the memory of the illustrious dead, has busied itself in vain to find a single bright spot on his character.

He was born in or about the year 1532. His father, who surrounded the person of Edward the sixth with his offspring, procured for him in 1551 the post of one of the six Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, and about the same time that of master of the King's buck-hounds. Edward, with the common readiness of youth, accepted him as a familiar companion, and evinced towards him a partiality bordering on favouritism. On the discomfiture of the feeble attempt to place his sister in law, Jane Grey, on the Throne, and the accession of Mary, he was imprisoned in the Tower, merely, as it should seem, because he was his father's son, for history furnishes us with no trace of his active participation in that design. He was indicted however of high treason, and prudently pleading guilty, received sentence of death, apparently as a matter of form, and soon after a pardon, and was liberated on the eighteenth of October, 1554. Mary indeed immediately took him in some measure into her favour, and we find in Strype's Memorials that after her marriage to Philip he attached himself particularly to that Prince, and was chosen "to carry messages between the King and Queen, riding post on such occasions, and neglecting nothing that might ingratiate himself with either of them." It was at the intercession of Philip, as all historians agree, that such of the prisoners for Jane's forlorn cause as escaped with life were set at liberty; nor is it less certain that the rigours of Elizabeth's captivity were softened through his influence. It may be very probably conjectured, though it has hitherto escaped the observation of historical speculatists, that Dudley was the secret instrument of correspondence between the King and that Princess, and that the dawn of her enormous subsequent favour towards him may be very reasonably ascribed to the impression made on her youthful heart, in a season of danger and misfortune, by a young man who possessed every natural and artificial qualification to win feminine affection.

She appointed him immediately on her accession to the distinguished office of Master of the Horse, and shortly after, on the fourth of June, 1559, he was installed a Knight of the Garter, and sworn of the Privy Council. These great preferments were presently followed by grants of estates to an immense value, among which we find his celebrated

manor and castle of Kenilworth, in Warwickshire; nor was the Crown the sole source of his growing power and wealth, for numerous public bodies, particularly of the ecclesiastical order, in the hope of securing to their respective interests the vast influence which he evidently possessed over the mind of the Queen, elected him to their stewardships, and other municipal offices, which, not to mention the sums which he annually derived from them, extended his authority into almost every part of the realm. That such an extravagance of good fortune should have excited envy and competition might reasonably be expected, but few ever ventured to appear in open rivalry towards him. Thomas Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, perhaps the most virtuous and high spirited, and certainly one of the wisest, of Elizabeth's servants, openly opposed himself from public motives to the secret design which Dudley undoubtedly entertained of becoming her husband, and was joined by Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who had with less reserve aspired to that proud distinction: the rest submitted with despair, or sullen patience, to a power which seemed impregnable by the attacks of faction or the machinations of intrigue: even Burghley, esteemed as he was for his sagacity and probity, condescended to profess for the favourite an esteem which he could not have felt. Elizabeth, as though for the express purpose of giving a colour to his arrogant view of partaking her bed, now proved to himself and to the world that she thought him worthy of a royal spouse, by proposing him in form as a husband to the young Queen of Scots, by whom she knew he would be rejected. Thus he stood in the Court of his mistress, when on the twenty-eighth of September, 1564, she raised him to the dignity of Baron of Denbigh, and on the following day to the Earldom of Leicester, and towards the end of that year the University of Oxford elected him their Chancellor. He accompanied Elizabeth soon after in a visit to that learned body, and was received with a respect and deference perhaps never before conceded to any of her subjects, and which in fact could not properly have been due to any one beneath the rank of her consort.

In the mean time however the Queen, by a treaty of marriage with the Archduke Charles of Austria which bore every mark of sincerity, cast a lasting damp on his proud hopes. Leicester had so far presumed on her partiality as to oppose the negotiation, not only in argument with herself and her Council, but even publicly, and was rebuked by her with a severity which, while it convinced him of the vanity of his splendid pretensions, left him no room to doubt that self love, and a resolution to preserve her independence, were the ruling features of her character. His disappointment was confined to the frustration of this single view, for in all other matters her favour and his influence remained unimpaired; and, now at leisure to pursue a more ordinary track of ambition, he sought, with the aid of a most profound dissimulation, to maintain the possession of them, nor was this caution unnecessary, for the repulse which he had lately experienced from the Queen had disclosed to him enemies perhaps before unsuspected, and encouraged his rivals to a more open shew of competition. Among the latter was Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, a nobleman not only invested with the utmost importance that splendor of descent, immense wealth, and no very distant kindred to Elizabeth, could bestow, but one of the few of her subjects whom a party in her Court and Council had flattered with the hope of gaining her hand. Leicester determined on the ruin of a man thus in every way hateful to him, and, as it could be accomplished only by treachery, insinuated himself into the confidence of the Duke, who was distinguished by the generosity and simplicity of his character. Norfolk communicated to him the plan which he had formed for a marriage with the Queen of Scots, with all its weighty dependencies; was directed in every step towards it by his counsel; and when it approached to fruition was betrayed by him to Elizabeth; who indeed it may be reasonably suspected had employed him from the beginning for that purpose.

These detestable facts have been fully proved against him, but it is to the last degree difficult, not to say impossible, such were the depth of his artifices, and the dead secresy of his instruments, to obtain clear historical evidence of the most remarkable features of his conduct in public measures, and towards public servants. His agency was felt,

but not seen; or if those who were bound by his spells sometimes obtained a glimpse of the inchanter, he was presently again shrouded in utter darkness. Much however has been proved and more inferred from circumstances. Having overthrown the Duke of Norfolk, he conceived about the same time a bitter hatred against the Queen of Scots, and Burghley, who had been the intimate and confidential friend of that unfortunate nobleman. It was probably the offspring of fear, for there can be little doubt that each of them possessed damning proofs of his late treachery. The rigours of Mary's tedious captivity, the strange vacillations of Elizabeth's policy regarding her, and her tragical end, may be most reasonably ascribed to his influence over the worst passions of his infatuated mistress; yet he found means to impress on the mind of Mary a persuasion that he commiserated her sufferings, and she more than once appealed to his pity. His reiterated insinuations against Cecil were however always unsuccessful. Elizabeth regarded that great minister with feelings directly opposite to those of fear and anger, and all her selfishness was awakened to protect him. Leicester at length ventured to quit for a moment the strong-hold of his accustomed obscurity, and allowed the faction of which he was the acknowledged head to frame a regular accusation of Burghley to the Privy Council, but the plan was discovered to the Queen before it was fully matured, and the favourite was once more reprimanded by her. Original letters from him to the Treasurer, written at this precise period, stuffed with the most fulsome flattery, and professions of the warmest friendship, are still extant.

He is said to have appeased his vengeance by the sacrifice of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a bold and busy politician, who, after having been deeply concerned in the negotiations between Mary and the Duke of Norfolk, unexpectedly quitted Leicester's party, and attached himself to Burghley. He died very suddenly in the Earl's house, as it was industriously reported, of a pleurisy, after partaking of a supper to which Leicester had invited him, but little doubt was entertained that he had been taken off by poison, and the malice with which the favourite presently afterwards pursued his family almost established the fact. That Leicester dealt in that horrible method of assassination cannot be reasonably controverted, however we may be inclined to question some particular charges of that nature among the many which have been made against him. The honourable and amiable Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, to whom, both for public and private causes, he was a determined enemy, and whose gallant services in Ireland he had cruelly thwarted and depreciated, perished in that country with a clear impression on his mind, corroborated by the opinion of all who happened to be then about him, that his death had been so procured. The Countess of Lenox, the mode of whose royal descent presented an obstacle to the possible inheritance of the Crown, derived from George Duke of Clarence, by Leicester's kinsman and favourite the Earl of Huntingdon, a speculation which he much cherished, died, with strong symptoms of poison, presently after having received a visit from him. Nay, it has been generally reported, though probably untruly, that he retained in his establishment two persons, an Italian and a Jew, who were adepts in the diabolical art of preparing the means for such sacrifices; but the very exaggerations of the general charge on his memory tend to prove that it must have been in some degree well founded.

Yet this iniquitous man, not less odious in his private life, as we shall presently see, than disgraceful to herself and her Court; an enemy and torment to her ministers; the prime patron of the Puritans, whom she secretly regarded perhaps with more terror than the Papists; not only maintained his ground, but gradually rose in the estimation of Elizabeth to the last hour of his life. She seemed even anxious to publish to the world the distinction in which she held him. Her celebrated visit to him at his mansion of Kenilworth in July 1575 was protracted to the length of nineteen days, an honour never on any other occasion granted by her to a subject. In June 1577 she so far forgot herself as to write thus to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury—"Our very good cousins—Being given to understand from our cousin of Leicester how honourably he was not only lately received by you, our cousin the Countess, at Chatsworth, and his diet by you both dis-

charged at Buxtons, but also presented with a very rare present, we should do him great wrong, holding him in that place of favour we do, in case we should not let you understand in how thankful sort we accept the same at both your hands, not as done unto him but to our own self, reputing him as another self; and therefore ye may assure yourselves that we, taking upon us the debt not as his but our own, will take care accordingly to discharge the same in such honourable sort as so well deserving creditors as ye shall never have cause to think ye have met with an ungrateful debtor." Numerous instances of this extravagant folly might be cited, and indeed Leicester's arrogance and presumption under such temptations form the most defensible part of his character. The degrading exposure of her motive however was yet to come—at this period he once more asked her hand, and was once more refused. Enraged at the disappointment, he instantly married, without making any communication to her of his intention, and Elizabeth, in utter contempt not only of the delicacy of her sex and the dignity of her station, but of all principles of law and justice which could bear any relation to the case, tore him from the arms of his bride, and imprisoned him in a little fortress which then stood in the park at Greenwich. This transport of angry jealousy however soon subsided. Leicester was released, and restored to full favour, and is said to have consoled himself for his short disgrace with schemes for the assassination of Simier, an agent from the Duke of Anjou, who was then in London, negotiating for the projected marriage of that Prince to Elizabeth, and whom he suspected to have apprised her of his own secret nuptials.

This treaty, which had been for a while suspended, was renewed in 1581, when a more honourable embassy arrived from the French Court, and Leicester, who had now thought fit to assume the character of an advocate for the proposed union, was named among those who were appointed to confer with the commissioners. Anjou soon followed, but the strange caprice of Elizabeth on this occasion, which forms a remarkable and well known feature in the history of the time, finally disgusted him so highly, that, after three months' residence in her Court, he suddenly embarked in the beginning of the succeeding year for the Low Countries, the government of which he had lately accepted. She indulged Leicester with the triumph of convoying thither his illustrious and rejected rival, and in this visit he probably laid the groundwork for that proud appointment to which by the joint act of herself and those States he was soon after nominated. He returned to a Court and Council agitated by the discovery of some designs lately projected by the friends of the unhappy Mary, and yet more by doubts and suspicions. He seized the opportunity of displaying his loyalty, and of indulging his hatred of the royal prisoner, by proposing to the nobility and gentry a bond of association by which they should engage themselves to pursue, even unto death, those who might form any plan against the life, or crown, or dignity, of Elizabeth. Mary was in fact the secret object of this widely extended menace, but the terror which it inspired having for a time paralysed the efforts of her adherents, he became impatient of her existence, and boldly moved the Queen that she should be taken off by poison. Elizabeth, nothing loth, undoubtedly proposed it to her ministers, for it is historically proved that Walsingham, practised and even hacknied as he was in a sort of treachery legalized by the fatal necessity of States, protested against so heinous a measure, and insisted that she should not be put to death without at least the forms of judicial enquiry.

It was just at this period that a deadly invective, under the title of "Leicester's Commonwealth," or at least so entitled in subsequent editions, issued from the press in Flanders, and was presently dispersed in vast abundance throughout England, and indeed in most of the nations of Europe. It consisted of a circumstantial relation of all the crimes and faults which had been at any time laid to the charge of the favourite, delivered with the utmost artifice of affected candour and simplicity, and intermixed with political reflections, tending to prove that every cause of complaint which existed in England might be traced to his malign influence. No publication ever before obtained so sudden and extensive a circulation. It was read with the utmost avidity, and the ridiculous efforts for its suppression made by Elizabeth, whose policy where Leicester was concerned always gave way

to her passions, served but to excite to the highest pitch the curiosity of her subjects. She compelled her Council to address letters to the lieutenants of counties, and other public functionaries, charging them to prohibit the perusal of the pamphlet, and to punish severely the dispersers of it; and, not content with this degree of folly, made them insert a declaration (to use their own words) that "her Majesty testified in her conscience before God that she knew in assured certainty the books and libels published against the Earl to be most scandalous, and such as none but an incarnate devil himself could dream to be true." Her subservient Council, most of the members of which utterly detested him, outran their mistress in vehement assertions of his innocence—assertions which they knew to be false, and of the truth of which, had they been otherwise than false, no evidence could possibly have been obtained. There is indeed little reason to doubt any of the allegations of this celebrated libel. Sir Philip Sidney, who was Leicester's nephew, sat down in all the pride and heat of youth, and full consciousness of talent, to refute them, and almost wholly failed. Despairing of success, and perhaps at length deterred from attempting it in such a cause by that fine moral feeling which distinguished him, he laid his work aside, after considerable progress, the fruit of which remained unpublished till the appearance, of late years, of the Sidney Papers.

In the following year, 1585, the United Provinces, yet unable to establish their independence, reiterated a request formerly made to Elizabeth to become their Sovereign. Anxious at once to avoid the jealous imputation of an ambitious desire of extending her dominion, to curb the power of Spain, and to aid the Protestant cause, she refused the offer, but readily agreed to furnish them with a powerful aid of troops and money. Leicester solicited, and instantly obtained, the command of this expedition, and was received, on his landing at Flushing, of which his nephew Sidney had been previously appointed Governor, with all the respect due to a Viceroy, which character, in contradiction to his instructions, he instantly assumed. The States, eager to persuade Philip the second that Elizabeth exercised a virtual sovereignty over them, invested the Earl by a solemn act with supreme authority, which he readily accepted, and, amidst the gorgeous festivities prepared to celebrate his exaltation, letters arrived from her, both to himself and to the States, in a tone of unexampled fury.—"We little thought," said she to Leicester, "that one whom we had raised out of the dust, and prosecuted with such singular favour above all others, would with so great contempt have slighted and broken our commands in a matter of so great consequence, and so highly concerning us and our honour," &c. This was worthy of the daughter of Henry the eighth, but the weakness of Elizabeth presently succeeded. Leicester returned a submissive explanation, and was instantly restored to full favour, nor does it appear even that the appointment which had produced this ebullition of capricious wrath was revoked. His service however in the Low Countries was marked by misfortune and disgrace. Totally deficient in military experience, he found himself opposed to the Prince of Parma, one of the first generals of the age, and a politician also of no mean fame; and his admirable nephew, whose advice had aided him in the Council, and whose example had invigorated him in the field, fell a sacrifice to the intemperance of his valour before the walls of Zutphen. The States became envious of his authority, and thwarted the measures of his government, already weak and inefficient, and he increased their jealousy by striving to ingratiate himself with the people. He returned to England, disgusted but unwillingly; the faction which he had formed prevailed on the States again to solicit his presence, and on the twenty-fifth of June, 1587, he landed in Zealand, with new levies. Fresh discords however arising, Elizabeth, with his concurrence, finally recalled him in the succeeding November, and shielded him by her authority against a regular charge of mal-administration in the Low Countries which had been prepared before his arrival, and was now preferred to the Privy Council by a party of his enemies, headed by the Lord Buckhurst, whom the Queen had lately sent thither to learn the true state of affairs, and who was rewarded for his pains by a vote of censure, and an imprisonment of several months.

Leicester had now reached the highest pinnacle of favour and power. Elizabeth

could refuse him nothing, and her ministers, even Burghley himself, seem to have trembled at his nod. All the most important commands, civil and military, in the nation were in the hands of his relations or friends; to the offices already held by himself she had very lately added those of Steward of her Household, and Chief Justice of the Forests south of Trent; and in the summer of 1588, placed him at the head of the army which she had raised to resist the expected Spanish invasion. She thus concluded her speech to these troops, when she reviewed them at Tilbury—"Rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms: I myself will be your General, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already by your forwardness that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and I do assure you, on the word of a Prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time my Lieutenant General shall be in my stead, than whom never Prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject." In this moment, such is the insatiable thirst of ambition, he solicited Elizabeth to appoint him to the office, not less unusual than enormously powerful and dignified, of Lieutenant, or Vicegerent, of her Kingdoms of England and Ireland, and even this, tenacious as she was of her royal authority, she readily conceded to him. It is said that a patent for this mighty appointment was ready for the Great Seal, when Burghley, and her Chancellor Hatton, ventured to remonstrate with her, and so far succeeded as to obtain leave to suspend for some days that ratification. In the meantime Leicester left London for a short sojournment at Kenilworth castle, and on his way thither stopped at his house of Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, where he was seized by a rapid fever, and expired on the fourth of September, 1588.

From the foregoing sketch I have hitherto excluded any particulars of the domestic life of this most remarkable person. They will be found, singularly enough, considering the cast of his character, to be little concerned with his public story, the chain of which they would therefore but have served to disconnect. All parts of his conduct however, morally viewed, were in horrible harmony, for the man was as abominably wicked as the statesman and courtier.

Leicester, at the age of eighteen, married Anne, or Amy, daughter and heir of Sir John Robsart, a gentleman of Norfolk, distinguished by antiquity, indeed splendor, of descent, and by his great possessions in that county. They were wedded, as Edward the sixth, in whose presence the nuptials were solemnized, states in his journal, on the fourth of June, 1550, and lived together, with what degree of cordiality we are not informed, for ten years, but had no children. It is scarcely to be doubted that he caused this lady to be assassinated, and the circumstances of the time, as well as of the case itself, tend to press on his memory this dreadful charge perhaps more heavily than any other of the same character. Her death occurred on the eighth of September, 1560, at the very period when the lofty hope of obtaining the hand of his Sovereign may be clearly presumed to have reigned with the strongest sway in his overheated mind. He sent her, with what avowed motive does not appear, to the solitary manor house of Cumnor, in Berkshire, a village not far from Oxford, inhabited by one of his train, named Anthony Forster. Thither she was shortly followed by Sir Richard Verney, another of his retainers, and a few days after, these persons having sent all her servants to Abingdon Fair, and no one being with her but themselves, she died in consequence, as they reported, of a fall down a staircase. But "the inhabitants of Cumnor," says Aubrey, in whose history of Berkshire all that could be collected on the subject is minutely detailed, "will tell you there that she was conveyed from her usual chamber where she lay to another, where the bed's head of the chamber stood close to a privy postern door, where they in the night came, and stifled her in her bed; bruised her head very much; broke her neck; and at length flung her down stairs; thereby believing the world would have thought it a mischance, and so have blinded their villainy." Nor was this plan of violence adopted till after they had vainly attempted to destroy her by poison, through the unconscious aid of Dr. Bailey, then professor of Physic in the University of Oxford, who had resisted their earnest importunity to make a medicine for her, when he knew she was in perfect health, suspecting, from his observation of circumstances, as he afterwards declared, that they intended to add to it some deadly drug,

and trembling for his own safety. The disfigured corpse was hurried to the earth without a coroner's inquest, and to such a height did the pity and the resentment of the neighbouring families arise, that they employed the pen of Thomas Lever, a prebendary of Coventry, to write to the Secretaries of State, intreating that a strict enquiry should be made into the true cause of the lady's death, but the application had no effect. The strongest inference however of Leicester's guilt in this case is to be drawn from a string of reasons, noted down by Cecil himself, why the Queen should not make him her husband, one of which is—"that he is infamed by the death of his wife"—The effect of such a remark, made by such a person, and for such a purpose, wants little of the force of positive evidence.

The relaxations of such a man as Leicester are commonly sought in the gratification of mere appetite, and such were his. After a variety of amorous intrigues, not worthy of recollection, he became more than usually attached to Douglas, daughter of William Howard, first Lord Effingham, and widow of John, Lord Sheffield. Vulgar report, presuming on the known enormities of his life, proclaimed that he had disposed of her husband by those infernal secret means so frequently ascribed to him in other cases. Be this as it might, it is certain that he married her, or deceived her into a pretended marriage, immediately after the death of Lord Sheffield. By this Lady he had a son, with whose future story, remarkable as it was rendered by the dispositions unhappily and infamously made by the father, this memoir has no concern, and a daughter. He stipulated with the unfortunate Douglas that their marriage should be kept profoundly secret; the children were debarred from any intercourse with their mother; and the Earl, having some years after determined to marry another, compelled her by threats, by promises, and at length, by attempts on her life, to make a most effectual, though tacit, renunciation of all marital claims on him, by publicly taking to her husband Sir Edward Stafford. These nefarious circumstances were disclosed, shortly before the death of Elizabeth, in the prosecution of a suit in the Star Chamber instituted to establish the legitimacy, and consequent right of inheritance of her son; and on this occasion Douglas, after having proved by the testimony of many respectable witnesses her marriage to the deceased Earl, declared on oath the foul proceedings by which she had been forced to throw herself into the arms, and on the protection, of Stafford; concluding with a relation of the means which Leicester had previously used to take her off by poison, under the operation of which she swore that her hair and her nails had fallen off; that her constitution had been ruined; and that she had narrowly escaped with life.

The object for whom he abandoned this miserable lady was Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, and relict of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex. The already strong suspicion that Leicester had caused by the same diabolical means the death of that nobleman, to which some slight allusion has already been made, was aggravated to the utmost by the indecent haste with which he wedded the widow, with whom there was no doubt that he had for some time before maintained a guilty intercourse. This was the marriage which so highly excited the displeasure of Elizabeth, and which she unremittingly resented towards the Countess by an insulting neglect, in spite of all the instances of the young Essex, her son, who succeeded his uncle in the Queen's extravagant favour. Leicester had by this lady, one son, Robert; who died in childhood four years before his father. She survived the Earl for nearly half a century; and persecuted with tedious and ruinous suits his son by Lady Sheffield, whose legitimacy Leicester, with a folly equal to his injustice, had sometimes affirmed and sometimes denied, and to whom he had bequeathed his princely castle and domain of Kenilworth, of which the unfortunate gentleman was at last in a manner defrauded by the Crown in the succeeding reign.

Such, on the whole, was Elizabeth's most distinguished favourite. History, to its lamentable discredit, invariably asserts, in the same breath, his wickedness and the wisdom of his royal patroness—one or the other of those assertions must be false.

Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick.

From the original in the Collection of

The Most Noble, The Marquis of Salisbury.

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London, Published March 25, 1826, by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mayor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

AMBROSE DUDLEY,

EARL OF WARWICK.

EMINENCE of consanguinity, rather than any special merit or fame of his own, beyond the quiet and unassuming recommendation of an unblemished moral character, has preserved the memory of this nobleman from a neglect perhaps approaching to oblivion. A son, and at length heir, of the mighty Duke of Northumberland; a brother of that paragon of royal favour and of wickedness, Leicester, and of the innocent and ill fated consort of Jane Grey; claimed, as it were, in their right some degree of distinction, and history has probably preserved all that could have been collected of his story. He was the fourth, but at length eldest surviving son of his father, by Jane, daughter of Sir Henry Guldeford, and was born in the year 1530, or 1531.

He is said to have manifested at an early age a passion for military fame. It is certain that he was in the expedition commanded by his father in 1549 against the Norfolk rebels, and not improbable that he owed the honour of knighthood, which he received on the seventeenth of November in that year, to some instances of that wild gallantry which in those days was esteemed the prime qualification for a soldier. He returned to the insipid life of a courtier, and we hear of him only as a partaker in tournaments and banquets till the arrest of the Duke, his father, with whom of course he had engaged in the support of Jane Grey's weak and unwilling pretensions to the Crown in July 1553. He was attainted, and received sentence of death, together with his brothers, John, Robert, and Henry, and they were confined in the Tower of London till the eighteenth of October in the succeeding year, when Mary granted him a pardon for life, permitted him to come to Court, and received him into some degree of favour. Philip, her consort, for reasons not clearly assigned, became the patron of the crest-fallen remains of the House of Dudley. Ambrose volunteered into the Spanish army, in the Low Countries, and distinguished himself in the summer of 1557 at the celebrated battle of St. Quintin, and his younger brother, Henry, who accompanied him in the same character, fell during the siege of that place. Mary, at the King's intercession, now dispelled the cloud in which the extravagant ambition of Northumberland had involved his progeny, and in the conclusion of that year, this young nobleman, together with his surviving brother Robert, afterwards Earl of Leicester, were fully restored by an Act of Parliament.

The stupendous influence of that brother, which marked even the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, presently secured a large share of her favour to Ambrose. He obtained a royal grant of estates in Leicestershire in her first year, and in the next she appointed him Master of the Ordnance for life. These boons were presently followed by the restoration of some of his father's dignities: on the twenty-fifth of December, 1561, he was created Baron of Kingston Lisle in the county of Berks, and on the following day Earl of Warwick. It was just at this period that the great contest began in France between the Papists and the Huguenots which afterwards obtained the denomination of the war of the League. The reformers solicited the aid of Elizabeth, and offered to place in her hands one of the most considerable ports of Normandy, which they besought her to garrison with English troops. She consented, not only readily but eagerly, and Havre de Grace, generally called Newhaven by the historical writers of that time, was given up to her; Warwick was nominated to the command, with the title of the Queen's Lieutenant

in the province; and, on the twenty-ninth of October, 1562, landed at Havre, with three thousand soldiers, and was with much ceremony sworn into his office.

In this command, the only arduous public service in which we find him, his conduct, equally distinguished by fidelity, prudence, and courage, amply proved his ability for the most important military undertakings. The effects of his vigilance and activity were felt in every part of Normandy, from whence, by the aid of repeated excursions from his strong-hold, he had enabled the Protestants almost wholly to expel their enemies, when he found himself suddenly abandoned by them, and discovered that they had treacherously agreed on certain terms with the Leaguers, and even engaged themselves to turn their arms against him. He now shut himself up in his garrison, having previously dismissed the French of both persuasions, and was presently invested by a powerful army, under the command of the Constable de Montmorency. Terrible hardships and calamities ensued. The spring and summer passed almost without rain; the French cut the aqueducts which supplied the town; and the soldiers were obliged to boil their miserable sustenance in sea-water, which was frequently too their only beverage. An epidemic distemper, which carried off great numbers, succeeded. At length Warwick, after having sustained with uncommon perseverance a siege not less obstinate than his defence, surrendered in the autumn of 1563, but not till he had received the Queen's especial command, and effected a most honourable capitulation. During the treaty, having appeared without his armour on the ramparts to speak with a distinguished French officer, a villain fired at him from beneath, and wounded him in the leg with a poisoned bullet, a misfortune the consequences of which during the remainder of his life probably rendered retirement almost necessary to him, and prevented his accepting favours and distinctions which he seems so well to have merited. He was elected a Knight of the Garter in 1562, and invested at Havre with the ensigns of the Order.

In 1568, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the enquiry into the great matter of the Queen of Scots, on her arrival in England; in 1569, on the occasion of the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, himself and the Lord Clinton were appointed, jointly and severally, the Queen's Lieutenants in the north, and the suppression of it was chiefly owing to his care and vigilance; and in the succeeding year Elizabeth conferred on him the dignified office, or rather title, of Chief Butler of England. In 1570 he was sworn of the Privy Council, and included in the number of Peers appointed by the royal commission for the trial of the Duke of Norfolk; and this, with the exception of his having been similarly employed on the trial, as it was called, of the Queen of Scots, is the last notice to be found of his interference in any matter of the State. After the conclusion of the sitting, Mary addressed herself to him as to one for whom she felt a regard, and in whom she placed some confidence. Of Elizabeth's esteem for him, or of her inclination at least to persuade him how highly she esteemed him, a fair judgement may be formed from the following postscript, in her own hand writing, to a letter from her Privy Council, written to him during the siege of Havre.

"My dear Warwick,

If your honour and my desire could accord with the loss of the needfullest finger I keep, God so help me in my utmost need as I would gladly lose that one joint for your safe abode with me: but, since I cannot that I would, I will do that I may; and will rather drink in an ashen cup than you or your's should not be succoured both by sea and land, yea, and that with all speed possible; and let this my scribbling hand witness it unto them all.

Yours, as my own,

E. R."

Warwick is said to have understood and patronized the commercial and manufacturing interests of his country. Certain it is that he was much engaged in a design projected by some London merchants for opening the trade to Barbary, which at length proved

unsuccessful; and that in 1585 he obtained from the Queen an exclusive licence for two years for the exporting woollen cloths thither by some of them who had suffered the heaviest losses; but no farther inference can be drawn from those circumstances than that he himself was a party in their speculations, a condescension by no means rare among the nobility towards the conclusion of the reign of Elizabeth. Of the fact that he was a person of most unblemished conduct both in public and private life there can be no possible doubt. His character stands wholly unimpeached: even in that volume of virulent censure on the rest of his family, known by the title of "Leicester's Commonwealth," his name is never mentioned disrespectfully: In the few notices of him with which history furnishes us it is always accompanied by praise, and his popular appellation was "the good Earl of Warwick." Towards the conclusion of his life the misery of the incurable wound which he had received at Havre gradually increased, and at length became intolerable, and threatened mortification. In an unsigned letter to George, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, of the fourth of February, 1589-90, the writer says—"My Lo. of Warwick is like to go. His offices are alredy nere bestowed. Grafton" (doubtless the royal honour of Grafton, which we are not elsewhere informed was held by him) "upon the Lo. Chancellor; Butlerage, upon the Lo. of Buckehurst: for the M^r.shipp of the Ordynaunce my Lorde Graye and Sir John Parratt stryve." Mr. Thomas Markham, in a detail of court news to the same nobleman, of the seventeenth of that month, writes—"on Wednesdaye was sennight, as I am suer your L. hath hard, my Lord of Warwyk had his leg cutt off, since which tyme he hath amendid, but not so faste as I wolld wyshe." On the twentieth he expired at the house of his brother in law, the Earl of Bedford, in Bloomsbury, and was buried at Warwick, where a curious altar tomb was erected to his memory by his widow.

This nobleman was thrice married: first, to Anne, daughter and heir of William Whorwood, Attorney General in the reign of Henry the eighth, by whom he had his only child, John, who died an infant before 1552. His second Lady was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gilbert Talboys, and sister and sole heir to George, last Lord Talboys. He married, thirdly, Anne, daughter of Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford.

Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland.

From the original of Vandyke, in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Egremont.

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London, Published Sept.r 25 1820 by Lackington Hughes Harding Mavor & Jones and Longman Hurst Rees Orme & Brown.

HENRY PERCY,

EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

Was the ninth of his ancient house who held that splendid title. He was the eldest of the eight sons of Henry, the eighth Earl, by Catharine, eldest daughter and coheir of John Neville, Lord Latimer, and was born in 1563. His father had been arrested in 1585, on suspicion, at least, of favouring the cause of the Queen of Scots, and committed to the Tower of London, where, on the twenty-first of June in that year, he was found shot through the heart, doubtless by his own hand; and the young Earl, on the eighth of the following December, withdrew himself from the peril of suspicion, and indeed gave an earnest of his loyalty, by embarking with Dudley Earl of Leicester, to serve as a volunteer in the war then subsisting in the Low Countries. Prompted perhaps by the same policy, as well as by a spirit of gallantry and enterprise which certainly belonged to him, he placed himself among the foremost of the young nobility who distinguished themselves in 1588 by hiring and fitting out ships at their own expense to serve with the royal fleet against the Armada. These tokens of fidelity, together with an apparent, and probably sincere, disposition to avoid any concern in political affairs, and to devote his leisure to study, in which he delighted, seem at length to have gained him no small share of the good opinion of Elizabeth. She gave him the order of the Garter in 1593, and in 1599 joined him in commission with other eminent persons, to enforce in the province of York the observance of the statutes ordaining the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown, the uniformity of the common prayer, and of divine service in general, the restraint of Popish recusants, and several other regulations touching the government of the Church. It is needless to say that he was a stedfast protestant. He volunteered his sword once more at the celebrated siege of Ostend, in 1601, and had there a private quarrel with the gallant Sir Francis Vere, the angry correspondence subsequently produced by which, interestingly illustrative of the method then used in adjusting what we now call "an affair of honour," is detailed at great length, from an original manuscript, in the supplement, published in 1750, to Collins's Peerage.

Averse as he seems to have been to public business and state intrigue, he had too much ambition to look on in indifference and inactivity while so many of the nobility at the conclusion of Elizabeth's reign were pressing forward to pay their court to her successor. He attached himself with peculiar zeal to the cause of James, to whose favour the sufferings of his family for Mary, particularly of his two immediate predecessors, had given him the strongest claim, and who readily opened a secret negotiation with him on the means of securing the inheritance of the Crown. The agent of their intercourse was the Earl's kinsman, Thomas Percy, through whom Northumberland is said to have supplied the King from time to time with money, and even to have engaged to resist by force of arms any opposition which might be offered to his succession. Percy, too, who was a zealous Romanist, undertook, with the Earl's concurrence, to treat for the leaders of that persuasion with James, who, in his eagerness to gain over so powerful a body to his interest, hesitated not to give the clearest assurances of his future favour to them. He admitted Percy to his most familiar intimacy, and instructed him to commission his brother to cultivate to his utmost the good understanding thus commenced with them, which Northumberland readily undertook. While these matters were in agitation Elizabeth died, and the Privy Council chose his brother, Sir Charles Percy, to convey the intelligence of that event to James, who in his answer commanded that the Earl should be immediately

sworn a member of that body. He met the King on his road to London; was received by him with marked distinction; and was soon after appointed Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, then esteemed an office of considerable dignity in the royal household.

Hitherto all was well, but a frightful reverse of fortune awaited him. James, on his arrival in England, found the protestants so ready to admit his title and himself that he resolved, with a scandalous facility, not only to break the verbal engagements for indulgence and toleration which he had so lately made to the Papists, but even in a manner to sacrifice them to his new friends, by enforcing the penal statutes against recusants; and the Earl of Northumberland, little to his credit, condescended to suffer his name to stand in the commission issued to certain Lords of the Council for that purpose. The rage of the disappointed Catholics at this treachery may easily be conceived. Some share of it fell on Northumberland, but its chief object was their chosen and peculiar agent, Thomas Percy, whom they conceived to have deliberately betrayed them from the beginning, and the bitterness of their unremitting reproaches, operating on a temper at once furious and melancholy, is said to have led this unhappy man to join in the contrivance of that stupendously monstrous scheme of revenge, the Gunpowder Treason of 1605.

Percy, as is well known, died fighting against those who were sent to capture him and the other conspirators, and the Earl was immediately commanded to keep his house, and presently after committed to the custody of Archbishop Bancroft, from which, on the twenty-seventh of November, he was removed to the Tower. The annals of tyranny and injustice scarcely furnish a parallel to the iniquitous prosecution, and severe sentence, that followed. Exactly seven months after, he was arraigned in the Star-chamber on the following charges—That he had endeavoured to place himself at the head of the Papists, and to procure them toleration, (which, as we have seen, was not only with James's privity, but at his express request)—that he had admitted Percy into the King's Band of Pensioners without administering to him the oath of supremacy, knowing him to be a recusant—that he had written after the discovery of the plot to his agents in Yorkshire, to prevent Percy, whom he supposed had fled thither, from taking up any of his money, without giving them any order for apprehending the said Percy—that he had presumed to write and send letters, without the permission of the King or Council, during his imprisonment—and that he had given to Percy a watch-word, and intelligence, for his escape. It may be certainly inferred from the tenor of a large collection of subsequent petitions and letters from this unfortunate nobleman to James and his ministers, which are also preserved in Collins's supplement, not only that of these despicable articles scarcely any were proved, but that he was in fact altogether blameless: yet he was adjudged to be removed from the Privy Council, from his post of Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, and from his provincial Lieutenancies; disabled from holding in future any public office; fined in the enormous sum of thirty thousand pounds; and condemned to imprisonment in the Tower of London for his life.

There is good reason to suspect that Northumberland owed this horrible sentence to the jealousy and malice of Cecil, operating on the timid temper of the King. In his negotiations with James, before the death of Elizabeth, he not only became necessarily a competitor with that minister, the activity of whose intrigues at that time with the Scottish King is well known, but made Raleigh and Cobham, between whom and Cecil an entire hatred subsisted, his coadjutors. In a curious little volume of "The secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James the sixth, King of Scotland," published at Edinburgh, about fifty years since, by Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, we have abundant proof of the pains taken by Cecil's party to bias that Prince's opinion against these eminent persons, whom Lord Henry Howard, afterwards Earl of Northampton, Cecil's prime agent to that effect, and writer of most of those letters, denominates in one of them "that diabolical triplicity." James, therefore, in spite of decent appearances, probably ascended the throne with as strong prejudices towards Northumberland as it is well known he entertained against the other two, and through a dextrous use of this disposition, thus artfully infused into the King's mind, Northumberland was now sacrificed to a bare sus-

picion of some knowledge of the Gunpowder Treason with the same facility as Raleigh and Cobham had been two years before to the mysterious plot in favour of Arabella Stuart. This however is no place for lengthened conjecture, or enlarged disquisition. The Earl was committed accordingly to the Tower, but he contrived to stave off for some years the payment of any part of the fine, when it was at length conceded that it should be abated to twenty thousand pounds, to be paid by three thousand annually. He demurred to this proposal, and in 1611 all his estates were seized in the name of the Crown, and leased out till the rents should produce that sum. He resented this rigorous proceeding by a letter to the Earl of Salisbury so affecting and so high spirited, not to mention the evident allusions with which it commences to that minister's rancour against him, that it necessarily demands a place in this memoir.

"My Lord,

I understand that his Majesty, by your Lordship's advice, for soe the woords of the leases import, hath granted leases to the receivers of severall countys, under the Exchequer seal, of all my lands, for the levying of a fine imposed upon me. Your Lordship's sickness hath been a cause of my forbearing to write or sende; for I holde it neither charitable nor honest in one's owne particular to urge a remorse of conscience whereby the spirit of a dying man may be troubled, but rather to forgive under silence: but, since now your Lordship is upon recovery, and that the world confidently affirmeth you are out of danger, and that my business draws to so nigh a pointe of execution, let me put you in mind that this part you had like to have playd must come again to your acting at one tyme or other, for your foote must in the ende touch the grave; and I know no man, be he never so free a libertine, but loves to leave a memory of good deeds rather than of badd, yf there weare nothing else to be regarded.

The thing itself that is in hande is extraordinary, and not to be paralleld; for, first, it is the greatest fine that ever was imposed upon subject. Fines upon no man hath been taken near the censures, but first much quallified; then installed at easie conditions. To be levied in this fashion is not used; or if lett, yett for the benefitt of the owner, and not to his ruin. By this course is taken I see not but receivers may make what accompts they liste; pay the King at leisure, yett I not quitted of halfe that is gathered; my lands spoiled; my houses ruinated; my suits in law receive prejudice; my officers imprisoned that stand bound for me; my debts unsatisfyed; relief by borrowing taken away; my brothers and servants must suffer; my wife, children, and myself, must starve; for the receivers are by their leases to accompt but once in the yeare, for which service of gathering they have their reward 2*s.* in the pound, besides gaine in retayning the money in their handes, and commoditys many ways else. In all this provision for them I find not a thought of one penny, either for wife, child, or myself; so as there wants nothing but strowing the land with salt to make it a pattern of severe punishment; and whether these things should pearce into the hearte of a human man I leave to your Lordship to think of. I lay not downe these miserys, that must fall out of necessity, as amazed, or out of passion, for tyme hath made me very obedient to hard fortunes; but to give your Lordship a feeling of my cause, that hath ever seemed to me to be a patriot for the liberty of our country, and of our nobility, wherein we joyed to have you of our society, and not a producer of new precedents that must first or last fall on you or your's, or on those which you wish well unto, and, generally, on all subjects. The extremity is so unusuall as none hears of it but wonders. For my own part, I hold this principle almost infallible —that where things are acted by wise men contrary to all reason, there may be concluded some misery to be hidden which appeares not, or somewhat desired secretly that will not be asked publickly.

Perhapps you will say the King commands this to be done. I know the King's commands in these money matters is oft to give, but seldom to take; and all the world knoweth the noblenes of his disposition, if but reason be sounded in his eares; for the nature of censures in the Starr Chamber are ad terrorem, not ad ruinam. Men are put into King's hands that they may use mercy, not rigour of sentence: and this hath been your Lord-

ship's owne conceit of that court, as unwilling to be there farther than duty commanded, where nothing was to be pronounced but lashings and slashings, finings and imprisonings.

I write not nowe, neither have done any thing heretofore, out of willfullness, but merely out of fear how my acts or words might take interpretation; and whether I had cause or no I leave it to the knowledge of God, and the consciences of men: neither could any durance of my carcase, or discontentment of my mind, have stirred me up to deliver this, though but in private, had I not perceived an eminent approach of starving of a poore company of creatures that, for any thing I knowe, never wished you harme. And so, with my well wishes for your Lordship's strength, I rest your Lordship's poorest allie in England, for the tyme, for I have just nothing, as matters are handled.

NORTHUMBERLAND.'

Feb. 2, 1611.

He submitted soon after to the payment of the mitigated fine; the leases were revoked; and before the end of the year 1614 he had discharged the whole of the twenty thousand pounds; but he was suffered yet for many years to linger in confinement. An attachment to literature and science, and a fondness for philosophic society, happily beguiled his hard fate of much of its misery, and withdrew him for long intervals from the bitterness of unavailing regret. He was allowed a free intercourse with his illustrious fellow prisoner, the admirable Raleigh, from whom he was seldom separate. He delighted and excelled in the study of mathematics, and contrived, even under this depression, to maintain unimpaired the patronage which in his better days he had extended to several persons eminently skilled in that branch of learning. Nathaniel Torperley, a clergyman, Robert Hughes, Walter Warner, and Nicholas Hill, men of various literature, but all celebrated mathematicians, were regularly pensioned by him, and to them was added, by Raleigh's recommendation, Thomas Harriot, who had accompanied Sir Walter to Virginia, and made a survey of that colony. "Harriot, Hughes, and Warner," says Anthony Wood, "were his constant companions in the Tower, where they had a table at his charge, and were usually called the Earl of Northumberland's three Magi. Thomas Allen also," adds Wood, "an eminent antiquary, philosopher, and mathematician, was also courted to live in the family of that most noble and generous Count Henry, Earl of Northumberland, whereupon, spending some time with him, he was infinitely beloved and admired, not only by that Count, but by such artists who then lived with, or often retired to him, as Thomas Harriot, John Dee, Walter Warner, Nathaniel Torperley, &c. the Atlantes of the mathematic world." His zealous attachment to such studies, and perhaps to others more mystical, procured for him the denomination of "Henry the Wizard."

At length on the eighteenth of July, 1621, he was finally set at liberty, at the intercession, as is said, of one of James's minions, Hay, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, who had married a few years before, against her father's consent, the celebrated Lucy Percy, youngest daughter to the Earl, with whom he now opened the way to a reconciliation, by this act of kindness and duty. Northumberland's health had been injured by his tedious confinement, but the high spirit for which he was remarkable was unabated. His physicians advised him to use the waters of Bath, and he travelled thither through London in his coach drawn by eight horses, as a tacit repoof to the favourite Buckingham, who had of late commenced the vanity of using six. The remainder of his life was passed almost entirely in a dignified retirement at his seat of Petworth, in Sussex, where, notwithstanding his heavy loss, and the derangement of his affairs during his long restraint, he lived in great splendor till his death, on the fifth of November, a day already so fatal to him, in the year 1632. He was buried, with his ancestors, at Petworth.

Henry Earl of Northumberland married Dorothy, daughter of Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex of his family, who brought him four sons; two Henrys, who died in infancy; Algernon, his successor; and Henry, a nobleman of great merit, who was created by King Charles the first Baron Percy of Alnwick, and died unmarried. They had also two daughters; Dorothy, wife of Robert, second Earl of Leicester of the Sidneys; and Lucy, whose marriage has been just now mentioned.

Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.

From the original of Sir Peter Lely in the Collection of

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Clarendon.

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London, Published Sept.r 29 1820 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

EDWARD HYDE,

EARL OF CLARENDON.

FORTUNATELY for the interests of history, and not less fortunately for the honour of his memory, we possess the life of this truly great and good man from his own incomparable pen. Strange to say, to no other hand could it have been safely intrusted: he only, victim as he was to the fury of faction, and to the ingratitude of an unprincipled master, would have delivered it to us with impartiality. Gifted with a penetration into the characters of men and things so acute as to invest him with a sort of prescience of events which were to arise from their influence, and abiding therefore the consequences to himself of those events with a philosophic patience; with a magnanimity which spurned the petulant suggestions of vulgar resentment, and disdained the support of party; and, above all, with a love and reverence for truth which rendered him incapable of misrepresentation; he has recorded all the great scenes in which he acted with the moderation and candour of an indifferent and disinterested spectator. From that pure source therefore has the following humble and superficial memoir been almost wholly drawn.

Lord Clarendon, the third son of Henry Hyde, whose father was a cadet of the very ancient family of Hyde, of Norbury, in the county of Chester, by Mary, daughter and coheir of Edward Langford, of Trowbridge in Wiltshire, was born on the eighteenth of February, 1608-9. He was bred to the profession of the law, in which it may be said that he had a weighty family interest, for two of his uncles, Laurence and Nicholas, had attained to great eminence in it, especially the latter, who was at length raised to the station of Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He was educated at home till the age of thirteen, when he went to Magdalen College, in Oxford, and, having studied there, with little industry, as he himself informs us, for scarcely more than two years, was then entered of the Middle Temple, and called to the bar with as much expedition as the rules of the profession allow. He presently acquired extensive practice, but, having made two advantageous marriages, his first wife having lived only six months after their union, and becoming by the death of his elder brothers heir apparent to his father, he might probably have retired into private life, but for an accident which introduced him to Archbishop Laud, whose favour and confidence he immediately gained. The increased respect which he derived in the courts from such a connection, the honest ambition which it perhaps excited, and the affection which he conceived for Laud, whom he believed, to use his own words, "to be a man of the most exemplary virtue and piety of any of that age," induced him to remain in London, and to prosecute his labours with increased earnestness. His professional skill and learning were now held in the highest estimation, and the various powers of his capacious mind, adorned by the exact honour and integrity of his moral life, rendered him the centre of a circle of the best and wisest men of the time, who were the constant companions of his leisure hours.

This was his state at the commencement of the Parliament which met on the third of April, 1640, and in which he was elected to serve for the borough of Wotton Basset. The enlarged view which he was now enabled to take of the state of parties, added to the deliberate opinion which he had previously formed of the critical state of the country, determined him to relinquish his gown, and to devote himself wholly to the public service. He commenced his political career with an impartiality equal to the strength of his judgement, and an aversion to the abuses which had crept into the monarchy as fixed as his

affection to the monarchy itself. Thus he earnestly proposed the abolition of the Earl Marshal's Court in the very opening of this short Parliament, and in that which succeeded, to which he was returned for Saltash, in Cornwall, reiterated and accomplished the measure. He became presently one of the most active members of the Commons, not in an ostentatious display of eloquence, in which however he was equal to any, but in the useful business of the House; and was chairman of most of the committees to which affairs of the highest importance were referred, especially of those which sat on the complaints against the Courts of York, and of the Marches of Wales; the conduct of the Judges, particularly in the case of ship money; and, above all, on the great question of suppressing episcopacy. The agitation of the latter measure, which he held in the utmost abhorrence, unveiled the views of the persons with whom he had thus far acted, and his own. They aimed at the overthrow of the Monarchy and Hierarchy; he at a judicious and temperate removal of their exuberances; to which having most conscientiously lent his powerful aid to the utmost, he abandoned a party with whom he could no longer act usefully without deceit and hypocrisy, and threw the weight of his wisdom and integrity into the scale of the Crown, at the very period when it had least power to reward his fidelity.

In addition to those powerful recommendations, his exact knowledge of the views and temper of the House of Commons rendered his advice at that period of the highest importance to the King, who now committed to him the management of his affairs in that assembly, jointly with the Lord Falkland, his dear friend, who had also recently seceded from the republicans, and Sir John Colepeper. The burthen of this employment, as well as the honour of Charles's confidence, fell chiefly on Mr. Hyde. To him was mostly left the secret correspondence with the King, who, early in the year 1642, soon after this arrangement had been made, went to York, and all the answers to the incessant petitions and remonstrances of the Parliament flowed from his luxuriant pen. In the course of the summer he joined the King at York, as well to avoid a threatened impeachment as in obedience to his Majesty's command, and was soon after specially excepted by a vote of both Houses from any general amnesty which might ensue in the event of an accommodation between the King and the Parliament. Charles's favour towards him kept pace with the malignity of the rebels. He had twice declined the office of Secretary of State, to the duties of which he thought himself incompetent, and had till this period served in no public capacity; but in the beginning of the year 1643 he was prevailed on to accept the appointment of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was at the same time knighted, and sworn of the Privy Council. He sat in the Parliament assembled by the King at Oxford in the following January, and was the next winter a commissioner for the treaty of Uxbridge, in which Charles's hopes were chiefly founded on his endeavours, especially in all that related to the church.

The abortive result of that negotiation, and the increasing difficulties and dangers which surrounded the King, produced now a resolution to detach the Prince of Wales from his Majesty's person, lest they might fall together into the hands of the rebels. It was determined that he should retire into the west of England, and on the fourth of March, 1644, Hyde, who had shortly before been named one of the six who were to compose his council, took leave for the last time of the King; attended his Royal Highness to Bristol; and from thence, flying before Fairfax, into Cornwall, and finally to the isles of Scilly and Jersey. The Queen now accomplished a design which she had long cherished, and which he had earnestly opposed, to prevail that the Prince should reside with her in France, and Hyde, with others of the Council not less disgusted than himself by that step, declining to accompany him thither, remained in Jersey. Here he passed between two and three years in a sweet retirement, to the loss of which he ever after looked back with a mixture of satisfaction and regret. "He always took pleasure," to use the words of his own memoirs, written twenty-five years after, "in relating with what great tranquillity of spirit, though deprived of the joy he took in his wife and children, he spent his time here amongst his books, which he got from Paris, and his papers, between which he seldom spent less than ten hours in the day; and it can hardly be believed how much he read and writ there;

insomuch as he did usually compute that during his whole stay in Jersey, he writ daily little less than one sheet of large paper with his own hand." This passage, and therefore I have quoted it, is not without its value in the literary history of our country, for what can be insignificant that furnishes even the slightest anecdote relative to the composition of that glorious work which will preserve Lord Clarendon's fame when even his wisdom and purity as a minister shall be scarcely recollected? The fruit of the studies to which he alludes was the History of the Grand Rebellion, which was planned, and for the most part written, during his residence in the island of Jersey.

The peace of his retirement however was frequently interrupted. The Queen, who could not but dislike him because he had in many instances opposed her influence in public affairs, sought, though ineffectually, to sow discord between his royal master and himself, and his pen was still occasionally employed in answering the furious votes and declarations of the Parliament. At length in the spring of 1648 he received the command both of the King and Queen to join the Prince, at Paris, and, in following his Royal Highness by sea to Holland, whither he had suddenly removed, was captured by some frigates of Ostend, and afterwards so detained by bad weather, that he arrived not at the Hague till the end of August. Here, disgusted by the intrigues and animosities of the Prince's little Court, which for some time he strove in vain to compose, and at length paralysed by the news of the King's murther, he gladly accepted the empty commission of Ambassador extraordinary to Madrid, jointly with the Lord Cottington, and, taking Paris in his way thither, became somewhat reconciled to the Queen, who then resided at St. Germains. His mission, the object of which it is almost needless to say was to solicit the support of Spain to Charles's forlorn throne, proved fruitless, and after remaining there for several months, he was dismissed by an order from the Court, on the arrival of the news of Cromwell's successes in Scotland, Charles's unfortunate visit to which country had been undertaken against his opinion. He now, in July 1651, established his residence at Antwerp, where he had fixed his family on his departure for Madrid.

The King, on arriving at Paris after his escape from Worcester, committed his shattered affairs almost wholly to the management of Sir Edward Hyde, and never was the favour of the most powerful and wealthy Prince resented with keener envy and jealousy. His policy too, which was to wait patiently for a favourable change of opinion in England, was opposed by the whole Court, except by his fast friend the Marquis of Ormond; and the Queen, who had again become his implacable enemy, gladly aided the projects of his enemies. The Papists, the Presbyterians, and the old loyalists of the Church of England, united against him, and prepared petitions for his removal, which the firm expressions of the King, who had been apprised of the design, prevented their presenting. At length in 1653, a Mr. Robert Long, who served the King under the title of Secretary of State, accused him in form to the Council of corresponding with Cromwell, and receiving a pension from him, a charge which ended in the confusion of the informant, and the appointment of Hyde to his office. New intrigues against him of less importance succeeded, and in fact formed the whole history of the banished Court for some years while it followed the wanderings of the King in Germany and Flanders, till Charles, as it seems, crushed the hopes of these petty factions by delivering to Sir Edward the Great Seal, with the title of Lord Chancellor, on the death of the Lord Keeper, Sir Edward Herbert, one of the most bitter of his enemies. This mark of the King's complete favour and confidence was bestowed on him at Bruges, in the Christmas week of the year 1657.

Cromwell died in the succeeding autumn, and the first glimpses of the restoration dawned amidst the confusion that followed. Of the numerous circumstances of the Chancellor's extensive concern in the accomplishment of that great event it would be impossible here to treat. He had ever advised Charles to reject all proposals to replace him on the throne which might be grounded on alterations and novelties in the government either of the Church or State, the maintenance of which in their fullest integrity was the first principle in all his negotiations with the various parties by the agreement of which the happy change was at length wrought; and he had now the satisfaction to witness the

re-erection of those venerable fabrics in all their former strength and splendor. In the meantime he left untouched those salutary corrections to which himself in the opening of his political life had so largely contributed, and suffered the High Commission Court, the Earl Marshal's Court, and the Star-chamber, those mighty engines of kingly and ministerial power, to remain in the dust to which the late excesses had levelled them; neither did he endeavour to repeal the acts for triennial Parliaments; for the prohibition of tonnage, poundage, ship-money, or other abuses which had crept unwarrantably into the royal prerogative. In the same spirit of wisdom, moderation, and justice, he had the courage to institute, and forward to his utmost, the bill of indemnity, and the bill for uniformity of worship, certain to provoke the enmity of the royalists by the one, and of the presbyterians by the other, and of each he had in the end abundance of bitter experience.

Among the first marks of royal favour and gratitude dispensed after the King's arrival were those bestowed on the Chancellor, by whom they had been so highly merited. He was presented with grants, but to no immoderate value, of Crown lands. Other valuable gifts were also assigned to him, and among them a sum of twenty thousand pounds, which he received from the King's own hand, and another of twenty-five thousand, charged on the forfeited estates in Ireland, of which last however no more than six thousand were ever paid. He held for some time, together with the Great Seal, the offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Secretary of State, and was afterwards elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and appointed Lord Lieutenant of that County. The King's entire confidence, as well as the whole weight of administration, rested on him, and in addition to this burthen, Charles, who knew not how to deny, and durst not promise unless he could perform, left it to him to satisfy, or rather to dissatisfy, the multitude of claims urged on the score of suffering loyalty. He became presently therefore an object not only of envy but of disgust, and the marriage of his daughter to the Duke of York, which is treated of at large in another part of this work, and which became publicly known soon after the restoration, would probably have been the first signal of a storm against him, had not the King, almost in the instant, damped for the time the hopes of his enemies by new testimonies of esteem. In November 1660 he was created Baron Hyde of Hindon in Wilts, and, in the following April, Viscount of Cornbury, a manor in Oxfordshire lately granted to him, and Earl of Clarendon. To these dignities the King earnestly wished to have added the order of the Garter, which the Chancellor, perhaps not less careless of the distinction than anxious to avoid the jealousy that his acceptance of it might provoke, positively declined.

It was not long however before a faction was regularly arrayed against him. Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, and Mr. William Coventry, a younger son of the late Lord Keeper, who might without injustice be styled political adventurers, had insinuated themselves into the King's favour by proposing new projects for the management of the House of Commons, and undertaking to carry them into execution. The Chancellor, who disliked artifice, and abhorred corruption, discouraged their proceedings, and those persons, of whom the one excelled in dissimulation, and the other in boldness, contrived, without uttering a single expression of resentment or disrespect, to weaken the King's affection towards him. They were joined by the Duchess of Cleveland, the favourite mistress, who could scarcely be expected to entertain any regard for a man of the Chancellor's character, and others, who had waited only for leaders under whom to make the attack, readily lent their aid. Among them was George Digby, Earl of Bristol, a furious and eccentric person, to whose fidelity Charles, in his late tedious season of necessity, had owed some obligations, and with whom Clarendon had lived in intimacy and confidence. Bristol, before the plans of the party were matured, on some sudden pique, accused the Chancellor in a vague and unprepared manner to the House of Peers of high treason, and delivered in a list of articles charging him chiefly with having procured undue favour to the Papists, to whose persuasion it is singular that Bristol himself should have been lately reconciled, and with having negotiated the late sale of Dunkirk to the French, with which in fact the Chancellor seems to have had no concern but as an individual member of the Council in which that

measure was resolved on, indeed rather against his judgement. This blow, for the time, was ineffectual. The Peers treated it with contempt, and the King with apparent anger. He overwhelmed the Chancellor with professions of esteem and confidence, while his mind secretly teemed with a disgust not infused by the late impotent proceeding, but by the incessant private efforts of Bennet, Coventry, and their associates, and Clarendon's sagacity discovered daily proofs of the decline of his interest, perhaps before it was suspected even by his enemies. Thus he stood at the close of the year 1663.

But the approach, slow as it was, of their victory soon became evident to the whole Court, and they employed all means, even the most despicable, to accelerate it. When Charles returned from his new counsellors, full fraught with graver prejudices, the Duke of Buckingham, at the head of a party of buffoons, entertained him in the private apartments with ridicule and mimicry of the Chancellor. They commonly called him the King's schoolmaster, and, "if the King," says Lord Clarendon himself, "said he would go such a journey, or do such a trivial thing to-morrow, somebody would lay a wager that he would not do it, and when he asked 'why,' it was answered that the Chancellor would not let him," &c. Nay, it was usual for Buckingham to parade about the room, imitating his gait and demeanour, and carrying a pair of bellows for the Great Seal, Colonel Titus walking before him, with a fire-shovel on his shoulder, as the mace. In the meantime his inflexible integrity forwarded the views of his enemies. The acute and unprincipled Lord Ashley, better known afterwards as Earl of Shaftesbury, threw himself into their ranks in revenge for the Chancellor's having refused to put the Seal to an unconstitutional patent devised solely for the emolument of that nobleman, and the King burst at length into plain expressions of anger on his honest opposition to the bill for liberty of conscience contrived in 1664 between the papists and the presbyterians.

The effect of these evils was greatly enhanced by the natural cast of the Chancellor's temper. The gravity and independence of his spirit, contrasted as it now was to unceasing gaiety and flattery, became intolerable to Charles. He tells us himself too, speaking of an earlier part of his life, that "he was in his nature inclined to pride and passion, and to a humour between wrangling and disputing, very troublesome," and it is clear that the King when these ebullitions prevailed was often personally treated with very little ceremony. Charles, explaining the causes of his disgust in a letter to the Duke of Ormond, Clarendon's firm friend, charges him with "a certain peevishness of temper," and the Chancellor himself, in a curious expostulatory original addressed to the King, remaining in the Harleian collection, writes—"I do upon my knees begg your pardon for any bold or sawcy expressions I have ever used to you," and tacitly denies all other causes of offence. To counterbalance this solitary ground of reasonable umbrage Clarendon had nothing to plead but consummate wisdom, and the purest integrity, qualities now held in little estimation in Charles's Court or Council.

The King, though his affections had become at length totally alienated, was long before he could prevail on himself to dismiss this great minister. The small faction however which had poisoned his mind had exerted itself not less successfully in the Parliament, and the country, always ready to be misled, caught the infection. Clarendon, without a fault or error, became gradually the most unpopular man in the Kingdom. A vulgar outcry ascribed to him all the qualities most disgraceful to a statesman, and all the mishaps that had occurred since the restoration, insomuch that the King, had he again received him into favour, could scarcely have retained him in office. Of this public prejudice, the result of his own folly and ingratitude, Charles now meanly availed himself to cloak the shame of discharging such a servant. He visited the Chancellor; loaded him with acknowledgements of his wise and faithful services; lamented the aversion which the House of Commons had conceived against him, and his own inability to protect him against the frightful consequences of it; and besought him, as his only means of safety, to resign the Seal. Clarendon refused with a dignified respect, and assigned his reasons; and on the thirtieth of August, 1667, four days after, surrendered it in obedience to the King's express command.

He now believed, to use his own words, "that the storm had been over, for he had not

the least apprehension of the displeasure of the Parliament, or of any thing they could say or do against him," but he was presently painfully undeceived. The King, to ingratiate himself with the House of Commons, openly censured him, and, to save himself future trouble, employed secret emissaries to persuade him to quit the Kingdom. The Chancellor, with a courage inspired by conscious innocence, stoutly refused. It was at length determined that he should be accused of high treason, and a charge was prepared by a committee of the Commons, consisting of seventeen articles, the most material of which were notoriously false, and the rest wholly frivolous, in which, after long debate, the House determined that nothing treasonable could be found; yet it was resolved that he should be impeached of that crime, which was immediately done at the Lords' bar by Mr., afterwards Sir Edward, Seymour, with a demand that he should be sequestered from that House, and his person secured. The Peers refused to receive the accusation unless some particular charge were exhibited against him, and the Commons, conscious of the weakness of their case, insisted on their right to impeach generally. A long and sharp contest on this question arose between the two Houses, which was at length terminated by the King, who, fearing, as it should seem, that amidst this confusion the Chancellor might escape unhurt, specially commanded him to withdraw himself into a foreign country.

As he had resolved not to quit England but by the order of his master, so on receiving that order he instantly obeyed it. On the twenty-ninth of November, 1667, this illustrious exile embarked in a miserable boat, in the middle of the night, at Erith, and, after remaining at sea amidst the inconveniences and dangers of the worst weather for three days and nights, landed at Calais. He left behind him a representation at large to the House of Peers of his conduct since the restoration, composed with all the simplicity and modest courage of conscious innocence and truth; such however was the rage of the prevailing party that it was presently publicly burned, by order of both Houses. They strove to proceed against him for high treason by attainder, but this was prevented by the influence of the King, who, by way of compromise, agreed to a bill of banishment, which was passed in great haste. In the mean time, Buckingham and Arlington, with the most disgraceful malice, pressed the Court of France to forbid his residence in that country, where he passed a considerable time under the continual inspection of an officer sent specially from Paris to remove him as soon as he might recover from a long fit of illness, in the midst of which he was attacked at an inn at Evreux by a brutal mob of English sailors, who believed that he had ruined their country, and narrowly escaped with life, after suffering severe personal injuries. At this period a change in French politics produced a permission that he might remain in that country, and he settled shortly after at Montpelier, where he arrived in July, 1668, and remained nearly for three years.

His first leisure in this retirement was dedicated to the composition of a vindication at large of his ministry, in which he answered severally the charges which had been preferred against him by the House of Commons. This remarkable apology, which was soon after published, he transmitted to his son, Laurence, afterwards Earl of Rochester, who took a speedy opportunity to offer to that House in express terms a challenge, which never was accepted, to prove any one of the allegations. Here closed Clarendon's political life, and here commenced the better and happier days which he consecrated to posterity. "In all this retirement," to use his own words, "he was very seldom vacant, and then only when he was under some sharp visitation of the gout, from reading excellent books, or writing some animadversions and exercitations of his own. He learned the Italian and French languages, in which he read many of the choicest books. Now he finished the work which his heart was most set upon, 'the History of the late civil wars, and transactions to the time of the King's return in the year 1660.' He finished his 'Reflections and Devotions upon the Psalms of David,' which he dedicated to his children. He wrote and finished his 'Answer to Mr. Hobbes his Leviathan.' He wrote a good volume of 'Essays, divine, moral, and political,' to which he was always adding. He prepared 'a Discourse historical of the pretence and practice of the successive Popes, from the beginning of the Jurisdiction they assume.' He entered upon the forming 'a Method for the better disposing the

History of England, that it may be more profitably and exactly communicated than it hath yet been.' "

In addition to the works thus enumerated, we have likewise the following pieces from his pen—An Answer to the Declaration of the House of Commons in 1648 that they would make no more addresses to the King—The Difference and Disparity between the estates and conditions of George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Essex, printed in the Reliquiæ Wottonianæ—Animadversions on Mr. Cressy's book called 'Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church, by Dr. Stillingfleet, and the imputation refuted and retorted'—A History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland—A Collection of the Orders heretofore used in Chancery—A Collection of Tracts, published from his original manuscripts in 1727; several of his letters, printed in the Life of Dr. Barwick; and many of his speeches in Parliament after the Restoration, which appeared separately. It is scarcely necessary to add to this list the supplement to his sublime History of the Grand Rebellion, which bears the title of his Life, and from which the contents of these sheets have been derived.

Lord Clarendon removed in 1671 to Moulines, and from thence to Rouen, where he died on the ninth of December, 1674. He was, as has been already stated, twice married; first, to Anne, daughter of Sir George Ayliffe of Wiltshire, who died childless; secondly, to Frances, daughter, and at length heir, to Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Bart., a Master of Requests, by whom he had four sons; Henry, his successor; Laurence, created Earl of Rochester; Edward, and James, who died unmarried; and two daughters; Anne, married to James Duke of York; and Frances, to Sir Thomas Keighley, of Hartingfordbury in Herts, Knight of the Bath.

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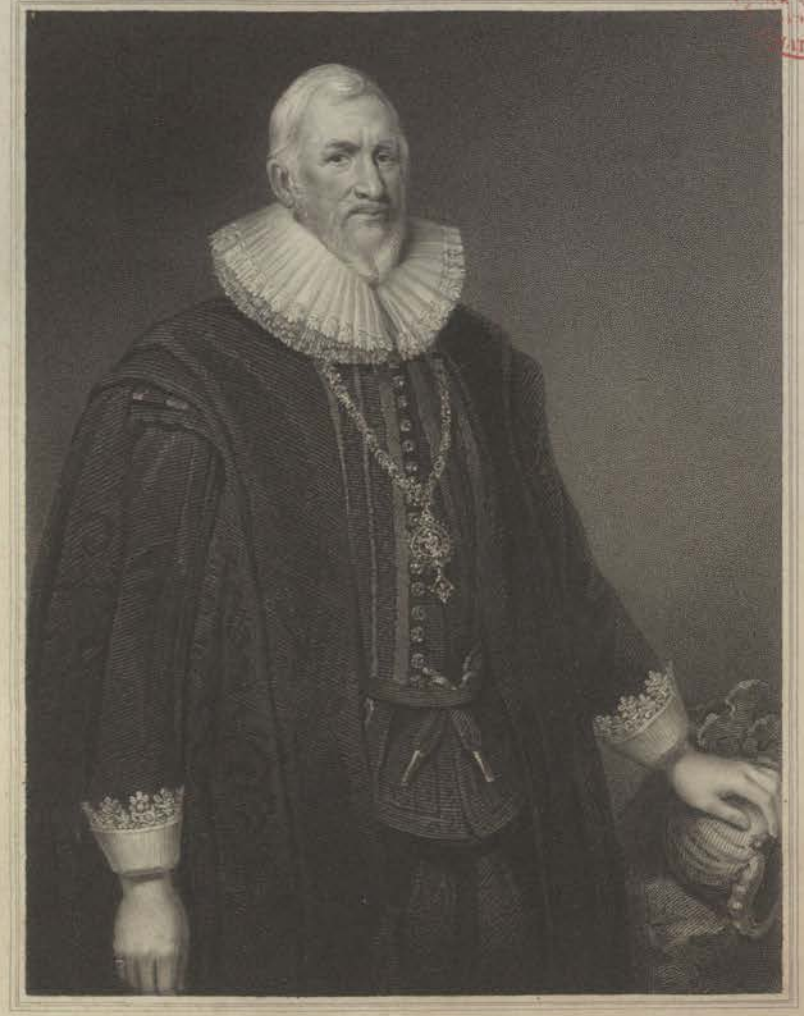

Sir Hugh Middleton.

From the original in

Goldsmith's Hall, London.

Drawn by W. Hilton, R.A. & Engraved (with Permission) by E. Scriven

London, Published Sept. 25, 1826, by Lekington, Hughes, Harding, Mayor & Jones, and Longman, Thurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

SIR HUGH MIDDLETON.

If superlative public beneficence, and the contrivance and execution of a design worthy of the mind, and requiring nearly the power, of a mighty monarch, may justly claim for a private individual the epithet illustrious, the commemoration of such a person in a work of this nature can need no apology. His history, it is true, is almost wholly confined to that of the stupendous task which he achieved, and indeed in a life devoted to the occupations of a banker in London, and an engineer in the country, we might expect to seek in vain for any of those lively occurrences which animate biography, and excite general interest. The scarcity however of decorative materials could furnish no sufficient excuse for neglecting to raise a monument so justly due, and, though the quarry yield not porphyry or granate, that debt of grateful recollection must be discharged.

Sir Hugh Middleton was the sixth son of Richard Middleton, of the town of Denbigh, by Jane, daughter of Richard Dryhurst, of the same place. His family was of the highest antiquity in Wales, and his father, though a younger brother, seems from some circumstances to have possessed a considerable property, yet, being burthened with a very numerous progeny, nine sons, and four daughters, he found it convenient to devote two of the younger, Thomas and Hugh, to commerce, and for that purpose sent them to London, where Hugh became a member of the company of goldsmiths, and exercised that trade. Of his success in it we are not informed, but certain it is that the main source of the great wealth of which he became possessed was in his own country. As soon as he had acquired sufficient property in his business to enable him to prosecute hopefully such an undertaking, he obtained from the company of the mines royal the lease of a copper mine, for such only had it been esteemed, in the county of Cardigan, at an annual rent of four hundred pounds. With a natural inclination for such pursuits, and the aid of some experience, for he had busied himself much in the earlier part of his life in searching for coal near his native place, he applied himself so successfully to this new work as to discover a vein of silver, which is said to have yielded, we are not told for how many years, a produce from which he gained the enormous sum of two thousand pounds monthly.

Thus suddenly and greatly enriched, he determined to adopt the celebrated scheme for the better supply of water to London, through the means of that artificial stream so well known by the name of the New River. I say adopt, because it had been long before projected. The corporation of London had obtained an act of parliament so early as the tenth year of Elizabeth, and two others, in the third and fourth of James, authorising them to form an aqueduct from any part of Middlesex or Hertfordshire to that city, but no man, or body of men, had hitherto been found hardy enough to undertake a work the difficulty and hazard of which were little less formidable than the expence. Middleton at length stood forward alone, and on the first of April, 1606, the city assigned to him and his heirs all the powers and privileges conferred by those statutes. Nearly two years were passed in surveying the various waters of the two counties, and in necessary experiments and deliberations, when two springs, the one in the parish of Amwell, in Herts; the other, called Chadwell, near the town of Ware, were chosen; and on the first of February, 1608, the great operation was actually commenced.

The New River is so well known that it would be superfluous to give here any detailed account of it. Suffice it to say that, having united the two streams as near to their respective sources as the nature of the ground would permit, he led it on its winding course, sometimes in deep channels, cut often with enormous labour through stubborn soils; sometimes

arches; building over it (a number since considerably diminished) eight hundred brick houses of various dimensions; and seldom employing fewer than six hundred workmen. When it had reached Enfield his wealth was nearly exhausted. He requested aid from the Lord Mayor and commonalty of the city, and, on being basely refused, besought it of the Crown. James, with more caution however than liberality, assented, and agreed, by an indenture under the Great Seal, dated the second of May, 1612, to pay half the expence of the whole, in consideration of an assignment of a moiety of the profits, which Middleton readily executed. He delivered accordingly into the treasury an account of his disbursements, and received from the King between the years 1612 and 1614 six thousand, three hundred, and forty-seven pounds, which seems to have been all that was at any time paid under that agreement; though a pamphlet of the day makes the sum nearly eight thousand. The work was now prosecuted with increased alacrity, and on Michaelmas-day, 1613, this marvellous stream, the sinuous course of which extends thirty-nine miles, fell first into the cistern at Islington, now known by the name of the "New River Head."

We are not informed, and it is most difficult to conceive, what obstacles could have prevented the unbounded success of such an undertaking. The whole of London had till now derived its supply of water from sixteen public conduits, together with partial aids from the Thames, raised by imperfect and awkward machinery: custom however seems to have reconciled the sluggish citizens to the inconvenience, and strenuous endeavours, the motives to which it is not easy to guess, are said to have been made to depreciate, as well by ridicule as argument, the advantages promised by the accomplishment of this grand design. It was not till 1619 that the parties chiefly interested in it obtained sufficient encouragement to induce them to apply for a charter of incorporation; but on the twenty-first of June in that year, the King granted Letters Patent to Hugh Middleton; to his brother, Sir Thomas Middleton, an Alderman of London; Sir Henry Montague, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Ralph, son of Hugh Middleton; and twenty-three others; constituting them a public society, by the style of the "Governors and Company of the New River, brought from Chadwell and Amwell to London." On the twenty-second of October, 1622, James testified his peculiar approbation of the work, and of its author, by conferring on him the title of Baronet.

This empty honour was the sole recompense that poor Middleton ever received. He became embarrassed in his pecuniary circumstances, and is said to have been compelled by his necessities to adopt the business of an ordinary surveyor, a report which the terms of his last will seem completely to invalidate. He had divided his moiety of the property into thirty-six shares, of which he retained thirteen for himself, but so unprosperous were the affairs of the company, that no dividend was made till 1633, and then not to the amount of twelve pounds on each share. The second scarcely exceeded a fourth part of that sum; and, instead of a third, it was becoming necessary to make further disbursements, when Charles the first, on the eighteenth of November, 1636, reconveyed, not to Sir Hugh, as we find invariably and most erroneously stated, for he died five years before that date, but probably to his heir, the moiety formerly assigned to the Crown, in consideration of a fee farm rent of five hundred pounds annually, out of the profits of the company. Such are the variations in the value of property of this nature that a single share has been of late years sold for fifteen thousand pounds.

Sir Hugh Middleton died between the twenty-first of November, 1631, on which day his will is dated, and the twenty-first of the following month, when it was proved. He had been twice married; first, to Anne, daughter of a Mr. Collins, of Lichfield, and widow of Richard Edwards, of London, who died childless; secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Olmsted, of Ingatestone, in Essex, by whom he had ten sons, and six daughters. The sons were Thomas and Hugh, who died unmarried; William, who inherited his father's title; James, Henry, Robert, Bartholomew, John, Ralph, and Simon. From these, with the exception of the last, all issue is apparently extinct; but Jabez Middleton, a lineal descendant from Simon, remains, and is, or lately was, a

petitioner to that wealthy body which now enjoys the fruit of the exertions of his meritorious and enterprising ancestor, for some small pittance to rescue his old age from the necessity of labour. The daughters of Sir Hugh were Elizabeth, Jane, another Elizabeth, Anne, Esther, and Mary; of whom we have little information but that the first died in childhood, that the second was married to Peter Chamberlain, Doctor of Physic, and the fifth to Richard Price. Some few particulars indeed relative to them occur in his will, of which, as it has not hitherto been published, a short abstract shall close this sketch.

He desires to be buried in the parish church of St. Matthew, in London, of which he was sometime an inhabitant; bequeaths to his wife Elizabeth, all the "chains, rings, jewels, pearls, bracelets, and gold buttons, which she hath in her custody, and useth to wear at festivals; and the deep silver basin, spout pot, maudlin cup, and small bowl." To his son William, one hundred pounds, he having already had his full portion. To his daughter Jane, and her husband, Doctor Chamberlain, ten pounds each. His daughter Esther "having had already one thousand pounds, in part of her portion of nineteen hundred, and the other nine hundred being detained till the articles on the part of the Lady Price are performed which were agreed on in the behalf of her grandson, Richard Price, Esq.," he gives to that Richard, and to the said Esther his wife, ten pounds each, in addition to that nine hundred. To his sons Henry and Simon Middleton four hundred pounds each; and to each of his daughters, Elizabeth and Anne Middleton five hundred. To the poor of the parish of Heullan, in which he was born, twenty pounds; the same sum to the town of Denbigh; and five pounds to the parish of Amwell in Herts. To his nephew Captain Roger Middleton thirty pounds. To Richard Newell, and Howel Jones, thirty pounds each, "to the end that the former may continue his care in the works of the mines royal, and the latter in the waterworks," where they were then respectively employed. Directs that his shares in the mines royal, in the Principality of Wales, shall be sold. Gives to his wife the "profits of the New River," for her life, but directs that if the produce of the sale of his mine shares should be insufficient for the payment of his debts, such of the New River shares as shall make up the deficiency, not however exceeding four, shall be sold for that purpose. Gives, after the death of his wife, to his sons Henry and Simon, and his daughters Elizabeth and Anne, and their heirs respectively, one share each in the New River; and one share, in trust to ten persons, citizens and goldsmiths, to be divided among the poor of that company, at the rate of twelve pence weekly to each, "especially to such as shall be of his name, kindred, or country." Bequeaths his house at Bush-hills, Edmonton, and the furniture in it, to his wife, for her life, with remainder to his youngest son Simon, and his heirs; and gives her "the keeping and wearing of the great jewel given to him by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and, after her decease, to such one of his sons as she may think most worthy to wear and enjoy it." To his brother, Robert Bateman, twenty pounds: to Peter Hynde and his wife, twenty pounds: to Mr. William Lewyn, an annuity of twenty pounds; to his nephews Sir Thomas Middleton and Timothy Middleton, twenty pounds each; and to each of his men servants five pounds. He constitutes his wife sole executrix, and his brother Sir Thomas Middleton, knight, his brother Bateman, and his nephews Roger and Richard Middleton, overseers.

BLANCH SOMERSET,

BARONESS ARUNDELL OF WARDOUR.

THE name of this lady stands foremost among the few examples of feminine heroism recorded in the dismal history of the grand rebellion. She was the sixth of the seven daughters of Edward, fourth Earl of Worcester of the Somersets, by Elizabeth, third and youngest daughter of Francis Hastings, second Earl of Huntingdon of his family, and was married at an early age to Thomas, second Lord Arundell of Wardour. This nobleman, the heir of a warlike and loyal sire, had from the commencement of the differences between the King and the Parliament, though wholly unconnected with the Court or the Government, manifested the firmest attachment to the royal cause. When Charles appeared in arms Lord Arundell joined him with a regiment of horse, raised and equipped at his own expence, and was presently distinguished as much by his bravery as his fidelity. That such an opponent should become a peculiar object of the vengeance of the rebels might be reasonably expected: he foresaw it; and when he quitted his noble seat of Wardour Castle, in Wilts, for the camp, exacted a promise from his Lady that it should be defended against them to the last extremity.

On the second of May, 1643, while this nobleman was at Oxford with the King, Sir Edward Hungerford, who was much trusted by the Parliament in their military affairs in Wiltshire, required admittance, with some soldiers, into the castle, to search, by order of that assembly, for cavaliers and malignants, as the royalists were called by the enemy. His demand being disdainfully refused, and the castle presenting an appearance of strength which he did not expect, he called to his aid a body of troops in the neighbourhood, under the command of Colonel Strode, which augmented his force to thirteen hundred men, and, having summoned it in form to surrender, was answered by Lady Arundell that "she had a command from her Lord to keep it, and would obey that command." The inmates of the castle were herself, then sixty years old; the wife of her only son, Cecily, daughter of Sir Henry Crompton, of Brambletye in Sussex, Knight of the Bath; the three young children of that lady, two sons and a daughter, and about fifty servants, of whom, say the accounts of that time, twenty-five were fighting men.

On the following day Hungerford brought up his cannon within musquet shot of the walls, and played on the castle without intermission for six days and nights, springing two mines, of which the second, having been introduced into a vaulted passage which communicated with almost all the lower apartments, shook the building to its foundation. In the mean time the little garrison defended itself with the most signal obstinacy and valour; the men incessantly on the alert, and the women supplying them with ammunition, loading their pieces, and extinguishing the fiery missiles which the besiegers threw in abundance over the walls. Worn however at length by continual watching and labour to positive incapacity, and all hope of succour failing, Lady Arundell demanded a parley, and offered terms of capitulation, but not till the very moment when the enemy had applied petards to a gate, the forcing of which they who were within knew must have opened a free passage into the castle. Such an impression of their strength and resources had been made on the besiegers that they readily accorded to the following favourable terms.

"First, that the ladies, and all others in the castle, should have quarter.

"Secondly, that the ladies and servants should carry away all their wearing apparel,

it six of the serving-men, whom the ladies should nominate, should attend upon persons wheresoever the Parliament forces should dispose of them.

Thirdly, that all the furniture and goods in the house should be safe from plunder, and to this purpose one of the six nominated to attend the ladies was to stay in the castle, and take an inventory of all in the house, of which the commanders were to have one copy, and the ladies another."

"But," adds the Mercurius Rusticus, in which I find these articles, "being on these terms masters of the castle, and all within it, 'tis true they observe the first article, and spare the lives of all the besieged, though they had slain in the defence at least sixty of the rebels, but for the other two they observe them not in any part. As soon as they enter the castle they first seize upon the several trunks and packs which they of the castle were making up, and left neither the ladies or servants any wearing clothes but what was on their backs. There was in the castle, amongst many very rich ones, one extraordinary chimney piece, valued at two thousand pounds: this they utterly deface, and beat down all the carved works thereof with their poll-axes. There were likewise rare pictures, the work of the most curious pencils that were known in these latter times of the world, and such that if Apelles himself, had he been now alive, needed not to blush to own for his. These in a wild fury they break and tear in pieces, a loss that neither cost nor art can repair. Without, they burn all the out-houses: they pull up the pales of two parks, one of red deer, the other of fallow: what they did not kill they let loose to the world for the next taker. In the parks they burn three tenements and two lodges. They cut down all the trees about the house and grounds; these they sold for four-pence, six-pence, or twelve-pence apiece, that were worth three, four, or five pound a tree. They dig up the heads of twelve great ponds, some of five or six acres apiece, and destroy all the fish: they sell carp of two foot long for two-pence and three-pence apiece. They drive away and sell the horses, kine, and other cattle; and, having left nothing either in the air or water, they dig under the earth, the castle being served with water brought two miles by a conduit of lead, and cut up the pipe and sold it, as these men's wives in North Wiltshire do bone lace, at six-pence a yard. They that have the unhappy occasion to sum up these losses value them at no less than an hundred thousand pounds."

Nor was their breach of the treaty confined to this plunder and devastation. They led the ladies and children prisoners to Shaftesbury, and having kept them for some time confined there, proposed to send them to Bath, at that time afflicted with the plague. Lady Arundell, whose health was sinking under the fatigue and anxiety that she had suffered, and who was then confined to her bed, and, at her instance, her daughter-in-law, heroically declared that they would not submit to be removed thither unless by actual force, and the rebels, fearing to render themselves unpopular by so odious a step in a country where the objects of their persecution were exceedingly beloved, relinquished the design. In mere malice however, for to no other motive can it be assigned, they wrested the two sons of Mrs. Arundell, the one nine the other seven years old, from their mother and grandmother, and sent them under a guard to Dorchester.

Whether any of the noble sufferers were enlarged before the impending calamitous widowhood of Lady Arundell we are not informed. On the fifth of the following July, her Lord, fighting gallantly at the head of his regiment in the battle of Lansdown, received a brace of pistol bullets in the thigh, and died of those wounds at Oxford. Lady Arundell survived till 1649, on the twenty-eighth of October in which year she died at Winchester, and was buried, with her husband, at Tisbury, in Wilts. Their children were Henry, who succeeded to the title and estates; and three daughters; Catharine, wife of Francis Cornwallis; Anne, married to Roger Vaughan; and Clara, to Humphrey Weld, of Lulworth Castle, in Dorsetshire.

It is proper to observe that the plate which accompanies these notices has been executed from a picture comparatively of recent date, and this deviation, solitary as it is, from a rule laid down of excluding all but originals, however high their authority, demands explanation. The only portrait extant of this lady was long preserved at Wardour Castle with the greatest

care, yet had suffered such partial decay from the silent operation of time that the whole, except the head, which fortunately remained in a perfect state, was destroyed or nearly obliterated. At a subsequent period, all the damaged parts of the picture were cut away; and Angelica Kauffman, at the instance of the noble proprietor, copied the head, adding to it, with exquisite taste, a figure and drapery. It is a fortunate circumstance that this admirable copy was executed, for it has preserved to the world the only likeness of a heroine, who is so eminently distinguished in the dark annals of the rebellion, the small remnant of the original picture being subsequently consumed in the fire which had nearly proved fatal to the splendid edifice of Wardour.

Sir Thomas Gresham.

From the original of Holbein in

Mercers Hall, London.

Drawn by Wm. Hilton, R.A. & Engraved with Permission by C. Heath.

London, Published Sept.r 19 1820 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones, and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown.

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

It has been reported that this great Patriarch of commerce, and of commercial finance, issued from the lowest origin, nay even that he was a foundling. An old woman, says this tradition, who was led by the chirping of grasshoppers to the spot where he was exposed, carried him to her cottage, and nursed him, and therefore he chose a grasshopper for his crest. It is inconceivable how such silly falsehoods can gain currency in the face of facts of extensive notoriety. He was descended from a family of respectable antiquity and possessions in Norfolk, which derived its name from that of the parish in which it had originally been seated. His father, Sir Richard, and his uncle, Sir John, who were the third and fourth sons of his grandfather, John Gresham, of Holt, in that county, were bred to trade; acquired great wealth; and each of them served the offices of alderman and Lord Mayor. He was the third and youngest son of Sir Richard Gresham, by his first wife, Audrey, daughter of William Lynn, of Southwick, in Northamptonshire, and was born in the year 1519.

His father had for many years exercised the employment in which he himself became afterwards so conspicuous, that of agent for the Crown with the trading interest, or, as it was called, King's Merchant, an office of the highest importance and trust, inasmuch as it united the duty of raising money for the royal occasions by private loans with that of protecting and cherishing the sources from which they were derived. In this, as well as in his own great commercial concerns, it is pretty evident that he designed his son Thomas for his successor, especially as he was regularly bound an apprentice to his uncle Sir John, and afterwards admitted into the Mercers' company; yet he was bred a scholar, and acquired no mean fame in the University of Oxford, since Dr. Caius, in his annals of Gonville and Caius College, says of him "Una nobiscum per juventutem hujus Collegii pensionarius erat Thomas Gresham, nobilis ille et doctissimus mercator, qui forum mercatorium Londini extruxit," &c. On the death of his father however, which occurred in 1548, Edward the sixth's Council appointed a Sir William Dansell to the office of royal money agent, who took up his residence in that character at Antwerp, where the trade and wealth of our part of Europe was at that time in a manner monopolised, and from whence the supplies which the profuseness of the preceding reign had rendered so needful had been from time to time drawn, under circumstances of disadvantage to the Crown which resulted rather from an imperfect knowledge of a right œconomy in the negotiation of loans than from any inclination to fraud or carelessness. Dansell continued there for a short time, with so little benefit to the King's affairs that it was found necessary to send him letters of recal, which he disobeyed, and Gresham, who, with other merchants, had been called before the Privy Council to advise on the best means of discharging the King's debts, and of procuring future supplies, was sent to Antwerp to supersede him, and presently acquired the highest credit, both there and at home, by the activity, prudence, and fidelity, which distinguished his performance of the duties of his office.

On the accession of Mary, probably on the score of religion, for he seems to have been a zealous protestant, he was dismissed from this employment. Conscious however that his abilities to execute it were unrivalled, and fearful that the fruition of his projects should be delayed by the mismanagement of ignorant competitors, he ventured instantly to present to the Queen a memorial stating, with a boldness of expression very unusual at that time, his services to her late brother, and conceived with such force and dexterity that, while it concluded without any direct request, it left her scarcely at liberty to do otherwise in

is curious piece, which is of great length, is
fficult to give a clearer idea of the nature of
his services, or of the mode in which he performed them, than by citing some extracts from it in his own words. Having stated diffusely the circumstances which, as has been here already observed, led to his appointment by King Edward, whose debts in this way of private contract he says amounted at that time to two hundred and sixty thousand pounds, he proceeds thus—

" Before I was called to serve there was no other ways devised to bring the King out of debt but to transport the treasure out of the realme, or else by way of exchange, to the great abasing of the exchange, for a pound of our current money then brought in value but sixteen shillings Flemish; and for lack of payment there at the days appointed, to preserve his Majesty's credit with all, to prolong time also upon interest, which interest, besides the loss of the exchange, amounteth unto forty thousand pounds by year; and in every such prolongation his Majesty was enforced to take great part in jewels or wares, to his extreme loss and damage; of which forty thousand pounds loss for interest yearly I have by my travail clearly discharged the said King every penny, without which prevention the Queen's Majesty had been indebted at this her entry into the imperial Crown the sum of four hundred thousand pounds; besides the saving of the treasure within the realm; without taking of jewels or wares, to the King's disadvantage. Whereas at the time of my entry into the office I found the exchange at sixteen shillings the pound, I found the means nevertheless, without any charge to the King, or hindrance of any other, to discharge the King's whole debts as they grew due, at twenty shillings, and two and twenty shillings the pound; whereby the King's Majesty, and now the Queen, hath saved one hundred thousand marks clear. By reason that I raised the exchange from sixteen shillings unto two and twenty shillings, whereunto it yet remaineth, all foreign commodities be fallen, and sold after the same value, to the enriching of the subjects of the realm, in small process of time, above three or four hundred thousand pounds. It is assuredly known that when I took this service in hand the King's Majesty's credit on the other side was small; and yet afore his death he was in such credit, both with strangers and his own merchants, that he might have had what sum of money he had desired, whereby his enemies began to fear him, for his commodities of his realm, and power amongst Princes, was not known before; which credit the Queen's Highness hath obtained, if she were in necessity for money at this present day. To the intent to work this matter secretly for the raising of the exchange I did only use all my own credit with my substance and friends. To the intent to prevent the merchants, both strangers and English, who always lay in wait to prevent my devices when the exchange fell to raise it again, I bare some one time loss of my own monies, as the King's Majesty and his Council well knew, two or three hundred pounds, and this was divers times done; besides the credit of fifty thousand pounds which I took by exchange in my own name, without using the King's name. For the accomplishment of the premises I not only left the realm, with my wife and family, my occupying and whole trade of living, by the space of two years, but also posted in that time forty times, upon the King's sending, at the least, from Antwerp to the Court; besides the practising to bring these matters to effect; the infinite occasion of writing also to the King and his Council; with the keeping of reckonings and accompts only by my own hand writing, for mistrust in so dangerous a business of preventers, whereof were store too many; until I had clearly discharged all the foresaid debt, to the great benefit of the realm, and profit of the Queen; for in case this debt had been let alone, and deferred upon interest four years or five, her Majesty should have found it amount to fifteen hundred thousand pounds at the least, which, God be praised, is ended, and therefore careless at this day."

Having thus recited his services, he demands an audience of the Queen; for, says he, " nevertheless hitherto do I perceive that those which served before me, which brought the King in debt, and took wares and jewels up to the King's great loss, are esteemed and preferred for their evil service, and contrarywise, myself discountenanced and out of favour for my diligence and good service taken to bring the King and Queen's Highness out of

dent clear, which understanding of my service that her Majesty may take in good part, is as much as I required." Edward had not been ungrateful to him. "It pleased the King's Majesty," adds he, "to give unto me one hundred pounds, to me and my heirs for ever, three weeks before his death, and promised me then with his own mouth that he would hereafter see me rewarded better, saying, 'I should know that I served a King.'" Why he chose to mention this trifling gift, and to be silent as to the valuable grants of a monastic estate in the county of Caermarthen, and of the reversion of the priory of Westacre in Norfolk, both which he received in that reign, it is not easy to conceive. His memorial, aided probably by interest, was successful: Mary restored him to his post, which he filled during the whole of her reign; and Elizabeth continued him in it, with increased favour, and bestowed the honour of knighthood on him soon after her accession.

Numerous details of his negotiations remain in our public collections, and in the cabinets of the curious, but the ordinary transactions of a mercantile agent, however enlarged, can possess little to recommend them to general attention. He became enormously wealthy when he had scarcely passed the prime of life. He had married early, and his wife brought him an only son, whom he had the great misfortune to lose, at the age of sixteen, in 1564. The enthusiasm which in minds above the common character attends acute grief produces sometimes extraordinary consequences. Gresham, immediately after the death of his son, determined on the execution of a grand design, which is said to have been conceived by his father, to erect at his own expense a public edifice, after the fashion of the great commercial cities of the continent, for the meeting of the merchants of London, who had been used to transact their business, exposed to the weather, in Lombard Street, or, most indecently, in Saint Paul's Cathedral. In aid of this splendid purpose the corporation purchased and removed eighty houses, which then stood on the site of the projected building, and gave him regular possession of the ground, and towards the end of the year 1567 the Royal Exchange, or, as it was first called, "Britain's Burse," was completed and opened for use; a monument almost unparalleled to the generosity of a private individual. It was destroyed in the great fire of 1666, but a very correct judgement of its magnificence, and of the great charge of its erection, may be formed from the building, yet remaining, by which the city, and the company of mercers, immediately replaced it, with very little deviation from the original plan, at the expense of eighty thousand pounds. Nor was he inattentive to those ostentations which were by no means unbecoming in one who stood confessedly at the head of the important class to which he belonged. He had already built, for his own residence, in Bishopsgate Street, a noble mansion, of which it will be necessary presently to speak further, and soon after added to the great purchases that he had made in many other parts of the kingdom, that beautiful and well-known estate near London, called Osterley Park, which he planted and inclosed, and erected in it another spacious and stately house. In each of these residences he had more than once the honour of entertaining Elizabeth and her court; and it was in one of her visits to Osterley that, the Queen having observed that the quadrangle within the building was too large, he sent instantly to London for workmen, who, with equal expedition and secrecy, divided it in the course of the same night by building a wall, which when Elizabeth rose she was astonished to find completed, in strict conformity to her criticism—a refined gallantry exactly to her taste.

Gresham indeed seems to have possessed much of the refinement of a courtier, and more of the sagacity of a politician. In his frequent journeys to the Low Countries he had made acute observations on the Spanish policy, and had gained much important intelligence. Elizabeth's ministers, particularly Cecil, courted his advice on many matters, and gave him no small share of their confidence. Thus in 1568, during a great scarcity of coin in England, a large Biscayan ship, which was conveying a great sum in gold and silver to the Duke of Alva for the payment of his troops, having been chased into the harbour of Plymouth, Gresham, who had received intelligence that the money was not the property of the King of Spain, but had been wrested by him from certain merchants of Genoa, apprised Cecil of that fact, and persuaded him to seize it, and send it to the mint, giving

Antwerp to be arrested, an outrage which was immediately retaliated on the Spaniards then in London. Cecil, who abhorred violent measures, became alarmed, and was with some difficulty appeased by Gresham's assurance that any future foreign loans to the crown might be as advantageously negotiated at Hamburgh as at Antwerp, but that it might be reasonably expected that the readiness of our own merchants to make advances would render them unnecessary. An original letter of great curiosity from Gresham to Cecil, in which all these points are touched on, is in the Lansdowne collection, in the British Museum. Stowe, who had by some means obtained a perusal of it, has given large extracts from it, almost verbatim, in his Survey of London; and the authors of the Biographia Britannica, quoting Stowe, represent them, from what motive it is not easy to guess, as arguments used by Gresham in a personal conference with the Minister. The letter has a peculiar claim to be inserted in this memoir in its full integrity.

" Right honnorable S^{r}.

This morning I have receaved yo^{rs}. with my l̃res, by my s̃rvaunt, wherbie I do perceyve that the monneye whiche remanith in my hands of S^{r}. Will̃m Garrard, and for the armur, must be paid to the m̃rchauntes, wherin I shall p̃cede with paiment of half their som̃es until furder yor. pleas^{r}. be knowen, for the whiche it maie please you to send me the Q.' Matie. warraunt. And, whereas yor. Honnor doth now think some difficulte to paie any monney to the Q.' Matie. creditors beyond the seas, S^{r}., in my opinion youe neede not to make any dowt therof yf her Highnes do see her m̃chaunts well paid here in London this first somme, for bie that tyme the other monney shalbe paiable hear bie the Q.' Matie. to her said m̃chaunts they shall have both plenty of monney at Hamboroughe and heare; assuring you the goodes that o^{r}. m̃chaunts hathe shipped from Hambrough hither is well worth c^{Mli}. and better; and the shiping that they make now from hens w^{t}. o^{r}. comodityes is richely worthe vii c^{Mli}., and better, for that ther wilbe above xxx^{Mli}. clothes, the custom wherof wilbe worth to the Q.' Matie. at the least x^{Mli}., which will discharg that debt, if it stand so wth. the Q.' Matie. pleash^{r}.

S^{r}., I do perceyve that the gretest care that youe have is that o^{r}. m̃chaunts shall not have monney inoughe for to by up o^{r}. comodytes, wherin you need not to dowbt, c̃sidering the good vent they have had at Hamboroughe alredie, and are like to have; therfore I shall most humblie beseche you, for the staie and advauncing of the Q.' Ma^{ts}. credit, this small paiment that is agreed upon alredy at Hamborough maie be paid, considering that I have writen heretofore to the said creditors they shuld have a paiment made there now this August, whiche paiment will not a little advaunce her Highnes' honnor and credit; and how much her Highnes' credit hathe stand her in steede beyond the seas for reddie monney it is to tedius, and to long a matter, to trowble you wth.all; but if my credit were suche that I were able to perswade the Q.' Matie. and you, I would have that matter now sorowid for above all other things; assuring you, S^{r}., I do know for certain that the Duke de Alva is more trowbled wth. the Q.' Maties. gret credit, and wth. the vent of her Highnes' comodities at Hamborough, then he is wth. any thing els, and quakes for feare, which is one of the chifest things that is the let that the said Duke cannot com by the tenth penny that he now demandeth for the sale of all goods anny kind of waye in the Low Countrey, w^{che}., S^{r}., I beleve wilbe his utter undoing. Therfore, S^{r}., to conclude, I would wishe that the Q.' Matie. in this tyme shuld not use any straungers, but her own subjects, wherbie she, and all other Princes, maie se what a Prince of powr she is; and bie this meanes there is no doubt but that her Highnes shall cause the Duke of Alva to know himself, and to make what end with that Lowe Countreys as her Matie. will herself, what brute soev^{r}. is here spredde abrode to the contrary.

S^{r}., seeing I am entrid so farre wth. youe for the credit of the Q.' Matie. beyond the seas, wherin I have travailed this xx yeres, and bie experience in using o^{r}. owne m^{r}.chaunts I

found gret honnor to the Prince, as also gret p̃fit to the m^r.chaunts, and to the whole realm, whatsoever our m^r.chaunts saye to the co̅trarye; for when o^r. Prince ought owr own m^r.chaunts LX or IIII^xxMli. then they knew themselves, and were dailie reddie to s̃rve as good chepe as straungers did, whiche, S^r. I wold wishe again in this time of extremity to be usid, for that I knowe o^r. m^r.chaunts be able to do yt, because the debt is divided into many menne's hands, and bye no meanes cannot hinder them having intrest. Other I have not to molest you w^th.all, but that as the 12 of this present M^r. Benedik Spinola brought home to my house a m^r.chaunt of Janua, calid Thomas Ragio, to take his leave of me, to knowe if he could plesure me wth. any thing in Flaunders; and, as I thanked him, so, emongs other comunication of p̃fit, and for s^r.vice by his ministrie, he desired me to be his frend for such monney as the Q.' Matie. hath of his in the Towr. With that I asked him what his somme was, and he sayed xx or xxx^M. ducats; but by talke I p̃ceive he hathe muche more with other of his frinds. Now, S^r., seeing this monney in the Towr dothe app̃tain to m^r.chaunts, I wold wishe the Q.' Matie. to putt it to use of some p̃fitt; as to mynt it into her owne coyne, wherbye she shall be a gaynor III or IIII^Mli., and enriche her relm wth. so much fyne silv^r.: and for the re-payment thereof her Highnes maie paie it bie the waie of exchaunge, or otherwise, to her gret fardell and profit; as also her Matie. maie take it up of the said m^r.chaunts upon intrest, uppon the bands accustomid, for a yere or twoo, whiche I think they wilbe right glad of; and so wth. the said monney her Matie. maie paie her debts both heare and in Flaunders, to the gret honnor and credit of her Matie. throughout all Xtendom; as knowith the L. who pres̃rve you, with the increse of honnor. From Gresham House, the 14 of August, 1569,

At yor. Honnor's commandment,

THOMAS GRESH̃M.

S^r. I most humbly thancke you for the remembrans that yow have of my sewte for my Lady Mary Grey, and for my lande at Oysterley."

Cecil, convinced and encouraged by these arguments, laid them before the Queen, who determined to take the steps recommended by them, and Gresham, to forward the more effectually his advice by his own example, sent in the succeeding month to the Tower five sacks of new Spanish reals, each sack weighing nearly one thousand pounds, to be coined for the Queen's use, as his own individual contribution; but he had calculated erroneously on the disposition of the London merchants to lend. He proposed the matter to them, and they, to shift from themselves the odium of a direct refusal, referred it as a public question to the assembly called a common hall, by which, even then distinguished by it's vulgar and senseless inclination to oppose indiscriminately all measures instituted by the ministers of the Crown, it was negatived. Gresham treated these persons with the disdain which they merited. Abandoning his original intention of negociating the loan with privacy, he procured a letter from the Privy Council to the great company of Merchant Adventurers, which may be found at length in Stowe's Survey, remonstrating with them in plain terms on the subterfuge which had been thus used by many of their members in their individual capacity, and reproaching them with ingratitude to the Crown, which had constantly and carefully forwarded their best interests. The Merchant Adventurers, ashamed not less of the inferior people with whom some of them had thus associated themselves, than of the narrow views with which they had formed that connection, readily agreed to furnish the sum required, and lent Elizabeth sixteen thousand pounds on her bonds, at the then moderate interest of six per cent. She, on her part, testified her gratitude to them, and to Gresham, by honouring him on the twenty-third of January, 1570, with a visit at his house in Bishopsgate Street, where she dined, and, on returning in the evening by Cornhill, entered the Burse, with more than ordinary pomp, and caused a herald to proclaim that it should thenceforth be called by the name of "the Royal Exchange."

In the summer of 1572 the Queen, resolving to make a progress longer than ordinary, thought fit, from some motive of jealousy of her good citizens of London now forgotten, to issue a commission rather of an unusual nature, by which the Archbishop of Canterbury,

[illegible] the [illegible] have produced such good effects that it was always resorted to on similar occasions during that reign; and his name was constantly inserted. It is probable indeed, considering the importance of his connexion at once with the Court and the city, that the exercise of this office fell chiefly on him. In the following year, through his care and exertions, the Queen's bonds to the London merchants were punctually discharged, and this proof of good faith so fixed his credit that his future negotiations for similar loans were always managed without distrust or difficulty. In 1576 he was joined in a commission with Burghley, Walsingham, and Martin, master of the mint, to enquire into the nature of foreign exchanges, and with this appointment his public employment seems to have ended.

He had for some years meditated the foundation of a distinguished place of education for the sons of citizens of London, but seems to have been undetermined where to establish it. Each of the Universities addressed itself to him on this subject, soliciting the preference with that pertinacious importunity generally used by corporate societies, and Gresham, who really seems to have previously hesitated between Oxford and Cambridge, was perhaps induced by this indecorum to fix on London. He resolved to convert his ample dwelling in Bishopsgate Street into a college; to endow it with the revenues arising from the profits of the Royal Exchange, and to place it under the care of the same trustees to whom he had already committed the charge of that superb property. By a deed of the twenty fourth of May, 1575, and by his last will, dated the fifth of the following July, he vested the latter edifice in the corporation of London, and the company of mercers, to be equally enjoyed by them; the City to pay out of it's moiety an annual salary of fifty pounds each to four professors of divinity, astronomy, music, and geometry; the mercers to pay the same stipend to three in law, physic, and rhetoric. These professors to reside, and to read their lectures, in his mansion, afterwards called Gresham College, to which he annexed eight almshouses, to be maintained from the same source, which he charged also with liberal pensions to several hospitals and prisons. This laudable and generous institution flourished usefully till the end of the succeeding century, when, the revolution having totally broken down the fences which even till then had kept the different classes of society in some degree distinct from each other, the citizens became too haughty to accept of gratuitous instruction: Gresham College dwindled gradually till the year 1768, when an act was passed for the purchase of it by the commissioners of the excise; it was pulled down; and the present excise office was erected on it's site. A room over part of the Exchange was appointed for the lectures, which have long been in a great measure discontinued. As the salaries remain, the professorships still exist. All the rest is nearly extinct.

Sir Thomas Gresham died of an apoplexy on the twenty-first of November, 1579, and was buried in the parish church of St. Helen, in Bishopsgate Street. By his wife, Anne, daughter of William Ferneley, of West Creting, in Norfolk, and relict of William Read, of Fulham in Middlesex, a merchant of London, he had, as has been before observed, an only son, Richard, who died young. He left however a natural daughter, the fruit of an amour with a native of Bruges, whom he gave in marriage, portioned with considerable estates in Norfolk and Suffolk, to Nathaniel, second son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, whose wife was sister to the Lady Gresham.

Sir Matthew Hale.

From the original in

Lincolns Inn Library.

Drawn by W.m Hilton R.A.s Engraved (with Permission) by C. Picart

London, Published Sept.r 29 1810 by Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mavor & Jones and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown

SIR MATTHEW HALE.

Of one the business of whose life was comprised in the simple performance of professional duties, and whose hours of leisure were dedicated to the cultivation of religion, morality, and philosophy; whose public conduct was alike uninfluenced by the favour of a Court, or the fury of faction, and whose humble and modest piety sought not for fame in the vanities of controversy; little can be said with any reasonable hope of gratifying the cravings of ordinary curiosity.

Sir Matthew Hale descended from a family of respectable clothiers in Gloucestershire, and was the only child of Robert Hale, of Alderley, in that county, by Joan, daughter of Matthew Poyntz, of the same place, a younger son of the ancient baronial family of that name. His father had been bred to the bar, and is said to have quitted it because he could not reconcile to his conscience the practice of those perversions, denials, and disguisings, of truth for which the duty of a lawyer to his client is generally thought to furnish a sufficient apology: he retired therefore to his moderate estate in the country, where both himself and his wife died before his son, who was born on the first of November, 1609, had reached the age of five years. The young Matthew fell into the hands of Anthony Kingscot, a neighbouring gentleman of good family, and a near relation, but a vehement puritan, who not only placed him to receive the rudiments of a learned education with a zealous member of that profession, the parish priest, but procured for him at Magdalen Hall, in Oxford, of which he was entered in Michaelmas Term 1626, the tuition of the notorious Obadiah Sedgewick, perhaps the most furious and mischievous of the leaders of the party. To what extent Hale became at that time impressed with their religious and political doctrines is not known, but it is clear that he imbibed none of the affectation of sanctimonious austerity by which the puritans sought to distinguish themselves, for we are told that the arrival at Oxford of a theatrical company induced him suddenly to abandon his studies; that he indulged with great freedom in the gaieties of youthful society; bestowed remarkable attention on his dress; and became an adept in the management of the sword, and other methods of defence which were then fashionable: nay, that he would have entered as a volunteer into the army of the Prince of Orange but for an accident in his private affairs which will be presently mentioned. He had studied however with rapid success previously to the commencement of these excesses, which Sedgewick, to whom the patronage of a young man of independent fortune was then convenient, seems to have endured with great patience and complacency.

This sort of carriage left little hope of his submitting to take holy orders, which had been the intention of his guardian, and circumstances which occurred soon after totally extinguished that design. A suit in which he was engaged with a Sir William Whitmore, who claimed part of his estate, obliged him to go to London when he had been but three years at the University, to which he did not return. He had retained Serjeant Glanvill as his leading counsel, and in their frequent intercourse during this incidental connexion that celebrated lawyer observed in him talents so well formed for the study of jurisprudence, that he earnestly, and at length successfully, persuaded him to enter into the profession, and he was accordingly admitted of the society of Lincoln's Inn on the eighth of November, 1629. He now made ample amends for his past levity, and became a pattern of industry, studying, as is confidently said, even for several years together, sixteen hours daily. His improvement kept pace with his application, and he acquired considerable credit while he was yet a student. Noy, then Attorney General, sought his acquaintance,

literature as well as in the knowledge and practice of the law. Thus he was led to extend his labours into natural and experimental philosophy; became highly skilled in mathematics, and even in medicine and chirurgery; and joined to a proficiency in those studies, which unaccountably become too frequently the nurses of scepticism, a great extent of scriptural learning, and a desire so intense to explain and inculcate the means of religious and moral perfection, that his writings in that class alone would have sufficed, had he been a member of the sacred profession, to raise his reputation to the highest, as well for industry as for devotion, acuteness, and erudition.

He was called to the bar at the commencement of the great heats which preceded the grand rebellion, and attached himself to the royal cause with a calmness and moderation which were natural to him, and which, though his practice, in which he presently gained great fame, was almost confined to the causes of the King's friends, perhaps aided in procuring for him at least the forbearance of the contrary party: doubtless however the bias which he had, or was supposed to have, towards puritanism operated with greater effect; and that such was his inclination he gave at length the strongest possible proof by subscribing, as he did in 1643, that wretched code of mischief the Covenant, and by sitting in the assembly appointed by the Parliament to settle, as it was called, the government and liturgy of the Church of England. His unquestionable integrity so far counterbalanced the effect of these demonstrations that the royalists never withdrew from him their confidence in his professional fidelity. He was one of the counsel for Strafford, Laud, Hamilton, Holland, Capel, Craven, and others of them, and for the King himself, nor was he less trusted by the Parliament, which, amidst his engagements in the defence of those who were the chief objects of its persecution, employed him in the important commission for the treaty of Oxford, and other matters which the party held of the highest interest to the welfare of their cause. In the exercise of these opposite services, which to any but a man of the purest intentions must have caused infinite embarrassment and caution, he displayed the most exalted magnanimity and independence. Using terms of great force and warmth in his defence of the Lord Craven, he was interrupted by Prideaux, the Attorney General for the rebels, who directly charged him with opposing the government. He answered that he was pleading in defence of those laws which they had declared they would preserve and maintain; that he was doing his duty to his client, and was not to be daunted by threats. His history abounds in instances of this courageous frankness.

But we must ever seek in vain for human perfection. Hale, from no motive that can be divined but a desire to secure professional advancement, condescended, after the murther of Charles, to take the oath called "the Engagement," by which he bound himself, for such were the very words, "to be true and faithful to the Parliament established without a King, or House of Peers." On this painful subject I will only remark that he had lately in swearing to the Covenant undertaken (and here again the precise terms are quoted) "to preserve the rights and privileges of Parliaments, and to preserve and defend the King's person and authority;" and that he afterwards took the oath of allegiance to Charles the second. He now, without at any time however stepping out of the line of his profession, took a share in public affairs. In January, 1651, he was placed at the head of a commission appointed by the Parliament to consider of reformations necessary in the law, and on the twenty-fifth of the same month, two years after, was appointed one of the Justices of the Common Bench, the name now given to the King's Bench by the rebels. We are told that he at first refused to accept that station; telling Cromwell that he "was not satisfied about his authority, and therefore scrupled to accept the commission;" to which the other answered, "it is my desire to rule according to the laws of the land; but if you won't let me govern by red gowns, I am resolved to govern by red coats." Certain it is that his integrity never bent to the arbitrary will of the usurper. He sentenced a soldier to die for having killed a townsman of Lincoln who had refused to

give up his gun, in obedience to an order of Cromwell's that none who had been of the King's party should carry arms, and sent the man to instant execution because he understood that a reprieve was on the way from London. He dismissed a jury which he rightly suspected to have been packed by Oliver's direction to carry a favourite purpose, and refused to try the cause. When his judicial proceedings against some anabaptists who had rushed into a church, and insulted a congregation receiving the sacrament, were interrupted by the interference of certain persons in power, he declared that he would sit no more on the Crown side, and kept his word, for when Cromwell expressly required him to assist at the trial of the brave Colonel Penruddock he positively refused.

He was one of the five members for the County of Gloucester in the first of Oliver's two bastard Parliaments, and sat for the University of Oxford in that called by Richard Cromwell, from whom however he refused to accept a commission as a judge, foreseeing probably the change which was at hand. He was again returned for Gloucestershire to the Parliament which restored monarchy, and when that great measure was proposed in the House of Commons, moved for a committee to examine the terms which had been offered to the late King, and the concessions that he had offered, with the view of prescribing conditions to Charles the second before he should be admitted to the throne, a motion the rejection of which was so nearly unanimous that it seems doubtful whether it was even seconded. Charles, if he were displeased by this proposal, and it could scarcely be otherwise, for once sacrificed his private feelings to the welfare and the opinion of his subjects, for certainly no judge had ever before been so universally and so deservedly esteemed.—On the seventh of November, 1660, he appointed Hale Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and soon after, much against his will, knighted him. He appears indeed to have enjoyed the royal favour unimpaired during the remainder of his life, and yet the bias of his inclination was against the Crown. Dryden tells us that it was a common saying with the King that his servants were sure to be cast on a trial before Hale; and his affection to the dissenters, founded on early prejudice, though he never suffered it to relax the integrity of his judicial conduct, was continually betraying itself. Under these disadvantages, which it may safely be said would in that reign have barred the promotion of any lawyer who lived under it but himself, he rose to the head of his profession, and on the eighteenth of May, 1671, became Lord Chief Justice of England. He occupied that exalted seat little more than four years. In the autumn of 1674, a sudden inflammation, according to the report of his physicians, of the diaphragm, placed him in imminent danger of immediate death. He was partially recovered, but his constitution, naturally robust as it was, had received an irremediable shock. He was seized by an asthma which rendered the discharge of his public duties infinitely painful, and on the twenty-first of February, 1675-6, resigned his office. A dropsy succeeded, and having lingered till the twenty-fifth of the following December, he expired on that day, and was buried with his family at Alderley.

Of the powers of this eminent person's mind, and of his application of those powers to the duties of his profession, it is needless to speak. While the Law of England shall subsist they will be broadly and splendidly traced in the education of the student, the skill of the advocate, and the decisions of the bench. Let those who so profit by the dictates of his wisdom, and the results of his labour, dedicate to his memory that incense which will be most grateful to his venerable shade. Let them imitate the intenseness and patience of his application; the candour as well as the acuteness of his argument; and the minute justice of his judgments: for all these he was equally celebrated. His conduct in all the relations of life was as pure as that which he displayed to public admiration; and the sweetness of his temper, the benevolence and simplicity of his heart, endeared him to the utmost to his family and dependants, and to his private intimates; yet, however excellent his nature, piety was indeed the vital principle of his character; a piety not recluse and contemplative, but so directing every action as to consecrate the most ordinary offices of his life. If to some the strictness of his religious observances should seem too severe, let it be remembered that this severity regarded himself alone,

A single voice was raised against him several years after his death, and impartiality demands that the notes of censure which it uttered should not be here omitted. Roger North, in his memoirs of his brother, the Lord Keeper, bestows on the memory of Sir Matthew Hale a strange mixture, at great length, of praise and blame, from which I will give an extract of the most unfavourable passages. "While Hale was Chief Baron of the Exchequer, by means of his great learning, even against his inclination, he did the Crown more justice in that Court than many others in his place had done with all their good-will and less knowledge; but his foible was leaning to the popular: yet when he knew the law was for the King, as well he might, being acquainted with all the records of the Court, to which men of the law are commonly strangers, he failed not to judge accordingly. He was an upright judge, if taken within himself, and when he appeared, as he often did, d really was, partial, his inclination or prejudice, insensibly to himself, drew his judge- ent aside. His bias lay strangely for and against characters and denominations, and metimes the very habits of persons. If one party was a courtier, and well-dressed, and e other a sort of puritan, with a black cap, and plain clothes, he insensibly thought the stice of the cause with the latter. If the dissenting or anti-court party was at the back a cause he was very seldom impartial, and the loyalists had always a great disadvantage fore him. He became the cushion exceedingly well: his manner of hearing patient, directions pertinent, and his discourses copious, and, though he hesitated often, fluent. s stop for a word by the produce always paid for the delay, and on some occasions he uld utter sentences heroic. His vanity was excessive. He was a subtiliser, and an entor of unheard-of distinctions, and exercising criticisms to get the better of known ixims of the law, and thereby to transmit great estates and interests from some persons d families to others. This over-ruling temper of his did not so much take place in small ncerns, and in those between common men, for there his justice shined most, and ned him with a reputation that sustained his authority to do as he pleased in greater; ereby it seems that if he never had dealt in other but great causes, to hear and deter- ne them, he might have been accounted the worst judge that ever sat: yet the generality, th gentle and simple, lawyers and laymen, did idolize him: his voice was oracular, and s person little less than adored, &c."

To the discredit of these censures, already suspicious enough, as they are wholly supported by any other testimony, the writer presently after unwarily furnishes an ident clue. The political opinions and the legal doctrines of the sages Hale and North e it seems at variance. Roger North, having disclaimed any invidious feeling, declares t his statement has been dictated merely by the love of truth; "first," says he, n general, for all truth is profitable; and, secondly, in particular, for justice to the aracter I write of, against whom never any thing was urged so peremptorily as the hority of Hale; as if one must of necessity be in the wrong because another was pre- ned to be in the right. These two chiefs were of different opinions in matters of vate right, as well as touching the public; and if one was a Solomon, saint, or oracle, at must the other be taken for?" It is remarkable that Mr. North in this invective uld have omitted the only two established charges which reflect unfavourably on the mory of Sir Matthew Hale, the one tending to detract from his probity, the other from wisdom. The first has been already mentioned; the second is grounded on the entable fact that he sentenced to death at the spring assizes for Suffolk in the year 64 two poor old creatures whom he had tried for witchcraft, and suffered them to be ecuted; the last act which occurred in England of that stupid and inhuman species of ustice.

Lord Chief Justice Hale was twice married; first to Anne, daughter of Sir Henry ore, of Fawley, in Berks, who brought him ten children, of whom six lived to maturity; bert, whose line ended in an heiress, married about forty years since to a Mr. Blagden, o assumed her surname, and whose posterity yet remains at Alderley; Matthew;

Thomas; Edward; and two daughters; Mary, married first to Edward Adderley, of Innishannon in Ireland, secondly, to Edward Stephens, of Alderley, son of Edward Stephens, of Cherington, in Gloucestershire; and Elizabeth, wife of Edmund Webb, of Bagpath, in the same county, barrister at law. Sir Matthew's second wife was Anne Bishop, of Fawley, a servant in his family, by whom he had no children. In his will he gives the highest character of this worthy woman; entrusts to her care the breeding of the children of his eldest son, who died before him; and constitutes her one of his executors.

On subjects of religion, morals, and law, which were his studies, and in philosophy, history, and serious poetry, which may be deemed his relaxations, so numerous are the effusions of his pen, and so various and confused the accounts which we have of them, that to give with tolerable precision even an ordinary catalogue of his writings would be no light task. Large essays to that effect may be found subjoined to Bishop Burnet's slight sketch of his Life, and in the Biographia Britannica, but much is omitted, and more misrepresented. The number of his printed works, considerable as it is, falls far short of that of the unpublished treatises which, as he made no peculiar disposition of them, may be presumed to remain with his posterity; and the treasure of manuscripts which he bequeathed to the society of Lincoln's Inn exceed both together, as well in extent as in value.

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Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018